MODERN EUROPE

THOMAS AND HAMM

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MODERN EUROPE

MODERN EUROPE

BY

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PREFACE

EVERY history teacher has at some time or other wished that he might write his own textbook in order that it might include the material that he believed to be essential. This book is the fulfillment of such a wish on the part of two high school history teachers. It is too much to expect that it will satisfy all teachers, but it is offered in the hope that it will be welcomed by many who believe, as the authors do, that the main purpose of secondary school history is to help young citizens to understand the world in which they live.

Since this is our purpose we have organized the text around the evolution of the outstanding features of contemporary civilization—the factory system with the manifold problems that it has brought in its train, nationalism, imperialism, the efforts at international co-operation, and democracy with fascism and communism, the systems that have risen to challenge it. Economic and social aspects of modern civilization have been emphasized. Chapters on the development of science, art, and literature have been included in order to broaden the view of European life.

Several years of experience in teaching boys and girls at the secondary school level have convinced us that the topical method of approach to the study of modern history yields better results than the chronological method. We are not unmindful of the difficulties of the topical method, but we hope that the time charts in the text and others that the pupils will make for themselves will minimize these difficulties.

The illustrative material—charts, half-tones, maps, cartoons—have been selected for their value as teaching aids and are an integral part of the text. So, too, are the reading lists and the questions for discussion which follow each chapter. We have referred repeatedly to a small collection of books—which we call the minimum list—and less frequently to other books especially good on certain topics.

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Since large numbers of pupils begin the study of modern history with no previous course in ancient or medieval history, the first two sections are devoted to a survey of the institutions of the eighteenth century with a brief account of the development of those institutions from earlier ones. It is hoped that these sections will strengthen the idea of continuity—that all history is the story of institutions and ideas changing to meet changed conditions.

Anyone who wishes to give a true picture of modern Europe and its development must deal with many controversial questions. Of course no one yet knows the correct answer to many of the problems raised in this book. We have tried to give both sides of these questions, not always attempting to conceal our own opinions. To safeguard pupils against opinions that may be unsound we have advised them in Chapter I that this book, like any other on history, must be studied with a critical point of view. In the questions for discussion at the end of each chapter we have further challenged them to test their own opinions against ours. We urge teachers to encourage pupils to question opinions expressed here and elsewhere, believing that a critical attitude toward all sources of information is one of the most valuable products of good teaching.

We are indebted to too many of our friends in schools and colleges to make any list of their names or give any adequate expression of our appreciation for their advice and criticism. We are especially indebted to hundreds of our pupils who have served as laboratory material and from whom we have learned more than they have from us. In their name, then, we humbly dedicate this text to the thousands of boys and girls in the secondary schools of the country, with the hope that it will help them to grow in understanding of the world in which they find themselves.

W. A. H.
H. C. T.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

What any history textbook contains depends upon the author's idea of what is important. Therefore no one should learn all his history from one book. Moreover, it is impossible for a brief general text such as this to reveal all the interesting details surrounding the events that it describes, nor can it hope to present all the shades of meaning that attach to these events. The importance of supplementary reading is therefore obvious.

The books referred to in the "Suggestions for Further Reading" given at the end of each chapter have been selected from a minimum and a general list. The minimum list below includes the books which are referred to so often as to make it desirable that several copies of each be in every high school library. When books from this minimum list are referred to, reference will be merely to the author's name as indicated at the right. The longer general list at the back of the book includes books which, in most cases, are more specialized and are of importance for but one or two topics. When books from the general list are referred to, the author's name and title will be given in full.

In most cases reference is made to specific pages or chapters; in some cases reference is made to an entire book for the benefit of those who wish to do general reading on a topic. Students should learn to find what they want in any book by use of the table of contents and the index. More extensive bibliographies on various topics will be found in many of the books listed. In the case of many of them different editions exist. The reference is in all cases to the latest available edition in 1933. Where other editions are used students may find some variation in page references; here again ability to use a table of contents and index is important. Students should also learn to find material in current magazines by using the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.*

MINIMUM REFERENCE LIST

Europe Since 1914, by F. Lee Benns. F. S. Crofts and Co., New York, 1930	*Benns*
The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today, by George D. H. and M. I. Cole. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1933	*Cole*
A Political and Social History of Modern Europe (Two Volumes. Vol. I, 1500-1830; Vol. II, 1830-1924), by Carlton J. H. Hayes. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1924	*Hayes*
National Governments and International Relations, by Frank Abbott Magruder. Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1929	*Magruder*
Imperialism and World Politics, by Parker Thomas Moon. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926 .	*Moon*
The Governments of Europe (Revised Edition), by Frederic Austin Ogg. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926	*Ogg*
Economic Development of Modern Europe, by Frederic Austin Ogg and Walter Rice Sharp. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926	*Ogg and Sharp*
The History of Western Europe (Two Volumes), by James Harvey Robinson. Ginn and Co., New York, 1926	*Robinson*
Readings in Modern European History (Two Volumes), by James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard. Ginn and Co., New York, 1909 . .	*Robinson and Beard*
Modern and Contemporary European History. 1815-1928 (Revised Edition), by J. Selwyn Schapiro. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass., 1929 . .	*Schapiro*
Readings in European History Since 1814. by Jonathan F. Scott and Alexander Baltzly. F. S. Crofts and Co., New York, 1930	*Scott and Baltzly*
The Story of Mankind, by Hendrik Van Loon. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1921	*Van Loon*

CONTENTS

SECTION ONE

THE OLD RÉGIME AND ITS BACKGROUND

CHAPTER PAGE

I. Our Heritage from the Past 3

II. The States of Europe in the Eighteenth Century and Their Background 15

III. Eighteenth-century Economic Conditions and Their Background 30

IV. Eighteenth-century Social Conditions and Their Background 54

V. The Governments of Europe in the Eighteenth Century and Their Background 82

SECTION TWO

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

VI. The Intellectual Revolution 103

VII. The French Revolution 125

VIII. Napoleon 155

IX. The Period of Reaction 176

SECTION THREE

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN MODERN HISTORY

X. The Industrial Revolution 205

XI. Some Problems Created by the Industrial Revolution 234

XII. Labor Problems 256

XIII. The Progress of Science 291

XIV. Some Social Developments of the Past Century . 311

XV. The Arts in Modern Times 333

SECTION FOUR

NATIONALISM

CHAPTER PAGE
XVI. Nationalism as a Unifying Force 363
XVII. Nationalism as a Disruptive Force 396

SECTION FIVE

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

XVIII. England—A Democratic Monarchy 415
XIX. France—A Conservative Republic 446
XX. Germany—Reactionary Empire, Democratic Republic, Dictatorship 461
XXI. Russia—Absolute Monarchy and Communist Commonwealth 490
XXII. Italy—Limited Monarchy and Fascist State . . 531
XXIII. Democracy's Position in the Modern World . . 548

SECTION SIX

IMPERIALISM

XXIV. The Decline of the Old Imperialism and the Rise of the New 561
XXV. The Fields of Imperialism 576
XXVI. The British Empire 610
XXVII. The Results of Imperialism 642

SECTION SEVEN

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

XXVIII. The Concert of Europe and the Balance of Power . 657
XXIX. The World War 685
XXX. The Peace Settlement 733
XXXI. International Organization 756
The Pact of Paris 781
Covenant of the League of Nations 782
The States of Europe 795
Bibliography 803
Index 809

SECTION I

THE OLD RÉGIME AND ITS BACKGROUND

Chapter I. Our Heritage from the Past
Chapter II. The States of Europe in the Eighteenth Century and Their Background
Chapter III. Eighteenth-century Economic Conditions and Their Background
Chapter IV. Eighteenth-century Social Conditions and Their Background
Chapter V. The Governments of Europe in the Eighteenth Century and Their Background

PREVIEW

Modern civilization is the heir of all the past, but it is particularly the product of the last two centuries. So many great changes have occurred during these years as to mark them off as a distinct period—the period that we call modern history. In this book we are mainly concerned with modern history, that is, the changes that have taken place since the middle of the eighteenth century, but to understand these changes we must know something of the world of the eighteenth century and of how it came to be what it was.

In this section, then, we shall first outline briefly some of the contributions made to civilization by ancient peoples. We shall next consider the Old Régime, as eighteenth-century Europe is called, and try to show what the ways of living of that time were and how they had developed from earlier periods. We shall make use of the topical method, taking up economic, social, and political conditions. By studying economic conditions we shall learn how men made their living; by studying political conditions we shall see how men were governed; and by studying social conditions we shall learn how men lived together. It is obvious that these three phases of life—economic, political, and social—are not distinct; they overlap at many points and each influences the others. We look at the Old Régime and its background from these three different points of view only because it is a convenient way to understand it more clearly.

We shall see that in spite of great changes of previous centuries the world of the eighteenth century was largely a world governed by tradition and by authority; that is, people did and thought mainly what their fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers had done and thought; they had great respect for the authority of absolute governments, powerful national churches, and privileged classes.

CHAPTER I

OUR HERITAGE FROM THE PAST

I. The Study of History

A. What is history? History is the story of man's past. In its broadest sense history includes everything that man has done or thought since he first appeared on the earth. Modern civilization—our ways of living, our work and our play, our governments, religions, art, science, and literature—is the result of a long process of development. We have not created it; we have inherited it from earlier peoples. History is the record of the development of civilization from the time of our earliest savage ancestors down to the present.

B. Why do we study history? Before answering this question we might ask another—Why do we study anything? What is the purpose of education? One of the main purposes of education is to develop our abilities so that we may be happy and useful members of the society in which we live. Our happiness and usefulness depend largely on the extent to which we understand the world today. History, the record of the past, helps us to do this because most of the institutions of the modern world developed from the past. (By "institutions" we mean the ways of living that have become established through long usage or through law. Our family life, our public school systems, our political parties, our religions, are institutions.) Since we in the United States have inherited many of our ideas and institutions from Europe, we need to turn to European as well as to American history to understand our own civilization. Furthermore, we all recognize the value of an opinion which is based upon wide experience. The study of history is a study of the accumulated experiences of the race. A good historical background, therefore, enables us to form better judgments and opinions.

C. How should we study history? Since we study the past so that we may better understand the present it is clear that we are interested principally in those things in the past which have most influenced the present. It should also be clear that it will do us little good to know merely what past institutions were; we must try to find out how and why past institutions have been changed into modern ones. We must continually ask Why? and How? as well as Where? and When?

When two people try to describe the same event—a football game, for example—their accounts are likely to be quite different. If two boys from rival schools are describing a football game between their schools their accounts are likely to differ even more. Each, quite honestly perhaps, tends to tell the story in a way that will glorify his own team. For our knowledge of the past we are dependent on the writings of people describing their own times. Some have endeavored to give an accurate account. Others have tried to prove that some point of view, some individual, some institution, some nation, was right—or wrong. It is, therefore, not always easy to know what the facts are. Difficult as it is to know what the facts are, it is simple compared to knowing what facts mean. When we attempt to show the connection between facts, to assign causes and results, we are largely guessing. If our history is to be a real history, however, it must be scientific guessing; that is, it must seek first and last for the truth, it must find out what the facts really were and draw conclusions from them without prejudice or bias. Many of our conclusions about the causes and results of past events are similar to what a scientist calls hypotheses, that is, explanations which seem to be true according to all available evidence but which cannot be definitely proved. Many of our opinions about the past have been changed as our knowledge has been increased. Many of our present conclusions about the past will doubtless be changed in the light of later knowledge.

A point, then, to bear in mind in reading any history is that we are reading the opinion of the author to some extent in regard to the facts and to a large extent in regard to conclusions to be drawn from the facts. We are always free to reject this opinion if we find it based on insufficient data or if it shows evidence of prejudice. We should hold a critical attitude toward historians. Are they trying to arrive at the truth or are they trying to prove their own theories? Are they using all available facts or only such as serve their pur-

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Studying a Clay Tablet from the Mound of Ur

It is from scientific excavations, such as that at the site of the city of Ur, near the head of the Persian Gulf, that we have gained most of our knowledge of ancient peoples. Even where no written records have been found the remains of buildings, clothing, household utensils, tools, and weapons tell us much of their life.

pose? We should indeed be blind to the teachings of history if we accepted a statement without question merely because it was in a book or because it was made by a man with a great reputation.

To summarize: (1) We study the past so that we may understand the present. (2) Therefore we are interested principally in those things in the past which have most influenced the present. (3) We cannot be entirely certain about many of the facts of history and even less certain about the causes and results of these facts. (4) We should study history with an open mind, always weighing evidence and always willing to accept new evidence.

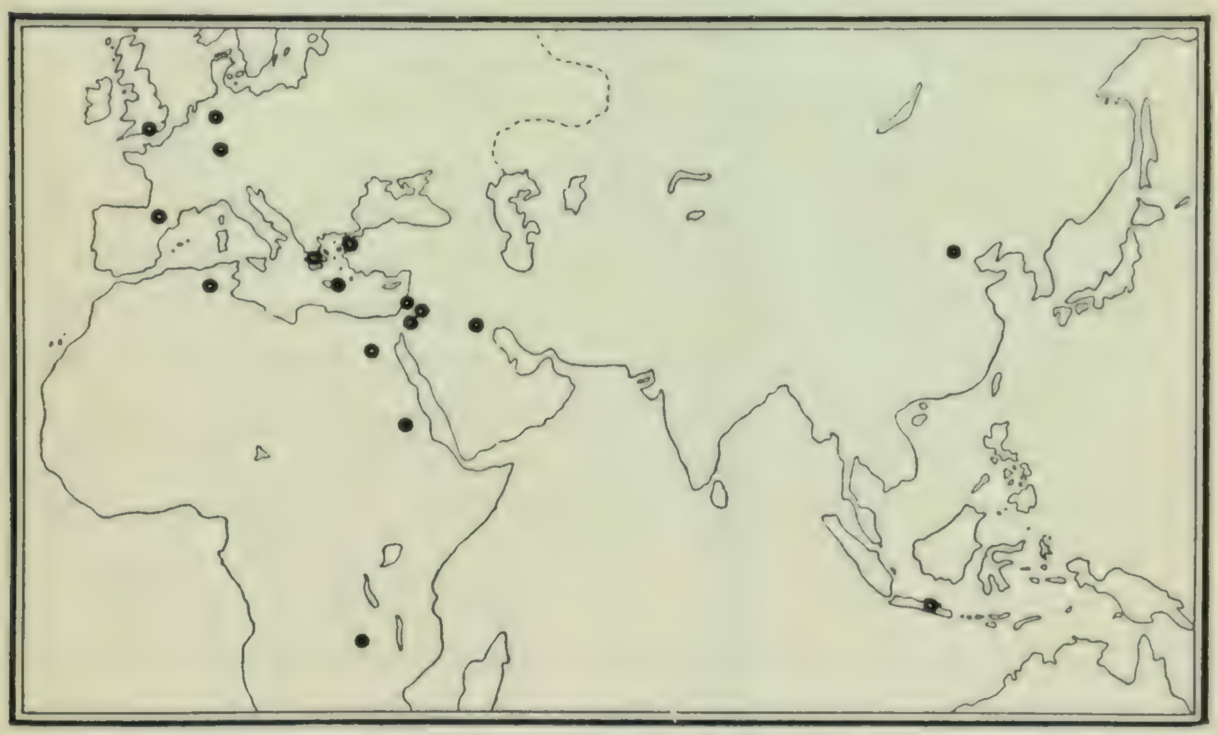
II. Our Heritage from Early Peoples

A. Primitive man. No one knows how long man has been on the earth. Estimates vary from 50,000 to 5,000,000 years; perhaps 500,000 years is somewhere near the truth. There are written records for about the past 6,000 years only. Our knowledge of men who lived before that time, primitive men we call them, is based on the few bones, tools, and weapons that have been found. These relics indicate that primitive men existed in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and perhaps in the Americas.

For most of the long period that man has been on the earth he has probably been a savage, but a savage capable of learning and of passing on to his children the knowledge which he acquired. By the time he began to leave written records he had learned many things that are still a vital part of our civilization. Among these may be mentioned (1) the use of fire; (2) spoken languages; (3) skill in making tools, pottery, woven cloth, boats, and buildings; (4) the domestication of animals and plants which made it possible to live in settled communities.

During the centuries while our savage ancestors were learning these things they were also learning ways of living together; they were developing customs and institutions. By about 4000 B.C. some groups had developed what we call a civilization, that is, (1) they lived in settled communities; (2) they produced a great variety of goods and exchanged them among themselves and with other groups;

(3) they produced works of art; (4) they had well-organized governments; (5) they had religions; (6) they had a well-established code of social and economic relations such as those of private property, marriage, and the family. We can only guess as to how these institutions developed. We should remember, however, that they did develop; they did not always exist. Although many of them are so much a part of our lives today that they seem a part of human nature itself, they have been changed by changing conditions and will doubtless change in the future.



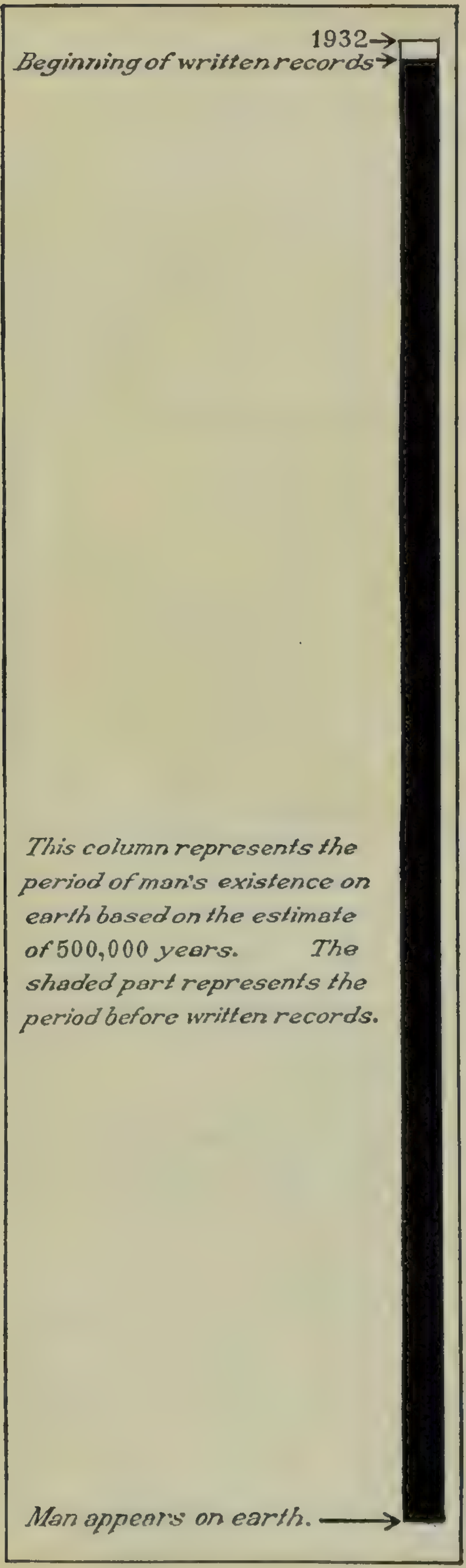
WHERE TRACES OF PRIMITIVE MEN HAVE BEEN FOUND

Since 1922 the American Museum of Natural History has sent four expeditions to the Gobi Desert under the direction of Roy Chapman Andrews. Discoveries made there have led archaeologists to believe that the Gobi Desert is some one hundred fifty million years old, the oldest dry land on earth.

B. The peoples of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The earliest civilizations of which we have any written records developed at about the same time in two fertile river valleys near the place where the three continents of the Old World join—Egypt in the Nile Valley, and Mesopotamia in the valley formed by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. From about 5000 to 1000 B.C. various peoples, one after another, ruled in each of these valleys and kept up a relatively high civilization. Among the various contributions of these peoples to civilization perhaps the most important was a written language.

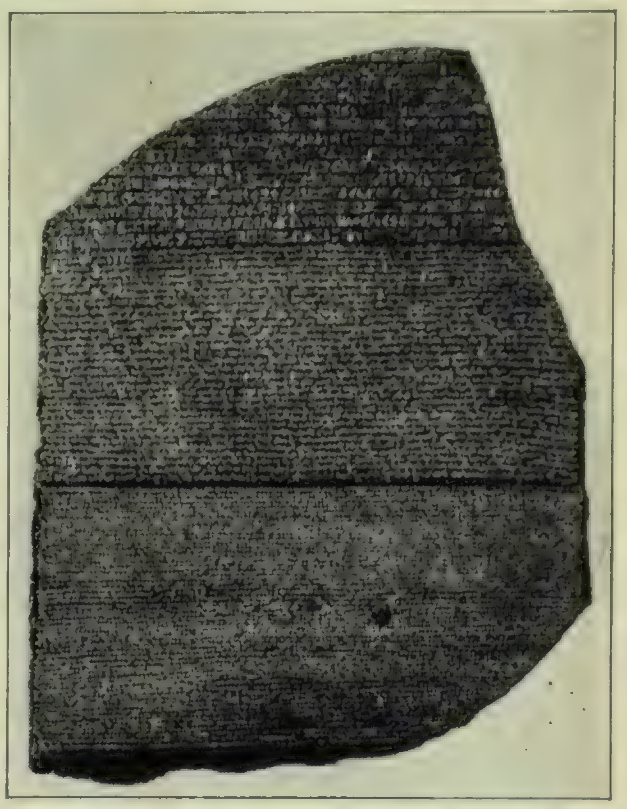
C. The Greeks. The next great civilization to influence our own was that of the Greeks, which reached its height in the fifth century B.C. The Greeks were never united under one government and their city-states had an independent existence for only a few hundred years, but so remarkable was the culture of the Greeks and so widely was it spread by their colonies and by the conquests of Alexander the Great that it has profoundly influenced our Western civilization. The Greeks have been the world's teachers in politics, in science and philosophy, in art and literature. In politics they were the first to set up the ideal of democracy; in science and philosophy they gave us the ideals of intellectual freedom, patient investigation, and sound reasoning; in art and literature they set standards of beauty and simplicity which have served as models for all later artists.

D. The Romans. The direct heirs of the Greeks were the Romans who dominated the civilized world from about 300 B.C. to 400 A.D. Starting as a small city-state, Rome gradually brought all of Italy under her control and continued her conquests until



she ruled an empire that stretched from Spain to Persia and from England to the African desert. Peace was maintained among all the different peoples who made up this far-flung empire, and they were unified by having a written language, a system of law, and many customs in common. Rome's great contributions to later times were her system of law, the idea of uniting all the world under one government, and a common language (Latin) to which every European language is indebted.

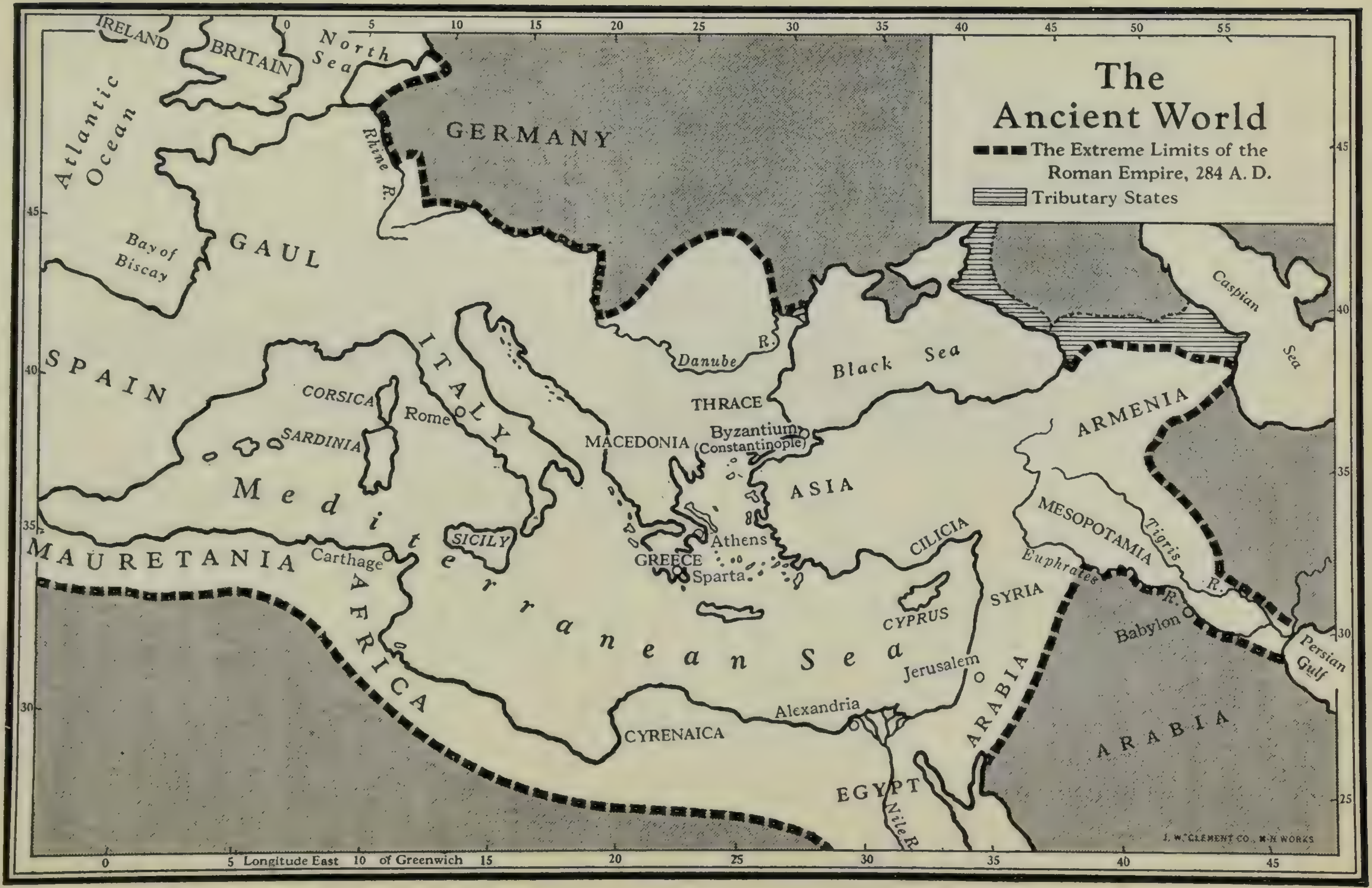
E. The fusion of Roman and barbarian. The Roman Empire, controlling almost the entire known world, bound together by commerce and a common language, producing great wealth, possessing a larger and better-equipped army than had ever before been known, to its own people seemed destined to last forever. As time went on, however, the Roman Empire became gradually weakened by corruption in the ruling class and poverty and discontent among the common people. As early as the first century A.D. large numbers of uncivilized peoples began to migrate into Roman territory from the north and east. The first of these "barbarians," as the Romans called them, adopted the Latin language and customs and became citizens of the empire. They continued to come in such large numbers, however, that the Romans could no longer absorb them. In the fifth century A.D. they overthrew the Roman govern-



Brown Bros.

THE ROSETTA STONE

The famous Rosetta Stone, which is now in the British Museum, London, was discovered by Napoleon's soldiers while digging a trench. The stone has inscriptions in Greek and in Egyptian hieroglyphics, and thus furnished the key by which the French scholar Champollion was able to decipher the ancient Egyptian language. Consult an encyclopedia for details of Champollion's work


The Ancient World
The Extreme Limits of the Roman Empire, 284 A. D.
Tributary States
IRELAND
BRITAIN
North Sea
Atlantic Ocean
Bay of Biscay
GAUL
Rhine R.
GERMANY
SPAIN
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
ITALY
SICILY
Mediterranean Sea
MAURETANIA
Carthage
AFRICA
CYRENAICA
Danube R.
THRACE
MACEDONIA
Byzantium (Constantinople)
GREECE
Athens
Sparta
Black Sea
ASIA
CILICIA
CYPRUS
SYRIA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
EGYPT
Nile R.
ARABIA
ARMENIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Babylon
Caspian Sea
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
Longitude East of Greenwich
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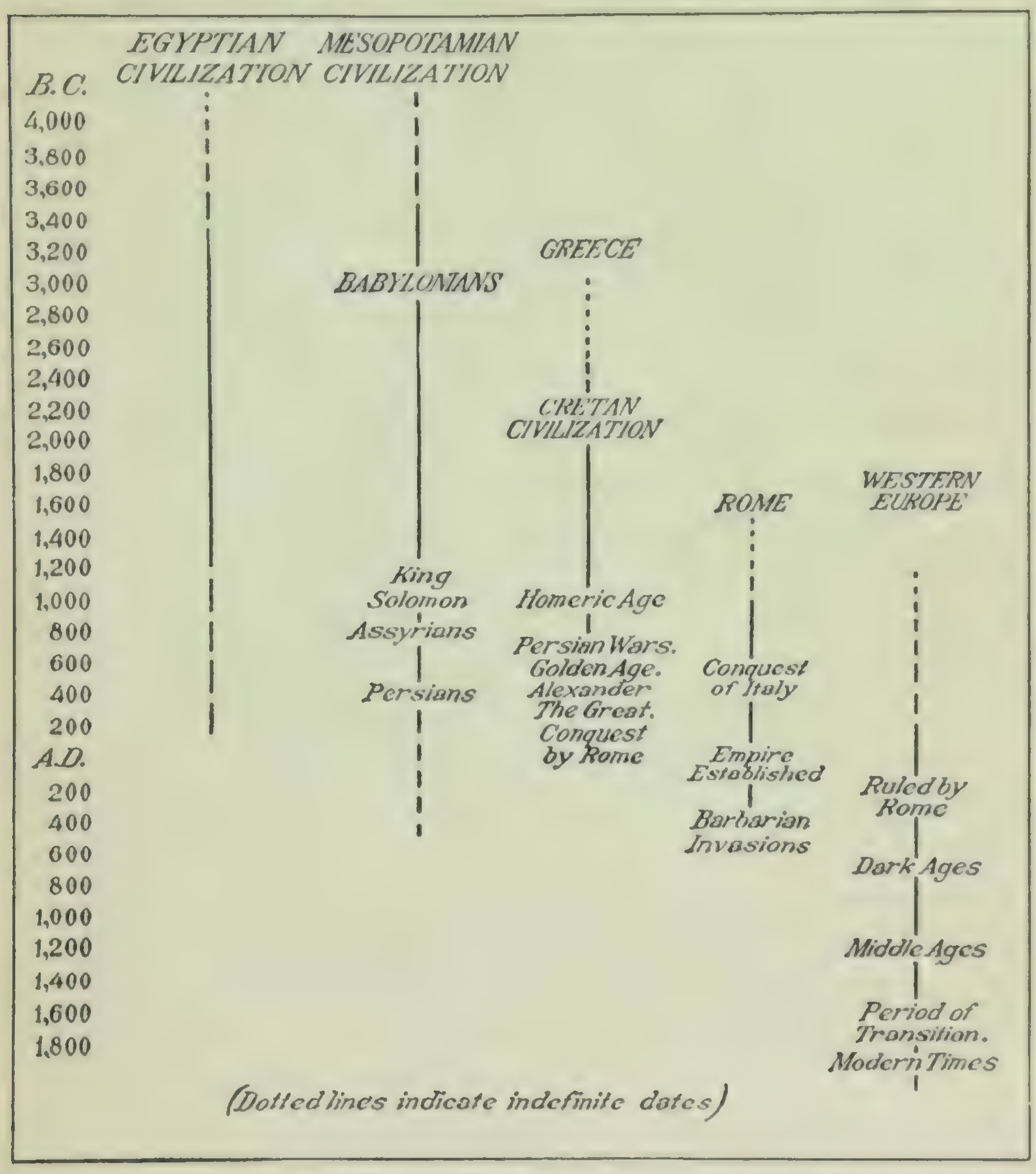
ment. For a time Roman civilization was in eclipse and Rome's great contributions to civilization threatened with extinction.



A Time Chart of Early Civilization

The period from the downfall of Rome to the beginnings of modern times is called the Middle Ages. The first part of this period, from about 400 to about 1000, was a period of confusion commonly known as the Dark Ages. War was almost continuous. New tribes of barbarians kept coming into western Europe, fighting those that they found there and fighting among themselves. Roads left unrepaired became impassable; regular communication between different sections stopped; trade died out almost entirely; cities were deserted; fine buildings crumbled. The one institution that maintained its organization and did much to keep civilization alive, giving it what unity and order it had, was the Christian church.

F. Medieval civilization. By the beginning of the tenth century the barbarian invasions, except for occasional raids on outlying sections, had ceased. Trade slowly revived and the traders brought in new ideas. Gradually a new civilization developed which we call medieval civilization, a result of the fusion of Roman and barbarian peoples. This medieval civilization, which lasted for about 400 years, influenced our civilization profoundly. About 1400 changes began which gradually transformed the Middle Ages into Modern Times. Trade steadily grew; new routes and new lands were found; new national states came into existence; the universal church was split into factions by the Protestant Revolt; interest in the art and literature of Greece and Rome revived; a development of science destined to be revolutionary in its effects gradually took place. By 1750 Europe had reached a stage of development which in some respects was similar to modern Europe but in others was more like medieval Europe. It is the task of the writers of modern history to trace the steps by which eighteenth-century Europe, the Europe of the Old Régime, was transformed into modern Europe. But first we must see what the Old Régime was like and how its institutions had developed from those of the Middle Ages.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

To the student: Many of these questions and many of those which will be found at the end of later chapters are not answered directly in the text. They require some thought and judgment on your part. Many of them have no "right answer," or at least there is no general agreement as to what the right answer is. The answer is a matter of your own opinion. It is important for you to form opinions of your own about everything that you read, but if your opinions are to be of value to yourself or anyone else they must be based on a knowledge of the available facts.

1. "That a knowledge of the past helps us to understand the present is as true of individuals as of nations." Give an illustration of this fact from your own life or the life of some acquaintance.

2. In what order would you grade the reliability of the following accounts of an international tennis match between an American and a French team? By a friend of one of the French players; by an American sports writer; by an English tennis expert; by a German scientist seeing his first tennis match. Have you enough information to be certain which account would be the most reliable? Which would you think was more accurate—an account of the score of the match or the reasons for the defeat of one team?

3. The period before written records is sometimes called the *prehistoric period.* What definition of history does this term imply?

4. If a history of man were written in 50 volumes of 1,000 pages each, devoting the same space to each year that man has been on earth, how many pages would be given to the period of history for which there are written records? How many to the period since the discovery of America? To the period since you were born?

5. It has been said that the Greeks were the most civilized people in all history. Explain.

6. Explain how the "economic system that enabled a few to live in great wealth while the vast majority lived in poverty" may have been a cause of Rome's downfall. (Consult different accounts of the "fall" of Rome before attempting to answer this question.)

7. "Rome's 'fall' was a gradual process, not a sudden happening." Explain.

8. Why is the period from about 500 A.D. to about 1500 called the *Middle* Ages?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Purpose and Scope of History
    ROBINSON, Vol. I, pp. 1-17
    ROBINSON, *The New History*

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. I, pp. 3-8
BARNES, *History and Social Intelligence,* pp. 1-28

Primitive Man

VAN LOON, Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4
WELLS, *The Outline of History,* Vol. I
CLODD, *The Story of Primitive Man*
OSBORN, *Men of the Old Stone Age*

Greece and Rome

VAN LOON, Chaps. 12-26
DAVIS, *A Day in Old Athens*
DAVIS, *A Day in Old Rome*
GUERBER, *Story of the Greeks*

Fusion of Roman and Barbarian

VAN LOON, Chaps. 29-30
ROBINSON, Vol. I, pp. 17-56
EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*
ADAMS, *Civilization During the Middle Ages*
THOMPSON, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages,* pp. 87-138

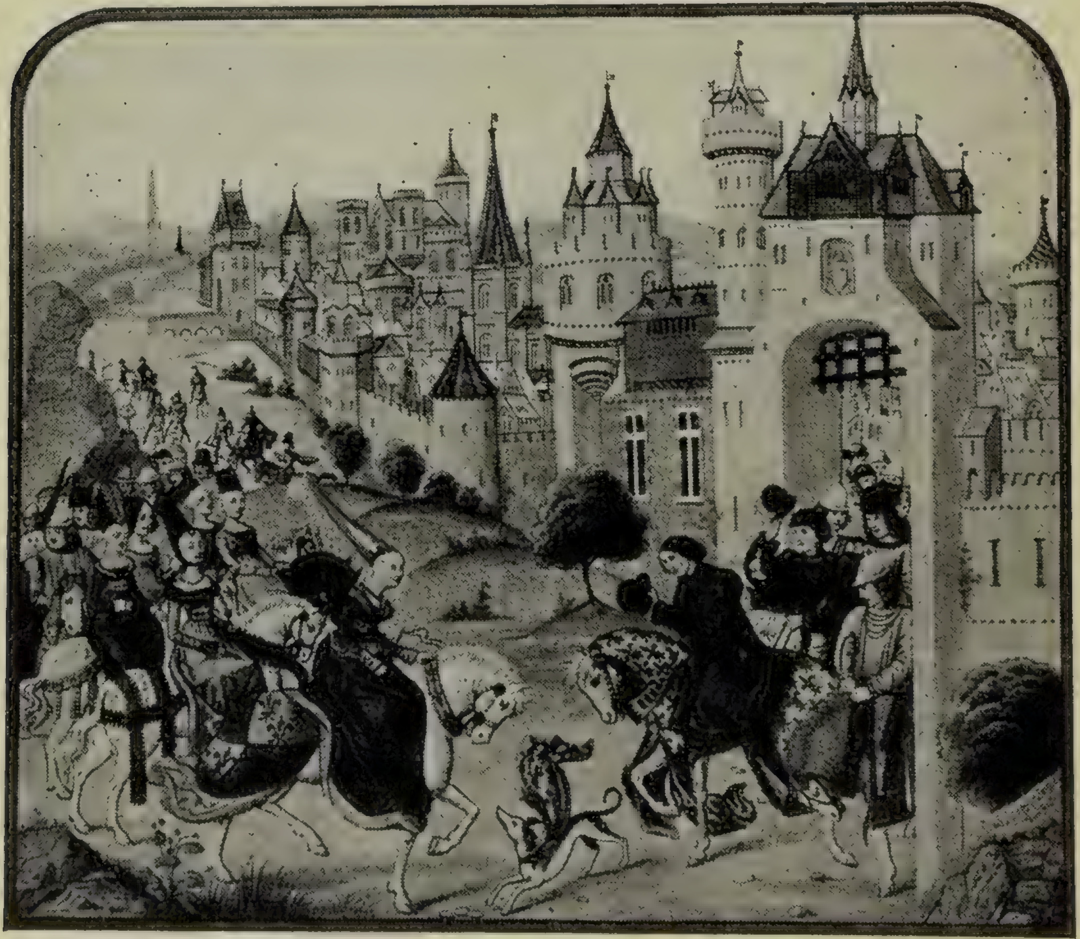
CHAPTER II

THE STATES OF EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR BACKGROUND

A STATE is an independent unit of government having supreme authority over all the inhabitants within its territory. The political map of Europe, that is, the map that shows the states into which Europe is divided, has undergone many changes since the break-up of the Roman Empire. The map of Europe in 1763 (page 24) shows many, although not all, of the states that exist today. These states were not created all at once by some law or decree but had a long and slow development. They owe much to the ideas of law and government inherited from the Romans; they owe even more to feudalism, the typical government of the Middle Ages.

I. FEUDALISM

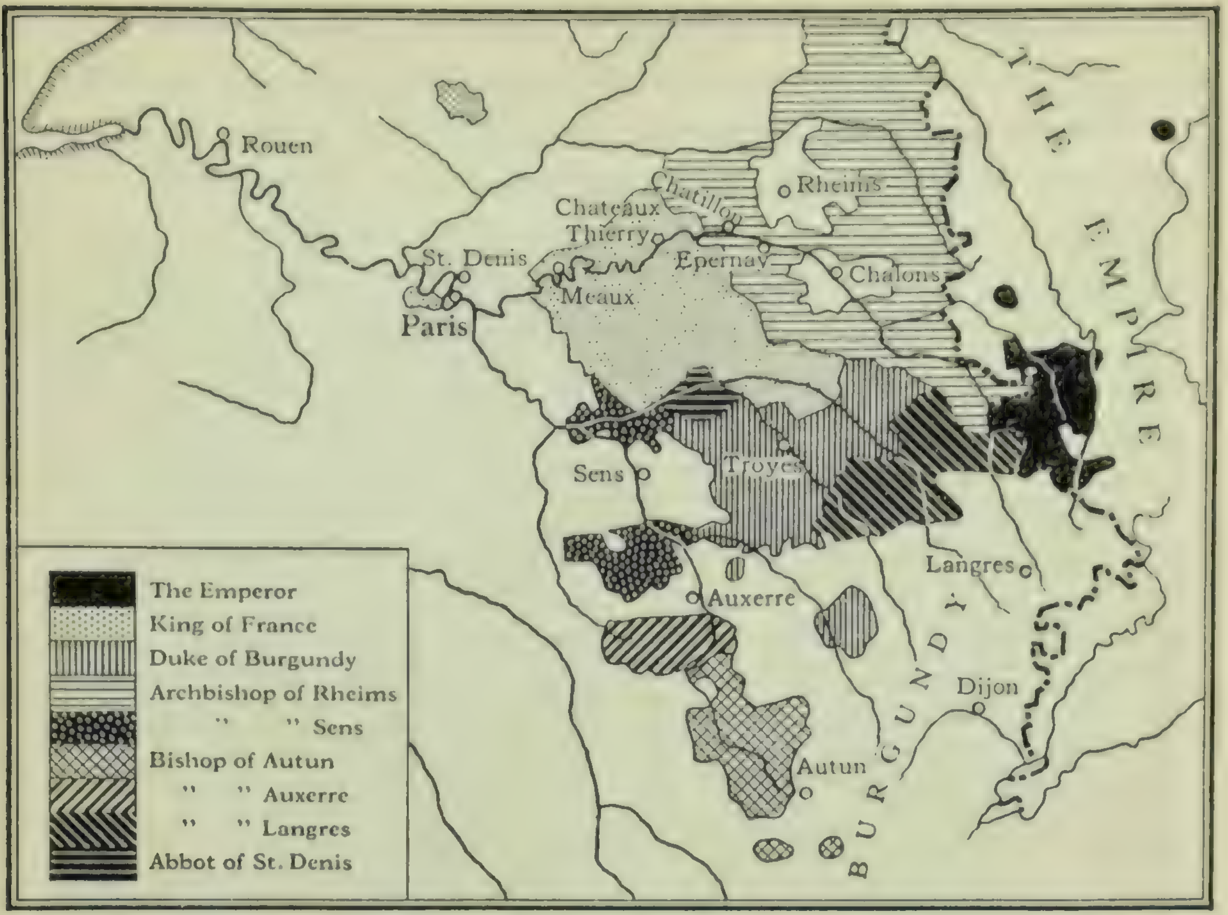
A. What was feudalism? Feudalism was a method of land holding as well as a type of government. The basic feature of feudalism was the fief, a parcel of land the use of which was granted by its owner, the lord, to a tenant, the vassal. In return for the fief the vassal swore to be loyal to the lord and to perform certain services for the lord. These services differed in different parts of Europe but they usually included fighting and furnishing soldiers in time of war, attending the lord's court to advise him and help settle disputes of fellow vassals, and paying fees on certain special occasions such as the wedding of the lord's daughter. Originally fiefs were granted for a definite term of years, but by the tenth century it had become customary for the oldest child of the vassal to inherit his father's fief. With the fief went not only the right to use the land but to govern it. The lord and his court, which was made up of the vassals who held land from the lord, were the real governing body of the fief, whether the lord was a knight holding a single manor of a few hundred acres or a baron holding vast realms as large as Belgium is today. Although the lords were supposed to be subject to the king, communication between different parts of a country was so difficult, due to poor roads, that the king's power did not usually amount to much. As a result, these local governments of barons, counts, and knights became the only governments of Europe that had real power.



From Froissart's "Chronicles." *Culver Service*

THE ENTRANCE OF QUEEN ISABEL OF BAVARIA INTO PARIS, 1389

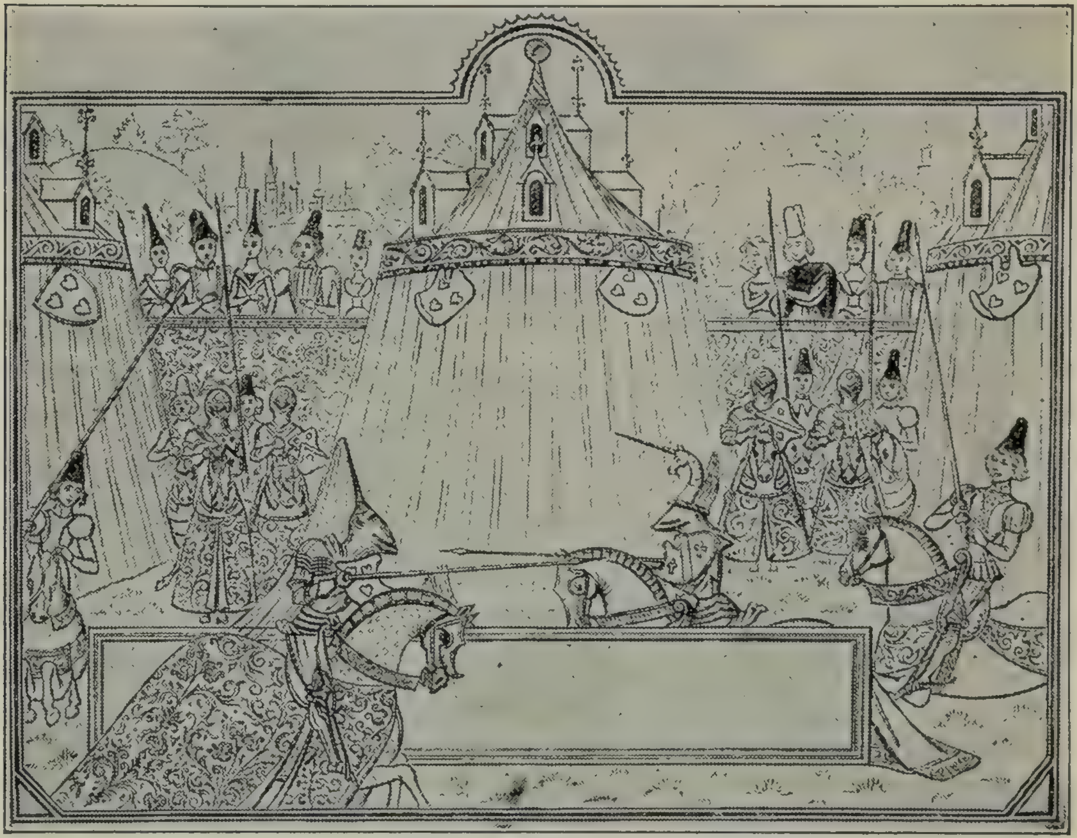
Most medieval towns had walls like these for protection against bands of robbers and feudal lords. Note the ditch or moat around the wall and the towers upon it from which the city's defenders might fight off invaders. Note also the elaborate costumes of the queen and her retinue.


Rouen
St. Denis
Paris
Chateaux Thierry
Chatillon
Meaux
Epernay
Rheims
Chalons
THE EMPIRE
Sens
Troyes
Langres
Auxerre
Dijon
Autun
BURGUNDY
The Emperor
King of France
Duke of Burgundy
Archbishop of Rheims
" " Sens
Bishop of Autun
" " Auxerre
" " Langres
Abbot of St. Denis

THE FIEFS OF THE COUNT OF CHAMPAGNE IN THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The nine different lords from whom the Count of Champagne held these various fiefs are indicated in the legend.

B. How did feudalism originate? Feudalism was not put into effect by any law or decree; it grew gradually and naturally out of the conditions that existed during the Dark Ages. The barbarian kings who replaced the Romans as rulers of western Europe never had well-organized governments. Their powers were few and never extended over all the territory they claimed to rule. Instead of trying to govern every part of their territories directly, they found it easier to turn over the control of large tracts to dukes or barons who were required to furnish troops and maintain order. While feudalism was thus growing from the top it was also growing from the bottom. Communities cut off from each other were constantly subject to attack by new hordes of invaders. They were forced to become economically self-sufficient and to make provision for their own protection. An independent holder of a small tract of land would often go to some powerful neighbor, give him title to his land, and receive the use of it back as a fief. In other words, the original holder of the land became a vassal in return for protection.



From a contemporary manuscript. Culver Service

THE FEAT OF ARMS AT ST. INGILBERT'S

Tournaments were popular during the Middle Ages, and are perhaps nowhere better described than in Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Notice the contrast in the costumes of the upper classes pictured throughout this chapter with those of the peasants and artisans in Chapter III.

C. How did feudalism work? The great lords usually regranted a large part of their fiefs to lesser lords who thus became the sub-vassals of the original grantor. Often this process of subdividing fiefs was repeated several times. Every lord—and the holding of sufficient land to enable one to live without menial work made the holder a lord—was the vassal of some other lord and often a lord to other lords. It was not, however, an orderly gradation of subvassals, vassals, and lords up to the king at the head. Because the fiefs were frequently broken up, regranted, conquered in war and sometimes united through marriage and inheritance, there was great confusion as to the ownership of land. The same person often held several widely separated fiefs and was therefore a vassal to several different lords. He might even be a vassal of one of his fellow vassals. Even kings were often vassals of kings of other countries: for example, the Norman kings of England were vassals of the king of France for Anjou, and the duchies of Normandy, Brittany, and Guienne. A further complicating factor was the church, whose vast possessions were tied up in the feudal system—bishops, and abbots granting and receiving fiefs and acting as lords and vassals.

The chief purpose of this complex organization was to furnish soldiers to fight, for fighting was the main occupation and pastime of the nobles of the Middle Ages. Each fief had its quota of soldiers proportionate to its size, from the manor which supported a single knight, to the great duchies furnishing hundreds of equipped men. It is true that each lord held a court, which his vassals were required to attend, and in which all disputes between vassals were supposed to be settled. But the lord was often unable to force the vassals to accept the decisions of the court without the use of military force. Vassals were continually revolting—heirs refusing to do homage for their fiefs, ambitious nobles, anxious to increase their domains, attacking other lords—and war was the only solution. When not actually at war, the nobility played at war in jousts and tournaments in which knights single-handed or in companies displayed their prowess for the entertainment of the ladies.

D. What was chivalry? The life of the feudal nobility, with its wars and its tournaments, its lovemaking and its crusades, is called chivalry. Most of the nobles were knights. Knighthood was an honor conferred with religious ceremonies by an elder knight when the youth of noble birth was old enough to bear arms—or occasionally conferred upon a man of lowly birth for some especially brave deed. The knight was a Christian soldier for whose conduct an elaborate code of rules had gradually developed. Foremost among the duties of a knight were loyalty to his lord, faithfulness to his lady, courage, kindness to the weak, and hatred of infidels.

In the later days of chivalry the rules of knighthood dealt largely with polite social usage, especially with the proper conduct toward ladies. Our word "chivalrous" as well as many of our ideas of politeness originated in this period. Most of the non-religious literature of the Middle Ages dealt with the valorous deeds of more or less legendary knights. Although they had little effect on the lives of the great mass of people below the ranks of the nobles, the rules of chivalry did much to humanize the relations of nobles with each other in a rough and cruel age.

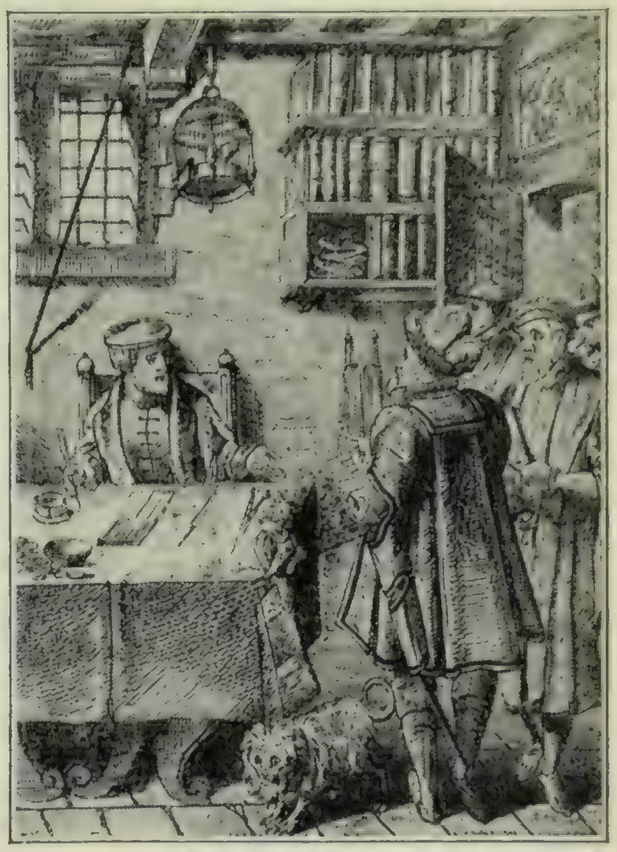
II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL STATES

A. What is a national state? There have been various types of states in history. The Greeks developed the city-state, a city with its surrounding territory having its own independent government. Rome started as a city-state but grew into an empire, a large number of different peoples governed by one central authority. In the feudal states of the Middle Ages the real power was in the hands of local governments. The states which developed out of feudalism, many of which still exist, are called national states, because each one includes an entire nation, that is, a people having similar ideas and customs, usually a common language, usually a belief that they are of one race, and, above all, a feeling that they are one people different from other peoples.

B. How did national states develop from feudalism? Feudalism was based on the idea of personal loyalty to the immediate lord. There was no feeling of loyalty to the king; for most people the king was almost a legendary figure. The people of France thought of themselves as Angevins, Gascons, or Burgundians, not as Frenchmen. The people of England thought of themselves as West Saxons, Kentishmen, or Northumbrians, not as Englishmen. To develop a national state this loyalty to the local lord had to be transformed into loyalty to the king. The building of a national state began when in any region a man of ability and energy got the title of king and started on the long task of making himself supreme over the feudal lords.

The story of the development of national states is a long record of wars—wars between king and nobles, wars between neighboring kings for territory on their borders. The development started at different times in different countries but it has been going on in Europe from the tenth century to the present. It began early in France and England. In France it may be said to have started when the Capetian line of kings got the title in the tenth century; in England when that country was conquered by William of Normandy in the eleventh century. It did not start in Italy and Germany till modern times.

Since the building of a national state is a matter of the slow growth of an idea rather than the result of a law or decree, it is impossible to fix any definite date when England and France became national states. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, each of these countries was fairly well unified. Each was bound together by loyalty to its king. As we shall see later (page 363) the citizens of modern national states have an intense feeling of pride in their state and loyalty to it. This feeling is called nationalism. Modern nationalism, however, is largely a product of the French Revolution of 1789. Before that time nationalism was merely the feeling of personal loyalty which people had for their rulers.



From a fifteenth-century wood engraving. Culver Service

A TAX COLLECTOR OF THE MIDDLE AGES

C. What factors aided in the growth of national states? We shall not try to tell the story of the centuries-long struggle of the kings for supremacy over the feudal lords but we may note some of the factors that aided the kings in this struggle. One of the most important was the growth of trade. Trade led to improvements in roads and brought the people of a country into closer relations with each other. Trade increased the wealth of the king because the merchants and traders were willing to pay him taxes in return for protection in their trading, a protection which he could give over a wider area than could any nobleman. The increased wealth of the king enabled him to make use of mercenary armies and the newly invented gunpowder to overthrow his feudal rivals.

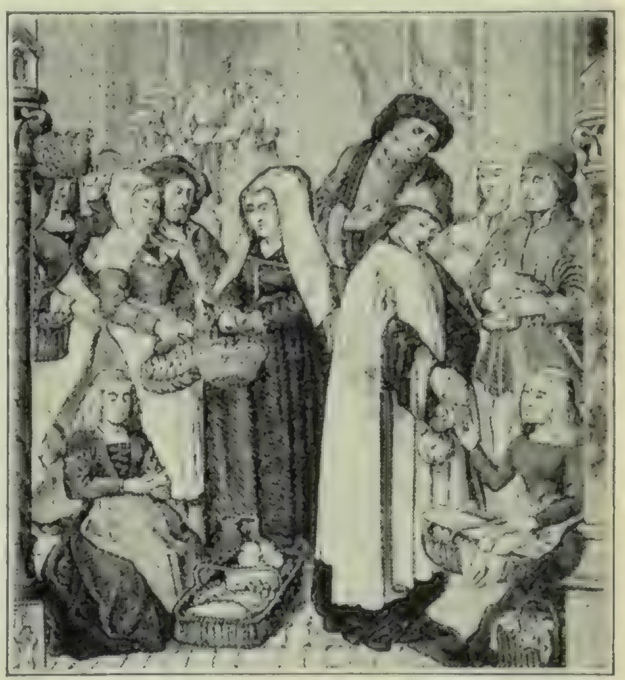
The development of national languages and literatures greatly helped the people of a country to feel that they were one. Until the thirteenth century, Latin was the only written language in Europe. It was the international language which all educated people spoke as well as wrote. The common people spoke local dialects or "vernaculars"—mixtures of Latin, the language of the original natives of the district, and of the tribes which had conquered it. By 1400 most learned works were still written in Latin but the vernaculars—French, Italian, German, English, and many others—were being used by many writers.

III. THE STATES OF EUROPE IN 1763

A. National states. By the middle of the eighteenth century national states covered a large part of Europe but there were still feudal states. The map on page 24 shows the states in 1763. In the west, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland all had well-organized national governments. In the north were Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the king of Denmark being also ruler of Norway.

Far to the east lay Russia, the largest state of Europe, still more of a feudal empire than a national state. The conquest of the Slavic peoples of Russia by the Mongols had made Russia more of an Asiatic than a European state, and so she remained until the time of Peter the Great, who ruled from 1672 to 1725. Peter used his despotic power to change Russia into a Western country. He brought western Europeans to Russia to teach their Western ideas and methods and sent Russians to western Europe to study. To give his country an outlet to the west he conquered the Baltic provinces from Sweden and founded St. Petersburg (now called Leningrad). In spite of Peter's efforts Russia remained a backward country, but played an increasingly important part in European affairs from his time on.

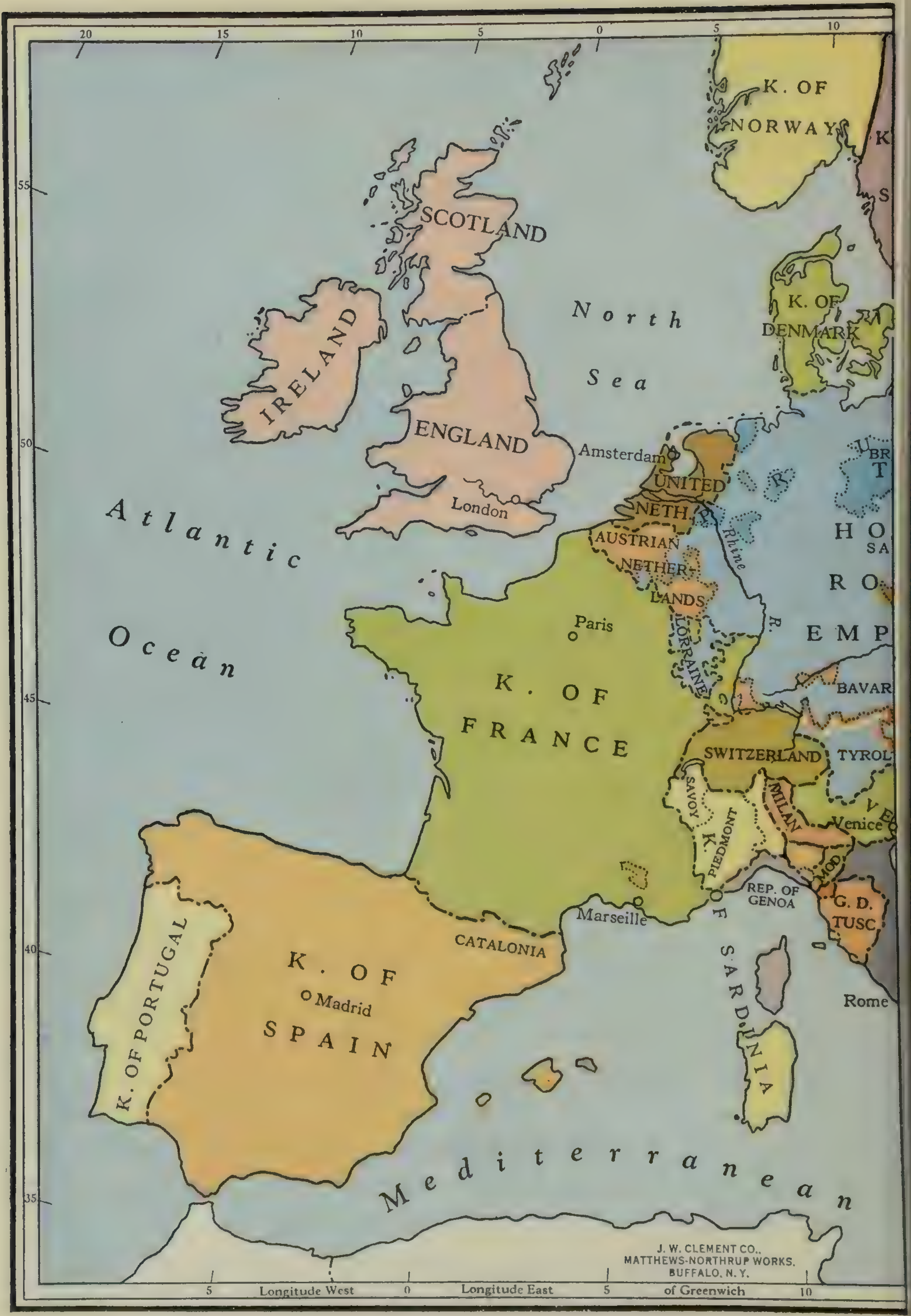
West of Russia was Poland, the second largest state in Europe. Poland could hardly be called a national state for her king had little actual control over the feudal lords; furthermore, her population contained many Germans and Lithuanians as well as Poles. These weaknesses, added to the fact that she had no easily defended boundaries, made her a tempting prey to her unscrupulous neighbors. By the three partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793, and 1795, Russia, Prussia, and Austria divided all of her territory among themselves. A strong feeling of nationality remained among the Poles, but Poland ceased to exist as an independent state until it was reëstablished at the close of the World War in 1919.

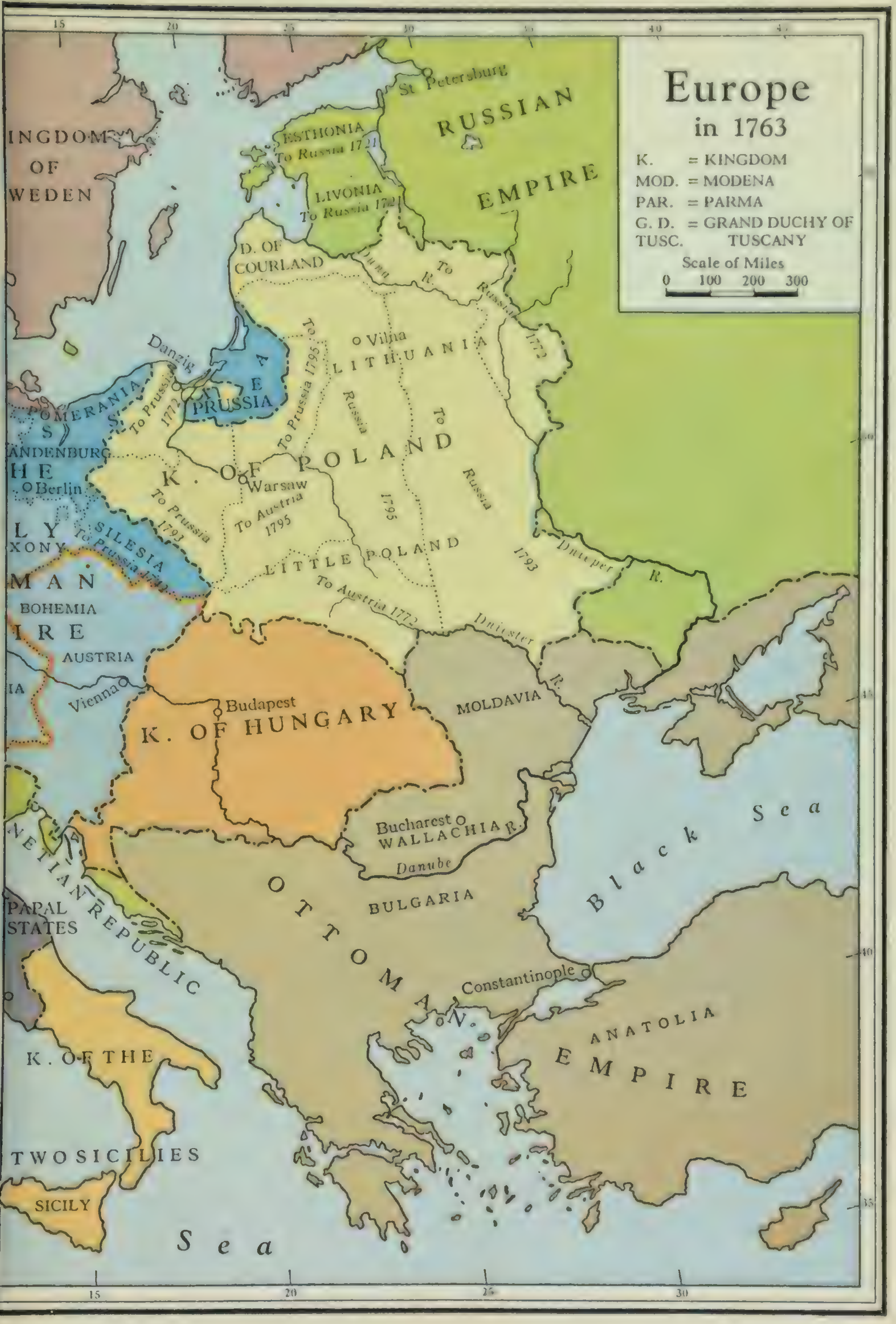


From a fifteenth-century cathedral window. Culver Service

COLLECTING THE MARKET TAX

B. The Holy Roman Empire. In central Europe instead of a unified Germany we find some three hundred states of all sizes and types—principalities, bishoprics, duchies, free city-states, and tiny territories ruled by knights. These states were loosely bound together in the Holy Roman Empire, a survival of the idea of a universal empire inherited from the Romans. Charlemagne, king of the Franks and the most powerful ruler of the early Middle Ages, having extended his dominion to include what is now France, Germany, and Belgium, was crowned "Emperor of the Romans" by the pope


K. OF NORWAY
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
North Sea
K. OF DENMARK
Amsterdam
UNITED NETH.
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
Rhine R.
Atlantic Ocean
Paris
K. OF FRANCE
LORRAINE
HO RO EMP
BAVAR
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
SAVOY
K. PIEDMONT
MILAN
Venice
MOD
REP. OF GENOA
G. D. TUSC
Marseille
K. OF SARDINIA
Rome
CATALONIA
K. OF PORTUGAL
K. OF SPAIN
Madrid
Mediterranean
J. W. CLEMENT CO., MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS. BUFFALO, N. Y.
Longitude West
Longitude East of Greenwich
20
15
10
5
0
5
10
55
50
45
40
35


Europe
in 1763
K. = KINGDOM
MOD. = MODENA
PAR. = PARMA
G. D. = GRAND DUCHY OF
TUSC. TUSCANY
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
St. Petersburg
RUSSIAN
EMPIRE
INGDOM
OF
WEDEN
ESTHONIA
To Russia 1721
LIVONIA
To Russia 1721
D. OF
COURLAND
Dvina R.
To Russia 1772
Danzig
To Prussia 1772
E. PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
ANDENBURG
Berlin
To Prussia 1795
Vilna
LITHUANIA
To Russia
K. OF POLAND
Warsaw
To Austria 1795
To Prussia 1793
1795
To Russia
1793
SILESIA
To Prussia 1742
XONY
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
LITTLE POLAND
To Austria 1772
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Vienna
Budapest
K. OF HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
Bucharest
WALLACHIA
Danube R.
BULGARIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Black Sea
Constantinople
ANATOLIA
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
PAPAL
STATES
K. OF THE
TWO SICILIES
SICILY
Sea
45
40
35

in 800. This attempt to reëstablish the Roman Empire failed, but in 962 Otto the Great, an ambitious German king, revived the idea and had himself crowned "Holy Roman Emperor."

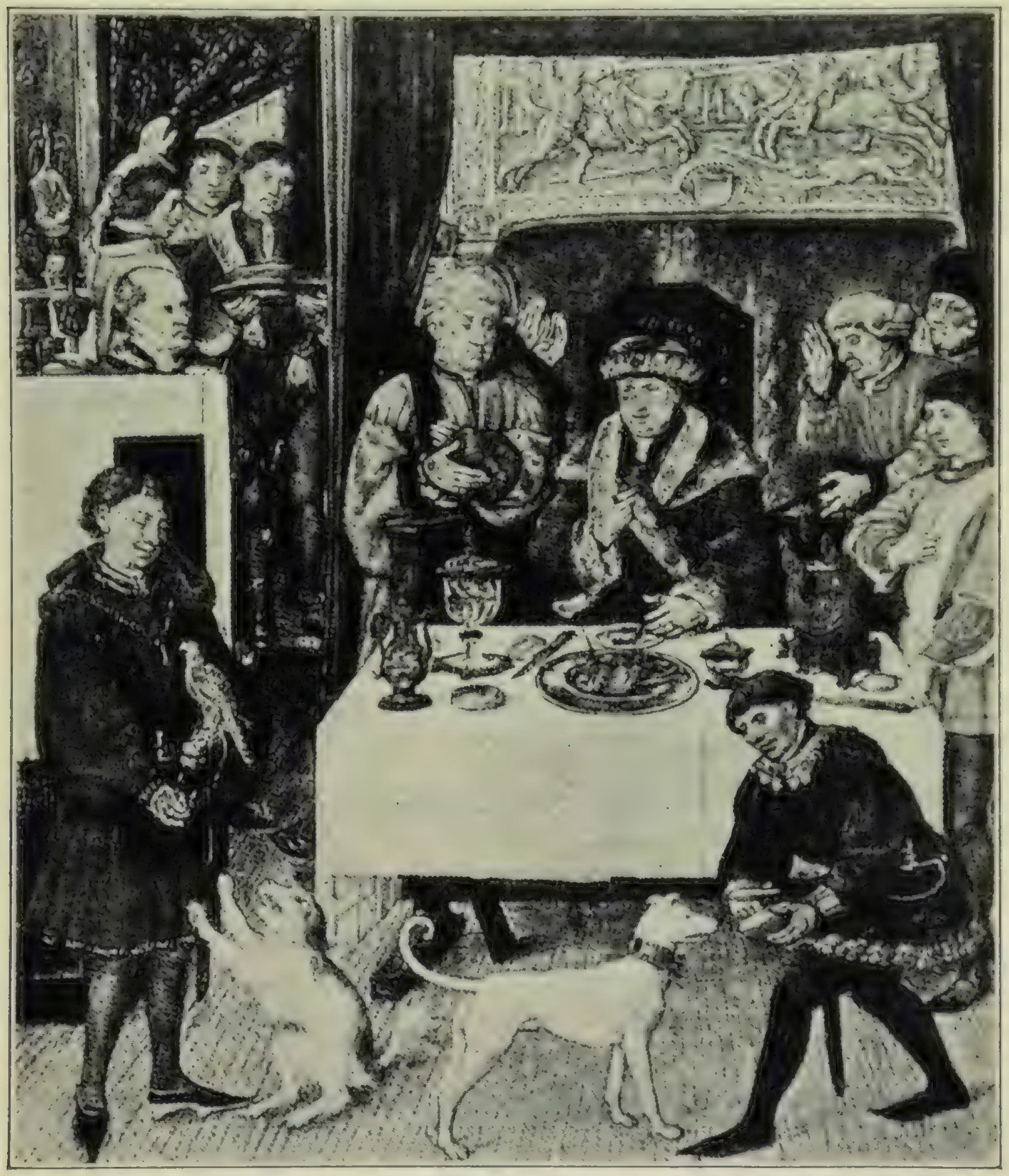
For several centuries Otto's successors tried to rule both Italy and Germany but finally gave up the attempt, and after 1500 the Empire consisted of the German states only. The two most powerful states of the Empire were Austria and Prussia. At first the emperor was elected by some of the more powerful rulers called electors, but after the fifteenth century the title was practically hereditary in the Hapsburg family which ruled Austria. During the seventeenth century Prussia rose to prominence under her Hohenzollern rulers. One of these, Frederick the Great, who ruled from 1740 to 1786, made Prussia one of the leading states of Europe. As may be seen from the map, East Prussia was separated from the rest of Prussia by a strip of Polish territory, which partly explains Frederick's desire to partition Poland.

Although the Holy Roman Empire remained in existence until 1806, few of the emperors had any real power over their wide dominions. The real rulers were the heads of the various states who raised their own armies and did about as they pleased. In the words of Voltaire, the Empire was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire.

C. Feudal states in Italy. Italy, like Germany, was a collection of small states, and had long been a battleground for the ambitious kings of France, Spain, and Austria. The rulers of many of the Italian states were related to and more or less under the influence of the rulers of foreign countries, especially Austria. The principal states were the Kingdom of Naples or The Two Sicilies in the south, the Papal States and Tuscany in the center, and the Kingdom of Sardinia and the waning republics of Venice and Genoa in the north.

D. The Turkish Empire. All of southeastern Europe was included in the empire of the Ottoman Turks, who were Moslems or Mohammedans. Since Mohammedans have had a considerable influence on Europe we shall outline briefly their history.

Mohammed, who founded his religion at the Arabian city of Mecca early in the seventeenth century, taught that it was the duty of his followers to spread his doctrines all over the world, by peaceful means if possible but by use of the sword if necessary. Before his death he had won complete control of Arabia. After his death his



From a contemporary miniature in St. Mark's Library, Venice. Culver Service

THE ENTERTAINMENT OF A GUEST IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Evidence of the wealth which the commercial revolution produced in the later Middle Ages is found in pictures of the life of the day. Until then table linen was seldom used. Note also the table ware, the rich tapestries, and the garments of the guest, which were probably of velvet and fur. The jester in the foreground is another indication of the host's status.

followers continued their conquests until they had spread the Mohammedan religion and Arab rule from northern India through Turkestan, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, northern Africa, and Spain to the boundaries of France. In their conquests the Arabs came into contact with various cultures which they absorbed and molded into a civilization that, throughout the Middle Ages, was superior in many ways to any that existed in Europe.

With the growth of power the Caliphs, as Mohammed's successors are called, became worldly and corrupt until they gradually lost their hold over the vast empire that they had acquired. In the eleventh century a semibarbarous tribe from the east, the Seljuk Turks, came into Asia Minor and soon conquered most of the Moslem lands. Two centuries later these in turn were conquered by a related tribe, the Ottoman Turks, who founded the Turkish Empire of modern times. About the middle of the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks crossed the Dardanelles to Europe, overran the Balkan peninsula and Hungary, and for centuries made periodic raids on the borders of Austria and Poland. In 1453 the capture of Constantinople gave them practical control of the eastern Mediterranean. After 1700 their power began to dwindle, but at the middle of the century they still controlled the Balkan Peninsula and the lands bordering on the Black Sea in Europe in addition to their large empire in Asia and northern Africa.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why is New York state not a "state" in the sense that France and the United States are states?
2. "Under the circumstances of the time, feudalism was the best form of government possible." Explain.
3. What have modern states inherited from feudalism?
4. Why did trade which brought people of different parts of the world into contact with each other develop national unity rather than world unity?
5. Would the rules of chivalry make a satisfactory social code for modern times? Why?

6. After the Spanish Revolution of 1931 there was a movement for the establishment of a separate Republic of Catalonia. In 1932 this movement achieved partial success when the Spanish Republic gave special political rights to the people of Catalonia. What explanation for this movement can you find in this chapter?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Feudalism

- Robinson, Vol. I, pp. 124-140
- Van Loon, Chaps. 30, 31, 32, 33
- Thompson, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages,* pp. 699-726
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. VI, pp. 203-221

The Development of National States

- Hayes, Vol. I, Chaps. XI and XII
- Robinson, Vol. I; Vol. II, pp. 1-68
- Van Loon, Chaps. 35, 36, 47, 48, 49, 50
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 23-47

CHAPTER III

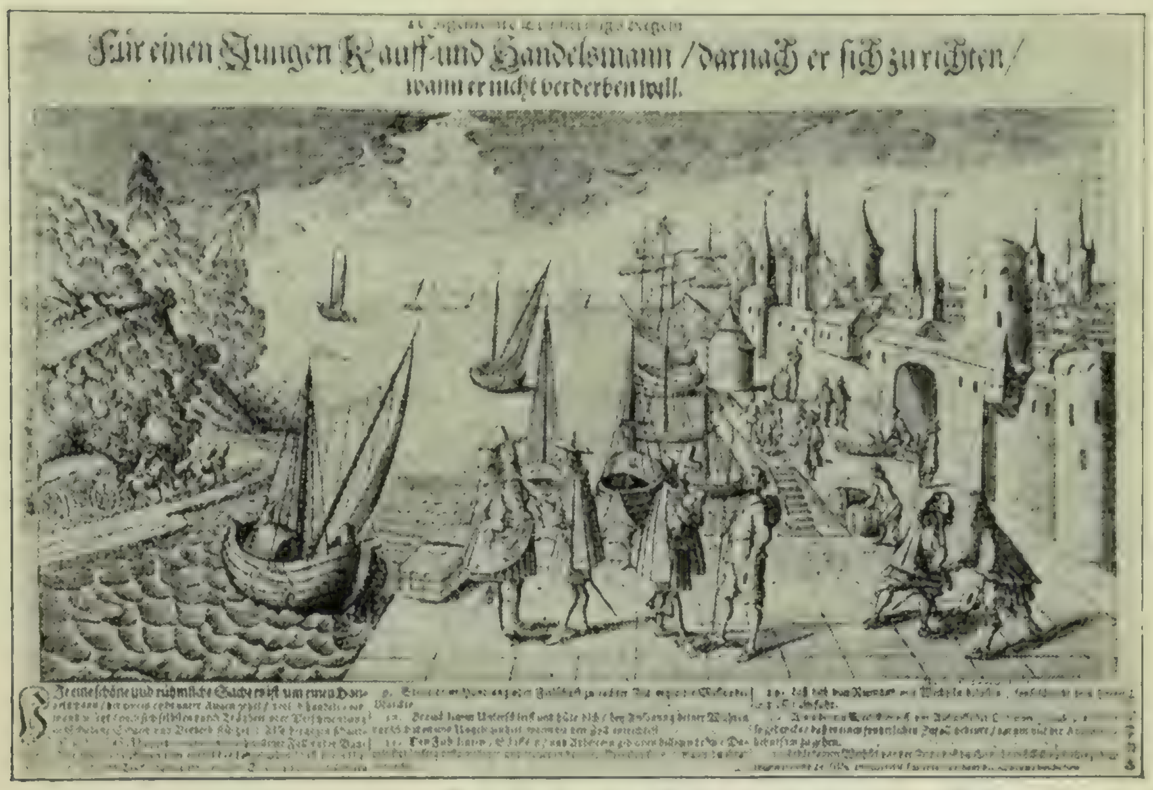
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND THEIR BACKGROUND

I. Trade

One thousand years ago each little community produced everything that it used; there was practically no trade. Today we could hardly find such a self-sufficing community in Europe. Each group of people obtains most of the things it needs by exchanging the goods it produces for those produced by other groups. Many people make their living by carrying on this exchange. In the eighteenth century in some parts of Europe there was little trade. Economic conditions were practically the same as they had been for centuries. In other parts, notably in England, France, and Holland, there was a considerable amount of trade although not nearly so much as there is today. Since in these centuries trade had brought about many changes in the life of the people, and since its continued growth was to bring about even more important changes, we shall need to trace briefly the main steps in its development.

A. Decline of trade in the Dark Ages. Trade had been an important factor in holding together the diverse and widely separated peoples that made up the Roman Empire. The coming of the barbarians was accompanied by failure to maintain the roads, lack of money, lack of demand for luxuries, robbers on land and pirates on the sea, so that all but local trade gradually slackened and finally died out almost entirely.

B. Revival of trade with the East. As Europe settled down after the barbarian invasions, trade gradually began to revive. The first foreign trade was with the East—the Far East, China, and India; the Near East, Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia. Throughout the period of the Dark Ages in western Europe, China and India had maintained flourishing civilizations. Both were able to furnish a great variety of products which the West, once it learned about them, was anxious to get. The Near East at this time was controlled by the Mohammedan Arabs.


Für einen Jungen Kauff- und Handelsmann / darnach er ſich zu richten / wann er nicht verderben will.

From a contemporary manuscript. Culver Service

AN ILLUSTRATED BROADSIDE GIVING ADVICE TO MERCHANTS

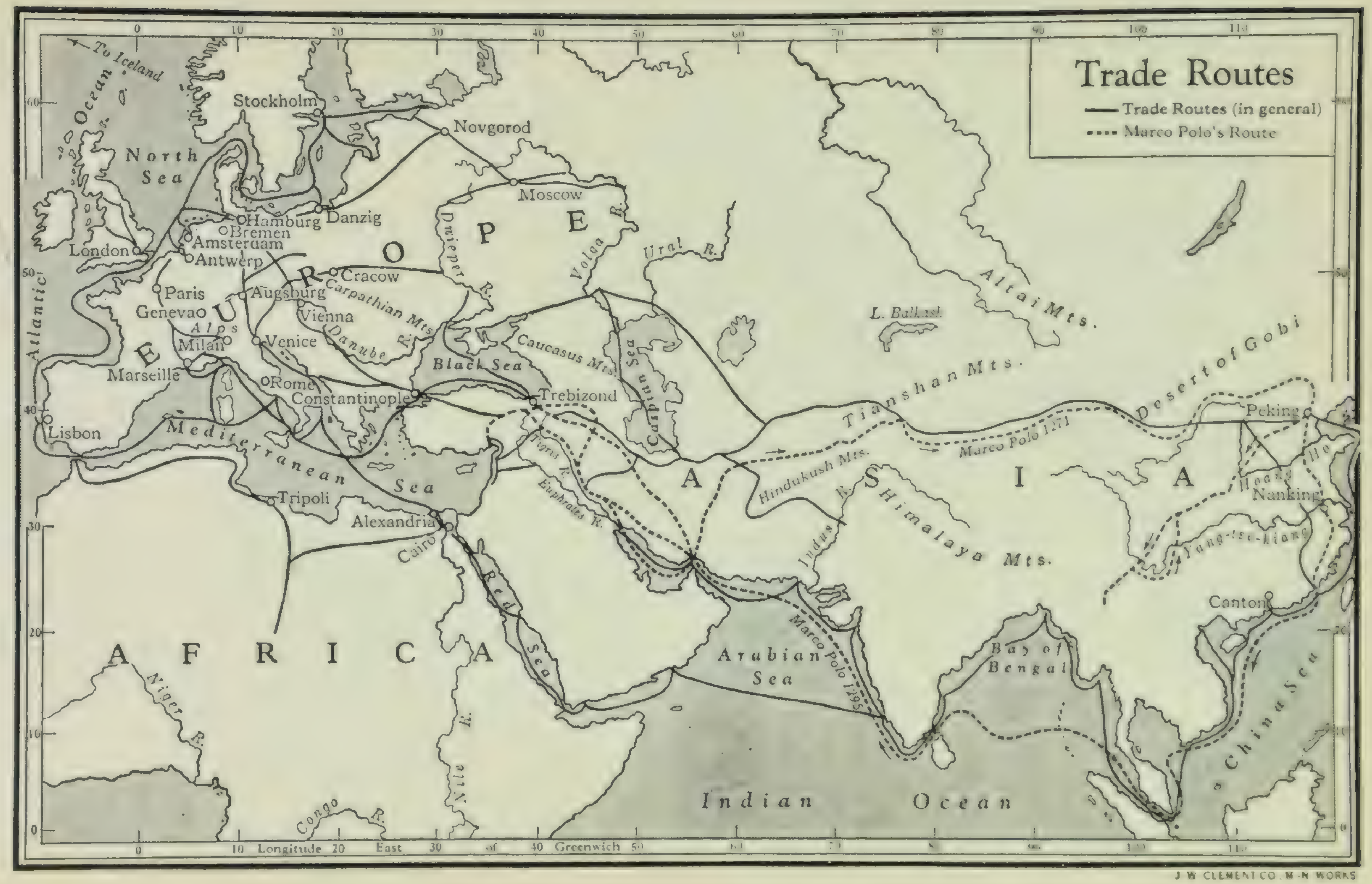
The caption reads, "Good rules for a young merchant to follow if he does not want to go to ruin." Beneath the picture of a thriving walled sea port is a long list of rules, two of which are shown, "Let no one pay you with notes, otherwise your credit will be in great danger." "Pay your note before it is due, that you may not have to make additional payments."

1. TRADE MONOPOLIZED BY THE ITALIAN CITY-STATES. Some of the Italian cities had kept trade alive with the rest of the Mediterranean world all through the Dark Ages and, in the tenth century, were carrying on a considerable commerce with the East. These Italian cities were city-states; that is, each city with its surrounding territory was completely independent. Venice and Genoa sent out great fleets of merchant vessels with war galleys to protect them from pirates. Venice had ambassadors in most of the important cities of Europe and eastern Asia and made treaties and carried on

wars as a nation does today. Until the close of the fifteenth century the Eastern trade was controlled by these cities and as the trade expanded the Italian merchants grew rich, making their cities the centers of civilization in the Western world.

2. Trade routes. Merchants from the Italian cities carried Western goods to the eastern Mediterranean or up into the Black Sea, where they met Mohammedan merchants with goods brought by boat or caravan from China, India, and the Spice Islands. From northern Italy the goods were sent over the Alps by pack horses, or by way of the Rhône and Rhine rivers in boats to northern Europe. Cities of the Netherlands and northern Germany were the distributing points for goods in the north. Antwerp, Hamburg, Bremen, and other cities became prosperous through this trade. Besides carrying on an extensive trade with the Italian cities in Eastern and Italian goods, at first by land routes but later by sea, the German cities carried Russian and Scandinavian lumber, tar, wax, fish, and furs to England and France, bringing back in exchange grains, woolens, wines, and beer.

3. Commodities exchanged. Among the products of the East which Europe did not produce were cane sugar, precious stones, alum, pepper, and other spices. Besides these raw materials there were many sorts of manufactured goods available in the East which the West only slowly learned to imitate—rugs, tapestries, fine linens and cottons, silks, satins, steel weapons and armor, glasses, porcelains, pottery, and "chinaware." Another important product that should be mentioned here is paper. While its manufacture in Europe developed early, it first came from the East, probably by way of the Arabs from China. Before the introduction of paper all books had to be written on parchment, animal skins prepared by a slow and costly process. Paper no less than printing made possible a revival of interest in books and the spread of education. In exchange for Eastern products the West sent leathers, wool and woolens, tin, copper, lead, and coral. Since the East had so many goods of greater variety and value there was nearly always a balance to be paid by the West in money, and these payments gradually exhausted Europe's supply of gold and silver.

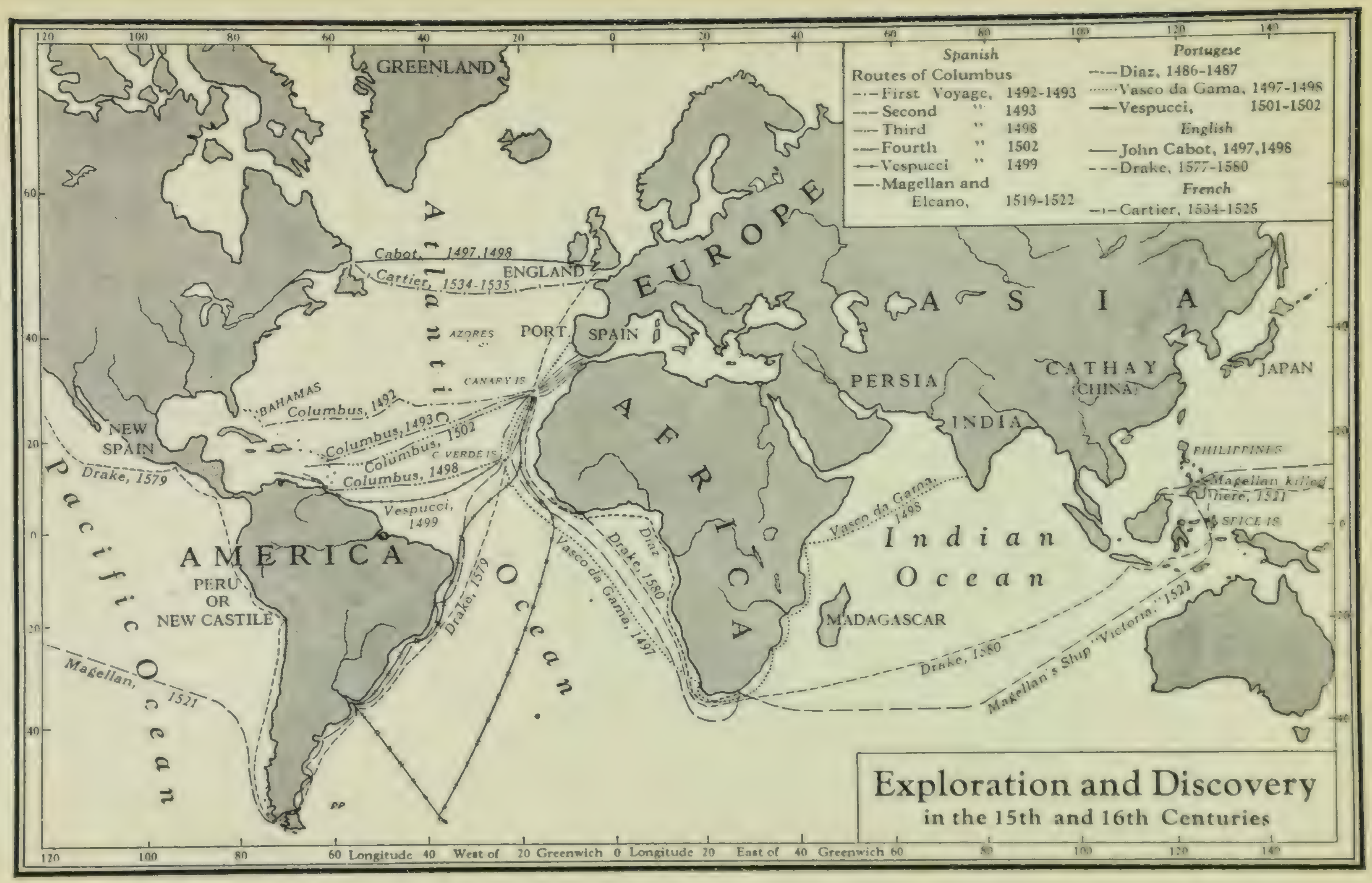

Trade Routes
Trade Routes (in general)
Marco Polo's Route
To Iceland
Ocean
Atlantic
North Sea
Stockholm
Novgorod
Moscow
London
Hamburg
Bremen
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Danzig
Paris
Geneva
Alps
Milan
Marseille
Lisbon
Augsburg
Vienna
Venice
Rome
Cracow
Carpathian Mts.
Danube R.
Dnieper R.
Volga R.
Ural R.
EUROPE
Black Sea
Constantinople
Trebizond
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Tripoli
Alexandria
Cairo
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Red Sea
Nile R.
Niger R.
Congo R.
AFRICA
Arabian Sea
Indian Ocean
Bay of Bengal
China Sea
Marco Polo 1295
Marco Polo 1271
Indus R.
Hindukush Mts.
Himalaya Mts.
Tianshan Mts.
Altai Mts.
L. Balkash
Desert of Gobi
ASIA
Peking
Hoang Ho
Nanking
Yang-tse-kiang
Canton
Longitude East of Greenwich

J. W. CLEMENT CO. M-N WORKS

C. The commercial revolution. 1. THE SEARCH FOR AN ALL-WATER ROUTE TO THE EAST. For a number of reasons great interest in the question of whether it would not be possible to find an all-water route to the East grew up in the latter part of the fifteenth century. In the first place, the long caravan journey across the deserts of Asia made the transportation of goods extremely expensive. Then the desire of Europeans to eliminate the Moslem middlemen by getting in direct contact with the source of supply was in itself a sufficient stimulus to cause a search for new routes. A third reason for interest in a new route came from the people of other nations, particularly Spain and Portugal, who wished to share in the increasing Eastern trade but were unable to do so because of the monopoly jealously held by the Italian city-states over all of the routes that had been established. Added to these reasons and giving them greater force was the growing knowledge of geography.

Although the common people of the fifteenth century had the most fantastic ideas in regard to the nature and shape of the earth, these ideas were not held by educated people. The belief which Columbus acted upon, that the earth was a sphere and that one might reach the east by sailing toward the west, had been held by Aristotle in the fourth century before Christ. Ptolemy, the great geographer of Alexandria of the second century A.D., taught that the earth was round, and the idea had been preserved by the Mohammedans. In the fifteenth century several new editions of Ptolemy's geography appeared, so that the idea that the earth was round was accepted by geographers and the educated classes generally.

In addition to the increased geographical knowledge, several practical inventions made it easier for fifteenth-century navigators to make long ocean voyages far from land. Sailing vessels of larger tonnage and more seaworthy than the oar-driven galleys of the Mediterranean were being built. The compass had been used by the Italian sailors in the thirteenth century. This, with the astrolabe, a device for finding latitude, enabled sailors to hold their course and know their position even when they could not see land. In spite of all these inventions, it took bold spirits to start out to prove the contentions of the geographers that the earth was round.



Exploration and Discovery
in the 15th and 16th Centuries

Spanish
Routes of Columbus
First Voyage, 1492-1493
Second " 1493
Third " 1498
Fourth " 1502
Vespucci " 1499
Magellan and Elcano, 1519-1522
Portugese
Diaz, 1486-1487
Vasco da Gama, 1497-1498
Vespucci, 1501-1502
English
John Cabot, 1497,1498
Drake, 1577-1580
French
Cartier, 1534-1525
GREENLAND
Atlantic Ocean
Cabot, 1497,1498
Cartier, 1534-1535
ENGLAND
EUROPE
ASIA
AZORES
PORT.
SPAIN
CANARY IS.
BAHAMAS
Columbus, 1492
Columbus, 1493
Columbus, 1502
C. VERDE IS.
Columbus, 1498
NEW SPAIN
Drake, 1579
Vespucci, 1499
AMERICA
PERU OR NEW CASTILE
Pacific Ocean
Magellan, 1521
Drake, 1579
AFRICA
Diaz
Drake, 1580
Vasco da Gama, 1497
PERSIA
INDIA
CATHAY (CHINA)
JAPAN
PHILIPPINES
Magellan killed there, 1521
SPICE IS.
Vasco da Gama, 1498
Indian Ocean
MADAGASCAR
Drake, 1580
Magellan's Ship "Victoria," 1522
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
20
40
60
80
100
120
140
60 Longitude 40 West of 20 Greenwich 0 Longitude 20 East of 40 Greenwich 60

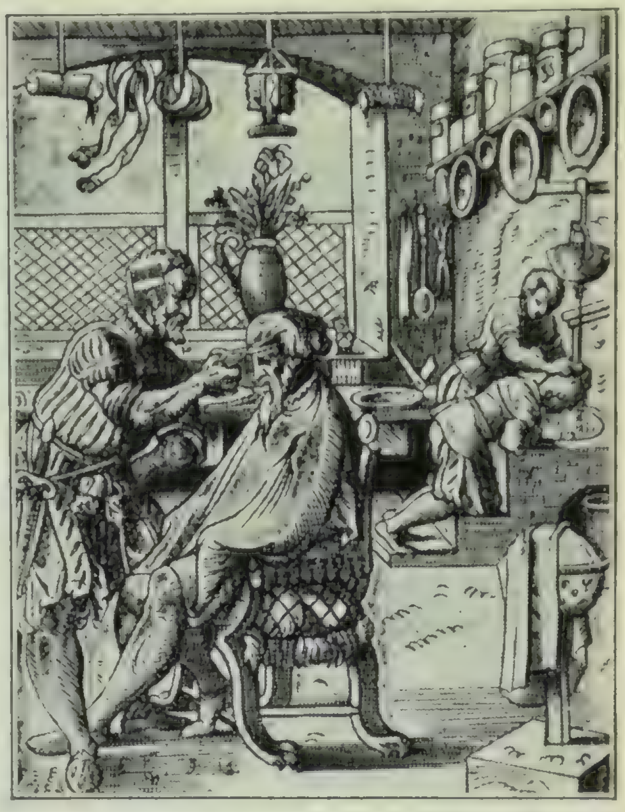
The first seamen to undertake a serious search for a new route to India were the Portuguese, and Portugal was the first national government to encourage exploration. All through the first half of the fifteenth century Prince Henry the Navigator, with the encouragement and financial help of the Portuguese kings, was bringing together learned geographers and skilled sailors and sending expeditions down the coast of Africa. In 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, arrived in India in 1498, and returned to Lisbon in 1499 with a cargo of spices worth sixty times the cost of the voyage. This success spelled the doom of the prosperity of the Italian cities and began the period of Portugal's brief commercial supremacy.

Meanwhile Columbus had discovered America. The discovery of the route around Africa to India, together with the discovery of America and the consequent exploration, settlement and trade, we call the "commercial revolution." It was a revolution because it changed European commerce from a Baltic and Mediterranean coasting trade to a world-wide trade. It transferred the whole European outlook from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, making the Atlantic countries preëminent. It was a change which profoundly affected the economic, social, and political life of Europe.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE SUPREMACY. For a century after the discovery of America Spain monopolized the trade with the West and, thanks to the wealth gained from the gold and silver mines of America, dominated Europe. England, however, soon challenged Spain's commercial supremacy. In 1588, by the defeat of the Spanish Armada, an imposing fleet assembled for the purpose of conquering her, England definitely became a great sea power. Meanwhile, the empire which the Portuguese had established in the East was being taken away from them by the Dutch, who also had a large shipping trade between Europe and America. England and Holland came into conflict, and after a long war the two nations made a treaty by which Holland surrendered New Amsterdam (New York) and the mainland of India to England. England still had to face the growing colonial power of France. After a series of wars lasting a century France was forced to give up her colonies in Can-

ada and India. Then England definitely became mistress of the seas with the greatest colonial empire in the world.

D. Trade in the eighteenth century. Except in England, France, Holland, and the cities along the coast, trade in the eighteenth century was mainly local, each town or village producing practically all the things it needed.



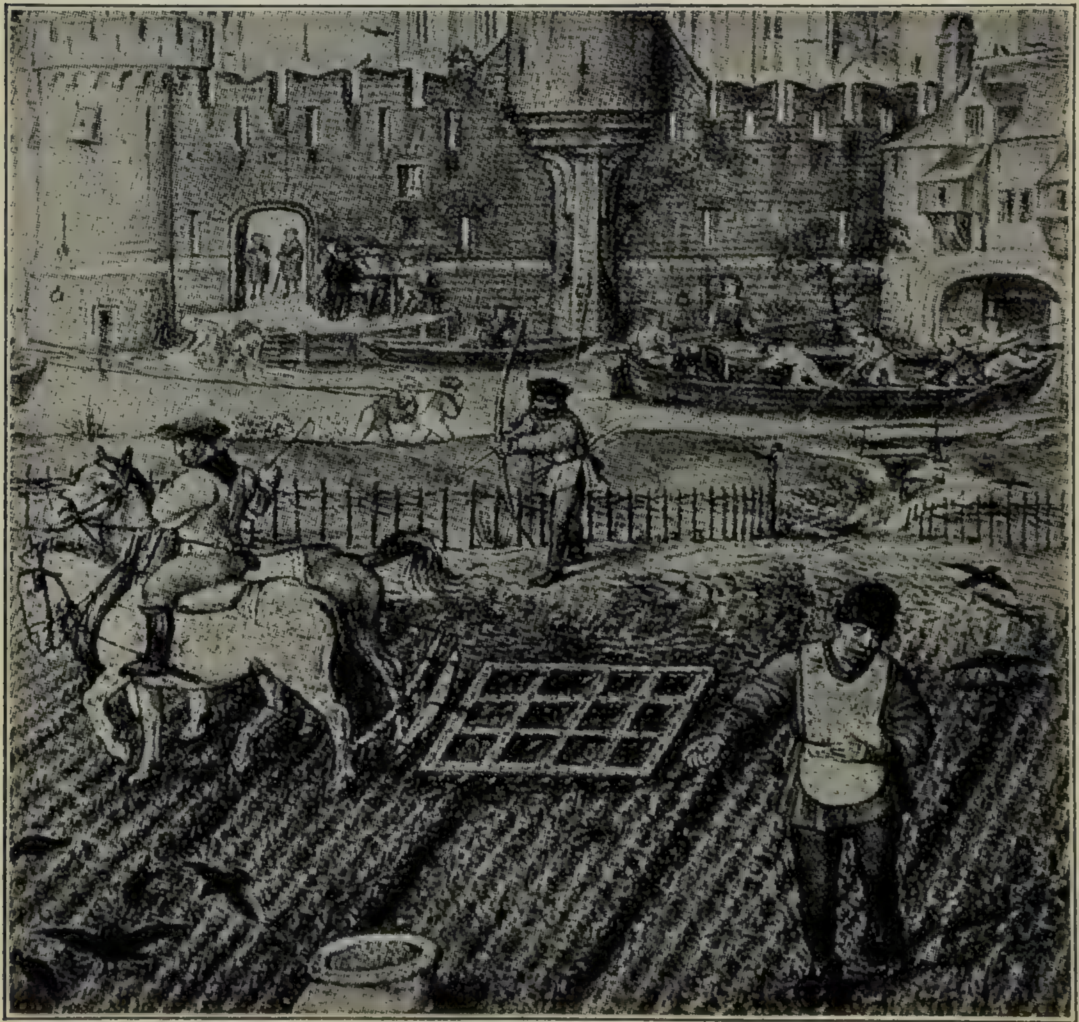
Culver Service

A Sixteenth-century Barber Shop

France had a large trade both foreign and domestic. Domestic trade was hampered by interior customs lines; that is, in transporting goods the merchant had to pay a tariff every time he crossed a provincial boundary line. This was one of the grievances which finally led the merchant class to revolt against the government.

By her victories over Spain, Holland, and France, England had built up a great colonial empire and a great foreign trade. The English government aided merchants by tariffs on foreign goods and various other laws designed to give a monopoly to Englishmen. Trade was constantly growing, causing a demand for manufactured goods that was soon to bring about a tremendous change in economic life—the Industrial Revolution, which has transformed all later history. (See pages 204-231.)

With the growth of trade, towns were increasing in size and number. It is estimated that there were about eighty towns in Europe that had a population of ten thousand or more. Although some of them had outgrown their walls, most of them were still medieval in character. The streets were narrow, crooked, dirty, and unlighted; there were neither pavements nor sidewalks; there were no sewers or facilities for disposal of garbage. London with her half-million population was more modern. She had a few fine buildings, but her poorly lighted streets and her inadequate police force made her notorious for robberies and crimes of violence. Paris, a little larger than London, had already laid out her boulevards and part of her beautiful parks, but most of the streets were still narrow, dirty, and undrained. Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg were thriving centers of industry and trade.



From a contemporary miniature in St. Mark's Library, Venice. *Culver Service*

Agricultural Activity of the Middle Ages

The ground was prepared with a crude harrow, and seed sown by hand. Note the archer, intent on driving the birds away from the bag of seed. In the background we catch a glimpse of the castle moat, perhaps a river in this case, of the wall, and of the castle itself. Observe that boats were both rowed and towed.

II. AGRICULTURE

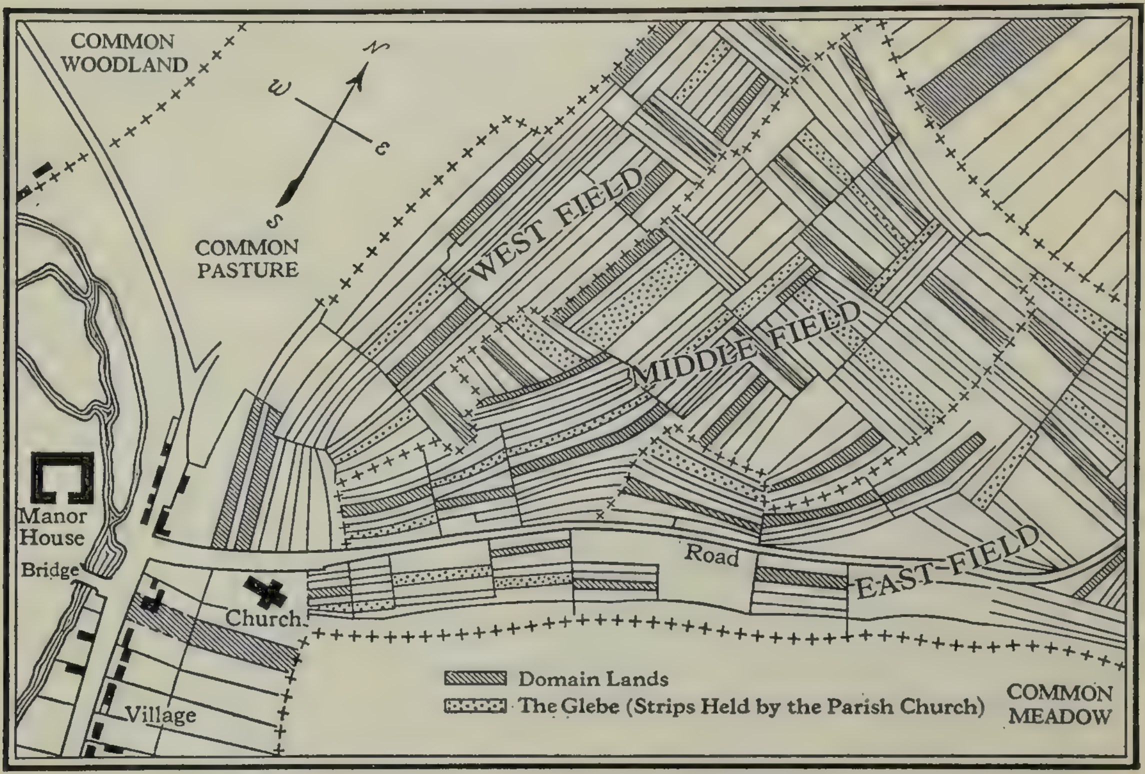
Although we have considered trade first we should remember that the vast majority of the people of eighteenth-century Europe did not make their living by trade but by farming. Agricultural conditions in 1750 were a direct outgrowth of those of the Middle Ages.

A. Medieval agriculture. 1. THE MANOR. In the early Middle Ages agriculture was the occupation of all men who worked with their hands. The unit of agriculture was not the single farm with its isolated house, as is the case in most farming communities in the United States today, but the manor, a small village surrounded by farm land. In the village was the manor house—the house of the lord or of his steward if he had several manors—the village church, the mill, the wine press, the blacksmith's shop, and the houses of the peasants with sheepfolds and stables. The houses of the peasants were rude thatch-roofed huts without glass windows or chimney flues. The house of the lord varied, according to his wealth, from one differing only in size from those of the peasants to the elaborate stone castle of the powerful baron.

The woodland and pasture around the village were held in common, all the peasants and the lord pasturing their sheep and cattle together and cutting what wood they needed. The cultivated land and meadow or grass land were divided, the lord keeping a good share for himself and each peasant having an allotment of which he could not be deprived as long as he fulfilled his obligations, and which he handed down to his children.

2. METHODS OF FARMING. The methods of farming were entirely different from those of today. Of course modern machinery was unheard of and the few tools and implements were crude. The variety of crops was small. Potatoes were unknown and carrots, turnips, and other root crops were grown but little. Oats, barley, wheat, and rye, with some beans and peas, were the main crops. Since farmers did not understand the use of fertilizers or a rotation of crops to preserve the fertility of the soil, it was necessary to let part of the land lie idle or "fallow" each year to rest and renew its fertility.

This was called the three-field or the two-field system of agrciulture, according to whether one-third or one-half of the land was left idle.

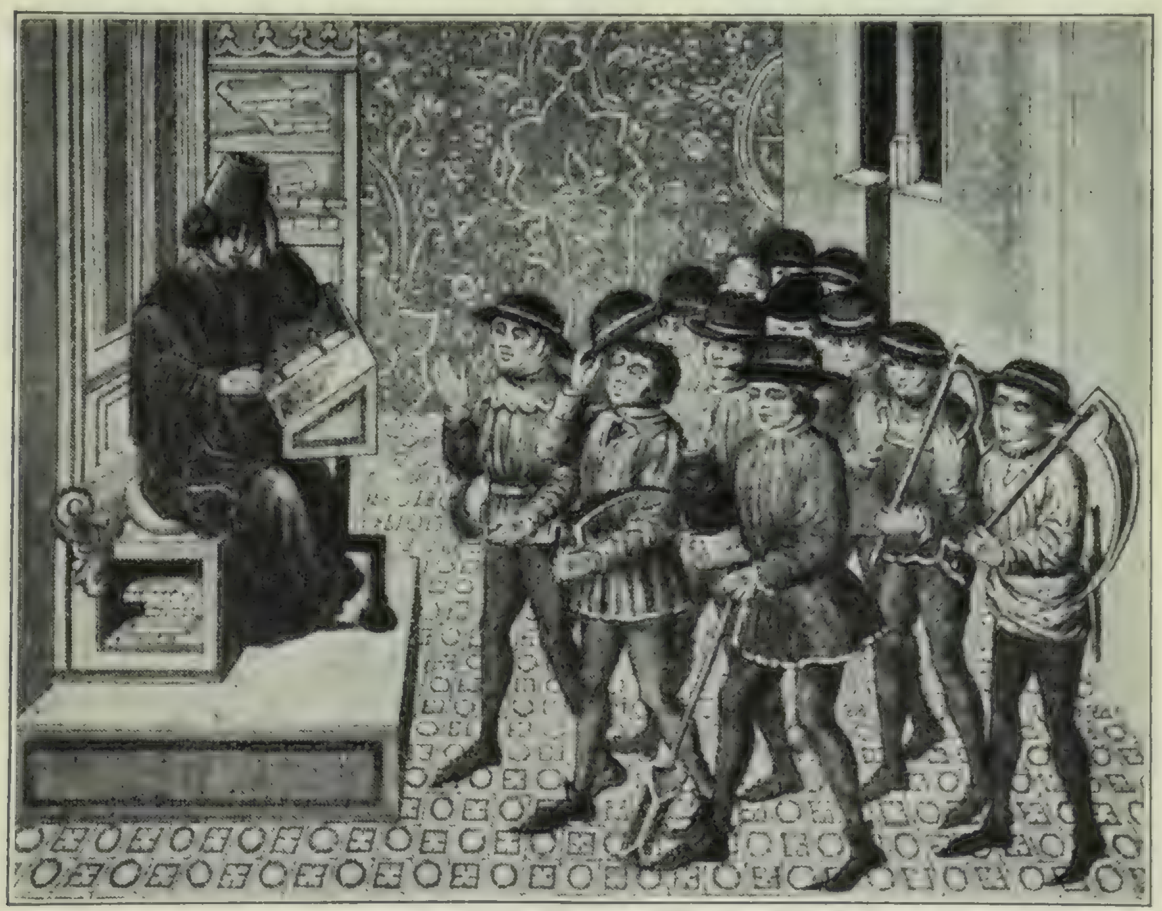

COMMON WOODLAND
N
W
E
S
COMMON PASTURE
WEST FIELD
MIDDLE FIELD
EAST FIELD
Manor House
Bridge
Church
Road
Village
Domain Lands
The Glebe (Strips Held by the Parish Church)
COMMON MEADOW

Conventional Plan of a Typical Medieval Manor

In one year the West Field would be planted in the fall to winter wheat or rye to be harvested early in the summer, the Middle Field planted in the spring to oats or barley to be harvested in the late summer, and the East Field would be idle or "fallow."

3. Serfdom. Unlike the farmer of today who either owns his farm or rents it or works for wages, the medieval farmers were serfs. A serf was midway between a slave and a free man. A part of the product of the serf's labor belonged to the master; a part of the time he was allowed to work for himself and to accumulate property. The serf was bound to the soil; that is, if the land changed hands he went with it, but he could not be sold off it nor could he leave it of his own accord. When a fief was granted under the feudal system, it was understood that the serfs on the land went with the fief.

Although the relations of the serf to the lord varied at different times and in different localities, in general they may be summed up as follows: (1) A serf was required to work on the lord's land a part of each week, usually at least three days. His wife and daughters were required to do a certain amount of work at the manor house—spinning, weaving, baking, brewing. (2) At certain busy seasons of the year, such as seedtime and harvest, he was required to do extra work for the lord known as "boon" work. (3) From the produce of his land he was required to pay the lord a small portion. (4) He had to use the lord's mill, wine press, blacksmith shop, and oven, and pay well for the privilege. (5) Upon the death of a serf his heir had to pay the lord a sort of inheritance tax in order to succeed to the holding. (6) The serf might not marry without permission of the lord.

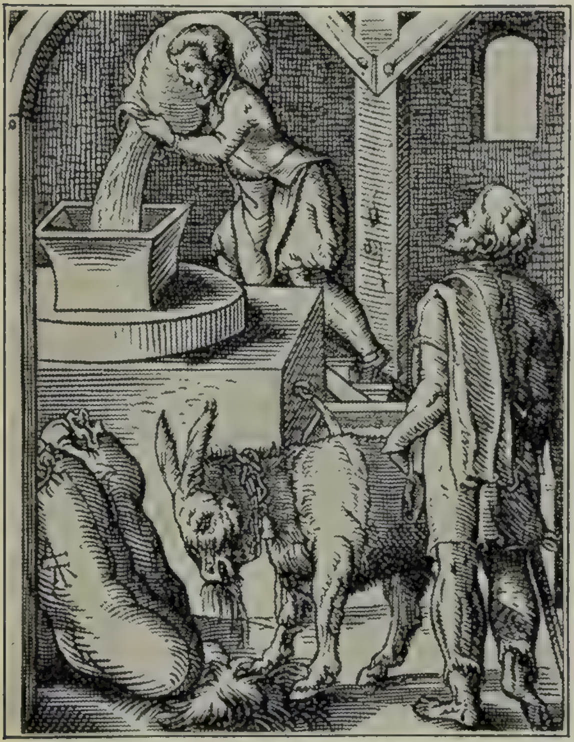


From a fifteenth-century manuscript

Villeins Receiving Their Lord's Orders Before Going to Work

4. The monotony of life on the manor. Each manor, especially in the early Middle Ages, was a little world in itself. On it the lord's will was law, most disputes being settled without outside

interference. On it was produced practically everything that the inhabitants ate or wore. For the products not consumed on the manor there was little or no market, as each manor was surrounded by others producing the same goods. Salt, spices, for those who could afford them, and iron to point or edge tools might be secured occasionally from a wandering peddler. Money was almost unknown—all payments being made in goods. Roads were bad and robbers common. Except for the lord the inhabitants of the manor had practically no connection with the outside world and knew nothing of it.



From a sixteenth-century wood cut by J. Amman. Culver Service

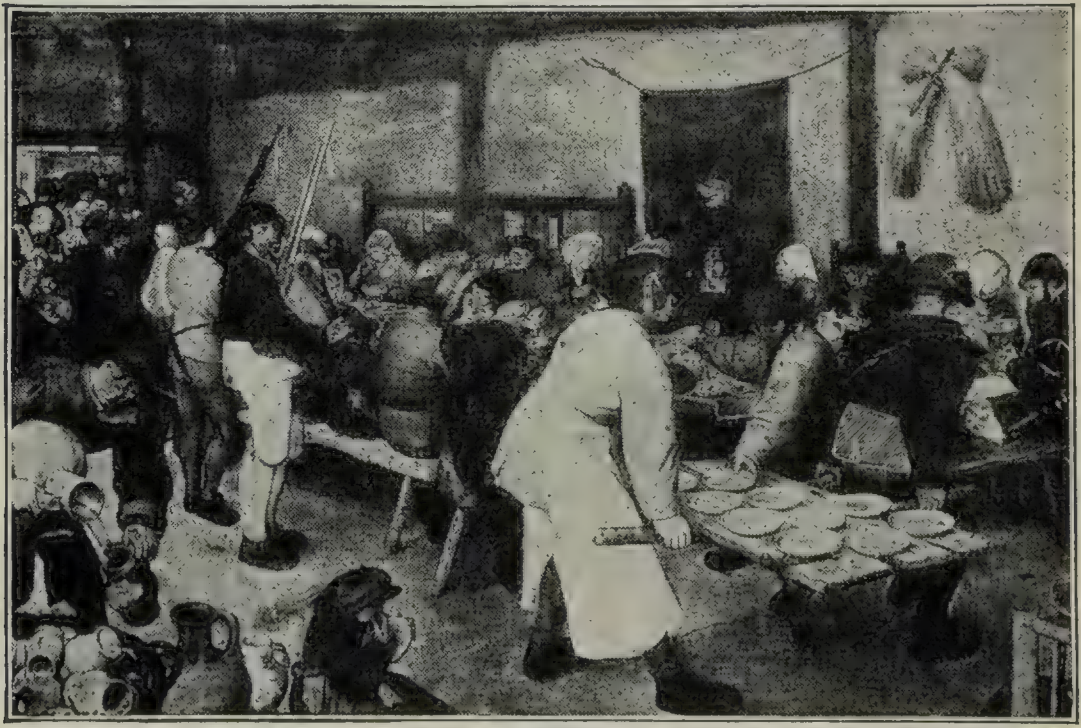
THE MILLER

Although the life of the peasant was monotonous, he usually had enough to eat, such as it was, warm clothes to wear, and a roof to sleep under. He did not have to worry about grocer's bills, rent increases, or business depressions. Nor was his life much more uninteresting than that of his lord. The lord did not have to work in the fields. He had the best of everything produced on the manor, but it was only the best of rough clothes and coarse food. His house was larger but he had neither bathroom nor heater, nor any of the other conveniences which we look upon today as matters of course. He might ride in a coach with footmen to attend him and peasants to salute him at every turn. He might relieve the monotony of existence by fighting his neighbors or by occasional trips to his lord's court. But he could neither read nor write; he knew nothing of art, science, or literature; nor did he have any of the hundred and one ways of spending his leisure which comparatively humble people enjoy today.

B. The growth of trade and the decay of serfdom. As we can readily see, serfdom, being partly forced labor, was an inefficient system. The serf when working on the lord's land would do only as much as he was compelled to do. For centuries there was little inducement for the lords to look for a more efficient system or for the peasants to till their own plots in a more efficient way, since there was no market for any surplus over their own needs. As long as there was enough food to eat and enough clothes to wear, why worry about producing a surplus?

With the growth of trade and the development of towns, however, a market for surplus agricultural products developed. Townspeople began to devote more of their time to manufacture and less to agriculture, depending for their food and their raw materials on the surplus of the neighboring manors. Certain agricultural products such as hides, wool, wine, and wheat were in demand for export, and Eastern luxuries and town-made clothing and furnishings could be had in exchange. The lords found that they could get more out of their land by allowing the peasants to pay them rent in money or products instead of requiring them to perform services in return for its use. They therefore started to emancipate the serfs, either renting out their domain lands or working them with laborers to whom they paid wages. Thus they secured labor which was more willing or which could be discharged if it became inefficient. The peasants at the same time benefited by having more time at their own disposal, either to work on their own land to produce articles which they might sell, or to work for wages. The more common use of money, which came with the growth of trade, hastened the change from serfdom to free labor. The supply of gold and silver which came from America was an important factor, making the process of exchange easier and greatly facilitating trade as well as making money wages more common.

The growth of trade was, however, not the only reason for the decay of serfdom. Another reason was the "Black Death," a terrible epidemic of the bubonic plague which swept over Europe in the fourteenth century, killing millions, wiping out the entire population of many wide areas. Since this made laborers scarce the lords had to offer better terms to those that remained. Still another reason for the decline of serfdom was the gradual exhaustion of the soil, which resulted from constant cultivation for centuries with too little fertilizer. The exhaustion of the soil became noticeable in many regions at about the same time that trade was developing, so that it was difficult for the serfs to make even a living just when the lords began to want a surplus to use in commercial enterprises. The lords were therefore all the more willing to free the serfs. So we see that, just as serfdom grew up gradually, so it disappeared. It was not abolished all at once by any law or decree.



From the painting by A. Brueghel. Culver Service

A PEASANT WEDDING

Contrast the costumes and surroundings with those shown in the illustration on page 27.

C. Eighteenth-century agriculture. 1. SURVIVAL OF MEDIEVAL METHODS IN SOME COUNTRIES. The changes in agriculture brought about by trade were, of course, confined to those countries where considerable trade had developed—England, France, Holland, and the neighborhoods of a few cities in Germany and Italy. Throughout the rest of Europe in the eighteenth century agriculture was still carried on as it had been for hundreds of years. The manor system with its scattered strips of cultivated land, the three-field system of tillage, the wooden plow, and the hand sickle still prevailed. Most of the people were still serfs.

2. The agricultural revolution in England. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in England the growth of trade led to a growth of manufactures and this in turn led to a demand for wool. At the same time the exhaustion of the soil was making it difficult to raise crops. Accordingly many of the landlords turned their manors into sheep pastures, using the peasants' land and the common land as well as their own. These great sheep pastures had to be enclosed by fences and were therefore called "enclosures." During the seventeenth century several improvements were made in methods of farming which brought this land back under cultivation. Chief among these improvements was the use of grass seed, which made it possible to grow more hay and so keep more cattle and produce more fertilizer. The growing of various kinds of grasses, particularly clover, also had the added value of reviving the fertility of the soil; hence the farmers gradually started to make use of the principle of the rotation of crops—first a root crop such as turnips or parsnips, then a grain crop such as wheat or oats, and then some form of hay for several seasons. More attention was also given to the choice of seed and to the breeding of animals, resulting in better crops and better grades of farm animals. These improvements brought about what is sometimes called the "agricultural revolution."

3. France. In France during the eighteenth century conditions were not so advanced as in England, but they were much better than elsewhere on the Continent. It is estimated that about two-thirds of the land of France belonged to the nobility and clergy, who turned it over to lessees. These lessees were required to pay rent, usually amounting to about one-half of the crops.

Serfdom started to die out in France in the thirteenth century, but there were still a few serfs left at the time of the French Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century. Even where serfdom had disappeared there were still traces of it in the feudal dues that the peasant had to pay the owner of the land. These varied widely in different sections. Often the peasant was compelled to use the lord's mill, oven, or wine press and pay a fee for the privilege. Sometimes the lord had the right to charge tolls for the use of roads and bridges. There were also numerous fees or presents demanded by the lord on holidays or other special occasions. About one-third of the land was owned by the peasants who worked it, but even these peasant proprietors had to pay the lord a portion of the purchase price, usually one-fifth, if the land were sold. At the death of a proprietor his estate was divided among all his children and in some cases this process had been repeated so many times that the farms were reduced in size to mere garden plots.

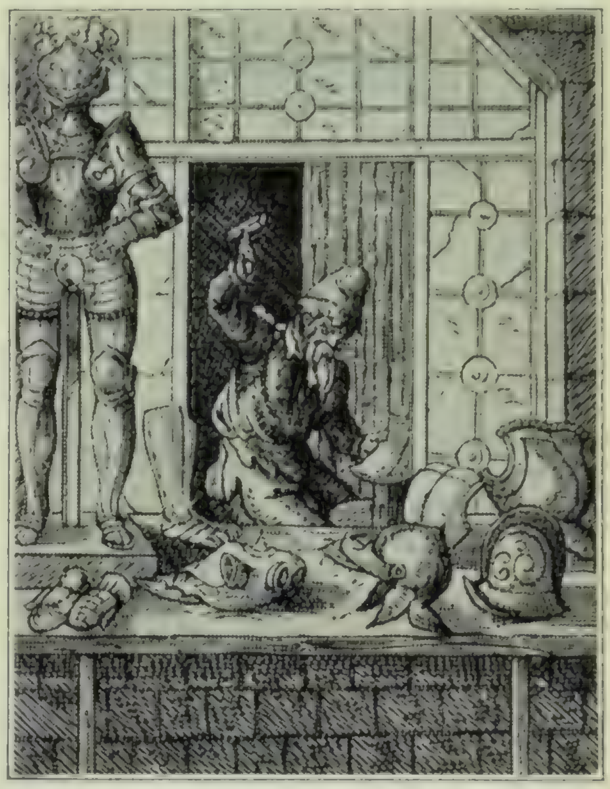
III. MANUFACTURES

A. Medieval manufactures. Until about the tenth century practically all the inhabitants of Europe lived on the manors and tilled the soil as we have just described. The old Roman towns and cities had dwindled in population, many of them disappearing entirely. Gradually, however, towns began to arise again. The first towns, built with high walls around them, seem to have been mainly for protection. At first the inhabitants tilled the soil around the town and lived much like the neighboring peasants outside the walls, but gradually a division of labor grew up, the peasants devoting themselves to agriculture and the townsmen to manufacture. This led to an exchange of surplus products.

1. THE MERCHANT GUILDS. All the business of a town, and often its government, was controlled by the merchant guild, an association of all persons in the town who were engaged in trade of any kind. These guilds had social and religious as well as business activities. They conducted services in honor of their patron saints, helped members in distress, and organized social gatherings. They made arrangements for their members to sell goods in other towns, protected their members on journeys, and guaranteed their debts and their good conduct. If, for instance, a guild member was caught in some dishonest practice in a foreign town, the guild was

held responsible and had to make restitution. The most important activity of the merchant guild was the regulation of trade within the town, which it controlled in its smallest details. No one not a member of the guild was allowed to buy or sell without first securing special permission and paying a tax. Weights and measures were regulated and inspected to see that the standard was adhered to. Cornering the market or buying outside the regular market was forbidden. Prices of standard commodities were fixed and anyone attempting to sell at a different price was severely dealt with.

2. THE CRAFT GUILDS. The craft guilds, which developed somewhat later than the merchant guilds, and lasted longer, were organizations of the workers in each separate craft or trade—for example, bakers, brewers, spinners, weavers, goldsmiths. There were three classes of workmen in the craft guilds—apprentices, journeymen, and master workmen. Apprentices were boys or young men who had been "bound" by their parents to some master workman to learn a trade. The parents surrendered control over the apprenticed boy whom the master agreed to teach the trade, furnishing him with board, lodging, and clothes while he was learning. After he had served his apprenticeship—which lasted three years in most trades, although in some it was much longer—the boy became a journeyman. He was then allowed to practice his trade, not independently but in the shop of a master workman. He received wages for his services and usually lived in the household of the master for whom he worked. After he had saved enough money to open a shop of

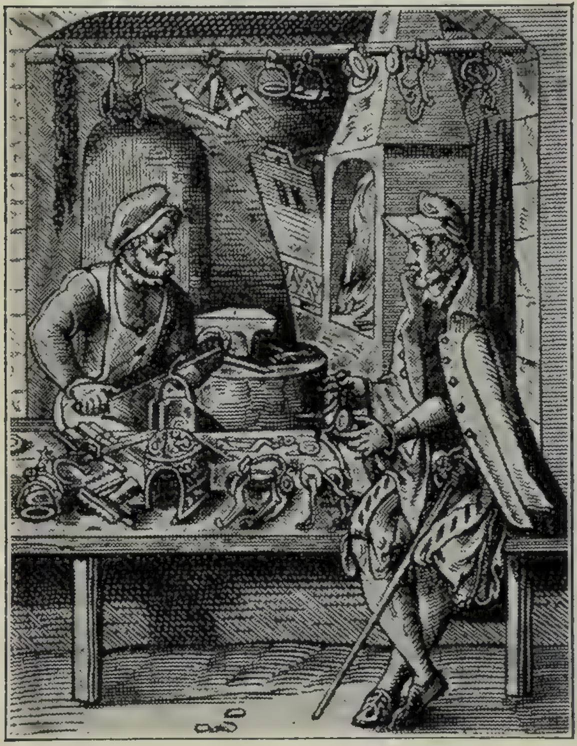


Culver Service

ARMORER

His was one of the important crafts in the Middle Ages.

his own he might take an examination given by the guild, which consisted mainly in making to the satisfaction of the guild some product of his trade called a "masterpiece." Upon successfully completing his examination he was entitled to become a master workman. The master workmen controlled the guilds and through the guilds the industry.

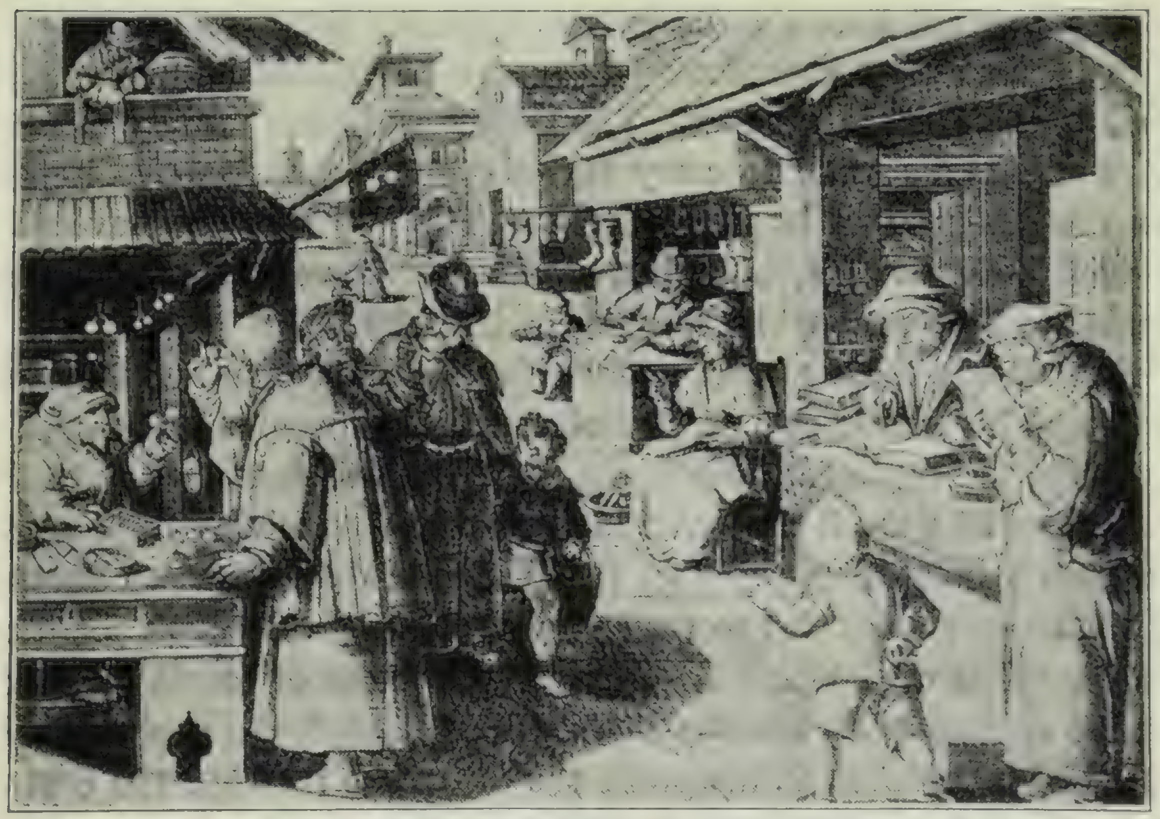


Culver Service

SPUR-MAKER

The shop and salesroom combined was usually in the front part of the house where the master workman lived with his apprentices and journeymen. Although the number of employees to a shop varied, the average was two or three journeymen with as many apprentices. Most of the business was a custom business, that is, goods were made to order; although with the growth of trade many shops started making goods to be exported. The master workman, as his title indicates, was both a master, supervising the work of his employees, and a workman, doing part of it himself. He also bought the raw materials and sold the finished product.

The whole system of manufacture and distribution of commodities was much simpler than it is today. If one wishes to buy a pair of shoes today, for instance, one goes to a retail store. The retail store with its force of clerks, bookkeepers, buyers, and errand boys is only the last cog in the complex system by which shoes are manufactured and sold. The retailer bought the shoes from a wholesaler who in turn bought them from a jobber who bought them from the manufacturer. In the factory the shoe has passed through more than one hundred different machines, each operated by a different person. The leather from which the shoes were made was bought from a leather company, which bought it from a tannery which may have imported the hide from South America. Besides the people who have actually handled the material or the shoes from the time the farmer sells the hide until the customer puts on the shoes, a host of managers, foremen, buyers, salesmen, advertising men, stenographers, and office boys have had a part in the process, to say nothing of the stockholders scattered over the world, who own the factories or other establishments which have handled them. The medieval townsman who wanted a pair of shoes went to the master workman's shop and had his measure taken. The master or one of his journeymen, assisted by an apprentice, made the shoes from leather he had bought from a neighboring tanner who had bought the hide from a near-by farmer. The master workman was the capitalist, retailer, salesman, manager, foreman, bookkeeper, and workman all in one.



From a contemporary print by Joan Stradanus. Culver Service

A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY STREET SCENE

At this corner were the shop of a spectacle maker, the stall of a letter writer, and a shoe shop. Note the signs advertising the sale of boots and eyeglasses. Why are there no printed signs?

The guilds regulated in detail the whole process of manufacture and sale—the quality of materials used, the method of manufacture, the number of apprentices allowed to a master, the training of apprentices, the wages and hours of journeymen, the price at which the product was sold. They protected their own members by fixing a fair price, by limiting the number of apprentices so that the trade would not be overcrowded, and by controlling the number of journeymen who might become masters, thereby limiting competition. At the same time they protected the public by insuring the quality of the goods sold.

B. The domestic system results from the growth of trade. Goods from the East, which Europeans wanted, could be secured only by giving European goods in exchange. The East particularly wanted manufactured goods. Consequently as trade with the East grew the demand for manufactures increased. In many industries manufacture in quantity for the foreign market became, in time, more important than the old custom work for the local market. It then became more complicated to secure raw materials and to dispose of the finished product. The master workman usually did not have sufficient capital to carry on an export business or to import his raw material in large quantities. The guilds might have performed these services, but they were conservative and unwilling or unable to keep pace with the needs of industry.

Accordingly there rose in many industries men with money to invest who became known as capitalists. In the woolen industry, for example, the capitalist bought the raw wool and furnished it to the spinners who spun it into yarn in their homes, receiving fixed wages for their labor. The capitalist then either sold the yarn to another capitalist or gave it out to weavers who made it into cloth for fixed wages. This work was done on their own looms or looms furnished by the capitalist. When the cloth was completed, the capitalist disposed of it, keeping as his profit the difference between the cost of the raw material plus the workmen's wages and the selling price. So we see two new classes appearing in industry: the capitalist who took no part in the actual work of the manufacture or its supervision but furnished the capital and disposed of the finished product, and the working man who worked for wages and had no part in buying the material or selling the product. This is called the *domestic system* as distinguished from the *guild system* in which the master workman was workman, foreman, and capitalist combined.

The rise of the domestic system meant the gradual decline of the guilds, although they persisted in some industries until the invention of machinery took manufacture to the factories. Some new industries which developed, such as the manufacture of silks and cotton goods, never came under the control of guilds at all. As trade grew, changes in industry continued, slowly but steadily. New methods which would increase production were sought. This desire for a larger output to meet the demands of the foreign market was, in a large measure, responsible for the invention of machinery that ushered in the great change which we call the "Industrial Revolution."

C. Manufacture in the eighteenth century. Just as there were differences in trade and in agriculture in the various parts of eighteenth-century Europe, so too were there great differences in manufacture. In those countries which had not been influenced very much by the development of trade, manufacture was still controlled by the guilds. In England, although the domestic system had replaced the guilds in most industries, some guild restrictions still remained. In France the guilds had largely died out but many of their regulations were enforced by the absolute national government. These restrictions, like those on trade, were a source of discontent.

IV. SUMMARY

We should remember from this brief account of the development of eighteenth-century economic conditions that: (1) Early in the Middle Ages there was practically no trade and most Europeans lived on manors and were economically independent. (2) In the first towns, manufacture was controlled by the craft guilds. (3) Trade with the East began to revive about the tenth century, steadily growing in volume and extent. (4) First the Italian cities controlled the Eastern trade; then at the time of the commercial revolution, Spain and Portugal came into control. These countries were

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in turn replaced by Holland, France, and England. (5) England in 1763 by her defeat of France became mistress of the seas and the greatest colonial and commercial nation. (6) Trade led to the decay of serfdom and to many improvements in agriculture, particularly in England. (7) In some parts of Europe the growth of trade had caused the guild system of manufacture to give way to the domestic system. (8) There were great differences in economic institutions and methods in different parts of Europe in the eighteenth century.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How does the absence of trade in the Dark Ages explain many features of medieval life?

2. What reasons can you give for England becoming the world's greatest colonial power?

3. In what ways was a serf better off than a slave? Worse off? Better off than a freeman? Worse off?

4. "There is greater difference between the poor and the rich today than there was between the serf and the lord in medieval times." Discuss the truth or falsity of this statement.

5. Compare methods of farming on a modern American farm with those on a medieval manor.

6. Explain why it was necessarily true that "the medieval manor was a little world in itself."

7. In what ways did the craft guilds resemble modern trade unions? In what way did they differ from modern trade unions?

8. Explain why the charging of interest for loans was prohibited in medieval times but is regarded as entirely proper today?

9. Why had more improvements been made in agriculture in England in 1750 than in any other country?

10. Explain why there were no business depressions caused by overproduction in the Middle Ages.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Commercial Revolution

- VAN LOON, Chaps. 34, 38, 41
- SCHAPIRO, pp. 3-5
- HAYES, Vol. I, Chap. II, p. 3
- KNIGHT, BARNES, and FLUGEL, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 199-253, 257-344
- HAYES, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 55-76
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, pp. 3-43
- PACKARD, *The Commercial Revolution*, pp. 1-71

The Feudal Manor

- KNIGHT, BARNES, and FLUGEL, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 163-197
- CHEYNEY, *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*, Chap. II
- THOMPSON, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, pp. 726-764

Colonial Rivalry

- VAN LOON, Chap. 50
- HAYES, Vol. I, pp. 249-360; Chap. IX
- ROBINSON, Vol. II, pp. 44-89
- HAYES, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 76-82

CHAPTER IV

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THEIR BACKGROUND

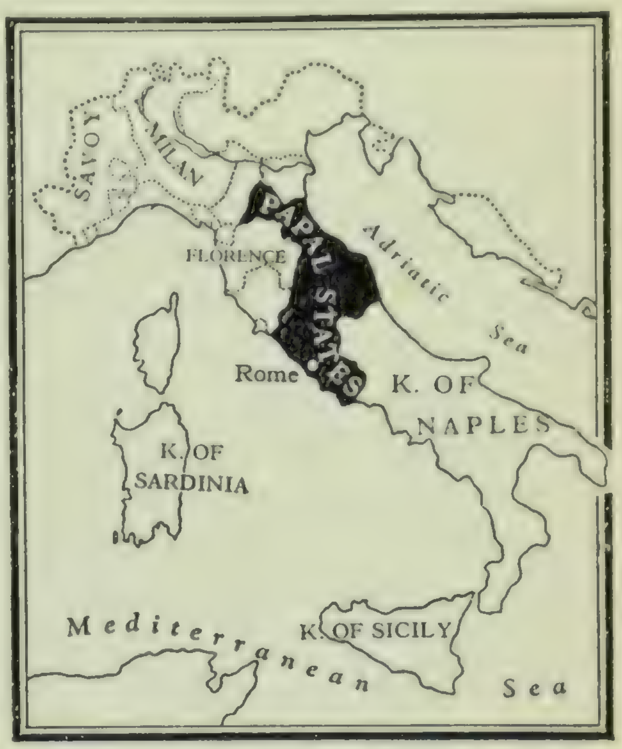
I. The Church

One of the most important social institutions of the eighteenth century was the Christian church. To understand its position at that time we must trace briefly the part played by the church in the life of the Middle Ages.

A. The medieval church. 1. Early history. The history of the origin of Christianity, the teaching of Jesus, and his crucifixion by the Romans are familiar to most of us. Following his crucifixion, his followers went to all parts of the empire spreading his teachings and winning converts. After long and terrible persecutions by the Romans, Christians won toleration, and toward the close of the fourth century Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. When the empire collapsed the church remained. Throughout the Dark Ages it was the one force that gave some unity to the life of western Europe, preserving the traditions, the language, and the literature of Rome at a time when barbarians threatened to destroy them entirely.

In order to understand the important part played by the church in the Middle Ages we must remember that the people of that time, much more than people today, were concerned with the future life. Life on the isolated manor was monotonous; there was little to distract men's minds from the poverty and misery all about them. As a contrast to their hard life men turned to the idea of a "city laid up in heaven." Man's existence on earth was thought to be but a preparation for the life to come. Therefore the sorrows and misfortunes of this life were to be considered lightly in comparison with the rewards of heaven.

2. Organization. Everyone (with the exception of the Jews and Mohammedans) was a member of the Catholic (universal) Church, being brought into it by baptism soon after birth as a matter of course. To disagree with the doctrines of the church or to question its authority was heresy, punishable by death. The parish priest, frequently the only person in the community who could read, was regarded not only as a moral guide and a respected friend but as a link with the outside world. Supervising the priests were the bishops and over them the archbishops. At the head, ruling all Christendom in spiritual affairs, was the pope, the Bishop of Rome. The church, like a state, had a system of law, the canon law, which was enforced throughout Christendom by ecclesiastical (church) courts. Like a state the church enjoyed a revenue from its lands and collected taxes from its members. In this absolute monarchy of the church the pope was the supreme lawgiver. He was also the supreme judge, for an appeal might be taken directly to his court at Rome from any ecclesiastical court.



The Papal States, Ruled Directly by the Pope

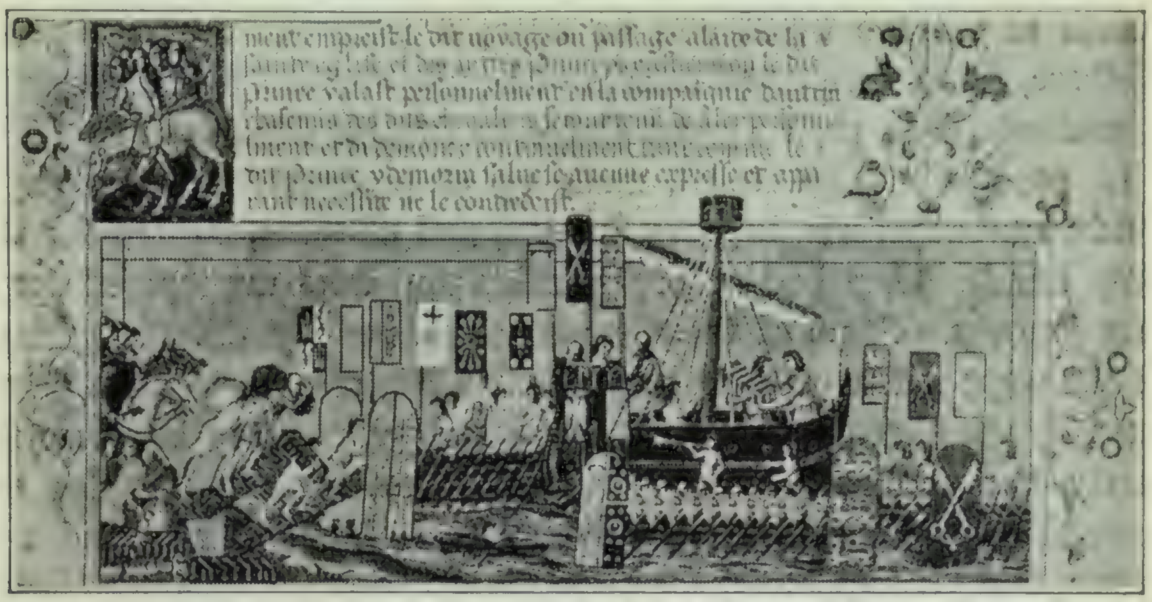
3. Temporal powers. Not only in spiritual affairs did the church play an important part in medieval life. In the period of disorder following the break-up of the Roman Empire the church took over many functions of the state. It did its best to preserve order through its courts and by bringing pressure to bear upon the lords and kings. It took charge of all charitable work; it protected widows and orphans and dependents generally. In the church courts were tried not only cases concerning clergymen or others connected with the church but also cases involving sworn contracts, blasphemy,

heresy, marriage, and wills. Of the complete control of education by the church we shall speak later.

Besides these powers which the church exercised in all states, church officials were also the civil or temporal rulers of many large territories. The pope became the ruler of the central part of Italy and retained control of these Papal States, as they were called, until 1870. (Today he is the ruler of the smallest state in the world—Vatican City.) Bishops, archbishops, and abbots were often feudal lords, rivals of princes and kings. As feudal lords they exercised the same powers as dukes or barons: raising armies, waging wars, administering their districts, reaching out for more land.

4. Monasticism. One of the chief agencies of the church in preserving culture during the anarchy of the Middle Ages was monasticism—a system in which a group of men called monks, in order to live a life of prayer and devotion, free from the distractions of worldly life, withdrew to monasteries. Monasticism in some form existed from the beginning of Christianity. In the thirteenth century St. Francis and St. Dominic formed two new types of monastic orders to reform some of the abuses that had arisen. Their followers, called friars (French, *frère,* brother), went out among the people ministering to their wants. These two orders developed some of the ablest leaders, teachers, and writers in the church.

The world's debt to monasticism is great. The monks were missionaries of the church, preaching Christianity in America, China, and India, as well as all over Europe. The monasteries were often situated in barren, out-of-the-way places. In many instances during the early feudal period the monks cleared the forests, drained the swamps, and tilled the fields. In so doing they taught the dignity of labor in an age when labor was despised, yet needed. The monastery with its "hospitium," or guest room, was the wayside inn of the Middle Ages, and so helped to foster trade and communication between countries. Many monasteries were hospitals, charity dispensaries, and "agricultural colleges" for the neighborhood, the monks nursing the sick, giving food to the poor, and teaching the people how to cultivate the soil. The monks preserved the literature of the ancient world. They laboriously made copies of the works of the Latin and Greek writers, illustrating the books they copied with exquisite drawings and paintings. They collected books and manuscripts and kept rude chronicles of the times. If it had not been for the zealous monks bent over their dreary tasks in an age when there was no printing, the world today would be without the literature of the ancients. To their unheralded writings, preserved in the ruins of the monasteries, we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the feudal period.



From the original manuscript in the Louvre, Paris. Culver Service

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR KNIGHTS PARTICIPATING IN THE CRUSADES

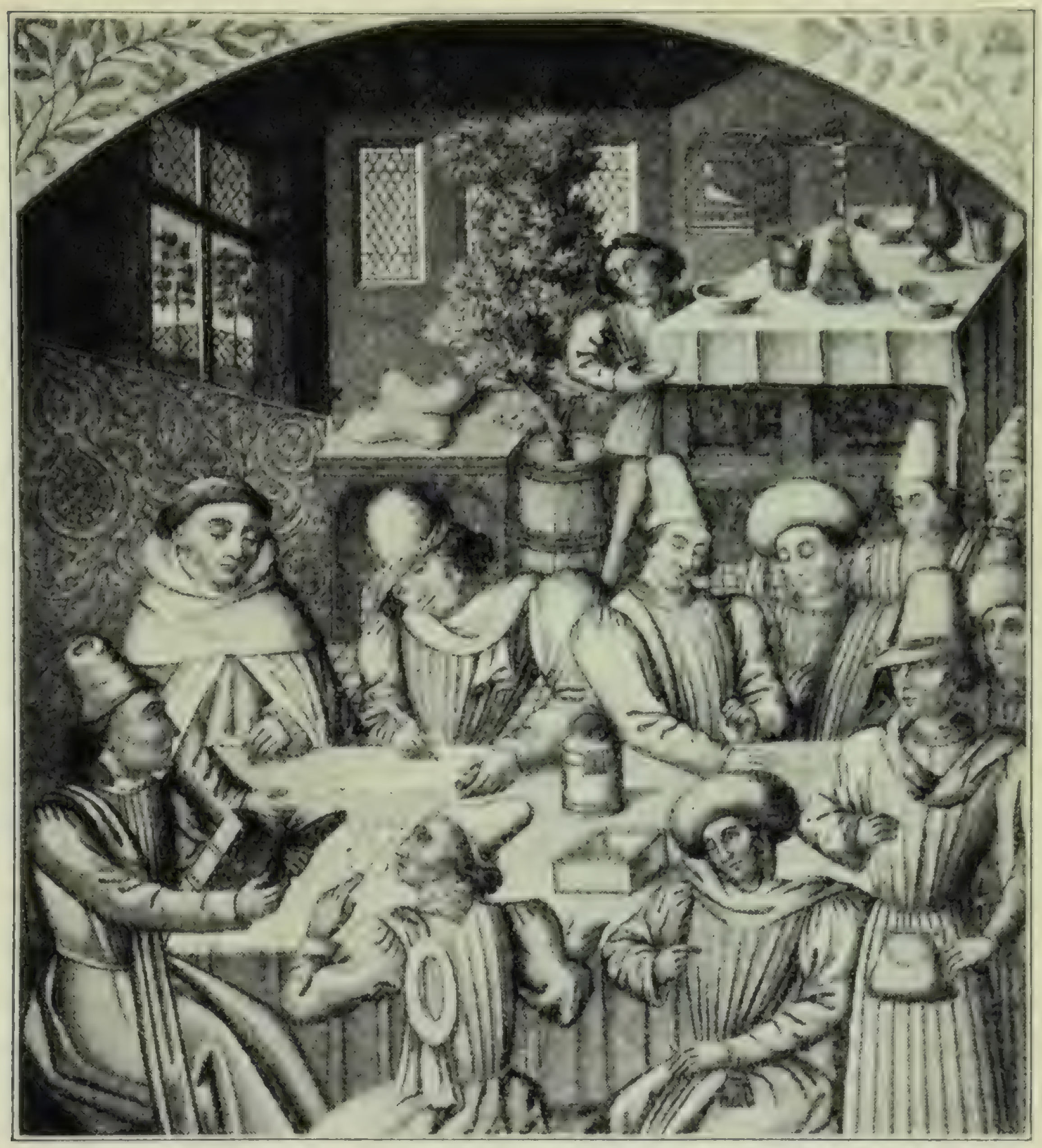
This richly illuminated statute of the "Orders of the Holy Ghost" says in part, "Each of the knights will be supposed to go personally and fight continuously as long as the aforesaid prince does except if some express and apparent necessity militates against it."

5. THE CRUSADES. An illustration of the power of the church in the Middle Ages is furnished by the Crusades. In the course of their conquests in the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks seized Jerusalem and began to mistreat the pilgrims who journeyed there from all over Europe. In 1095 Pope Urban II issued a call to all Christians to unite in a crusade to free the sepulcher of Jesus from the infidels.

Urban proclaimed that taking part in the crusade would constitute penance for all sin, that the crusader, if he died repentant, would be sure of entrance into heaven. He freed all debtors from payment of interest on their debts while they were on the crusade, and promised that the wives, children, and property of crusaders would be under the special protection of the church. Even without these special inducements the Crusades appealed to widely different classes of people: to the merchant who saw an opportunity to build up business connections; to the ambitious noble who hoped to win new territory over which he might rule; to the criminal who sought escape from punishment; to the restless adventurer who wished to see the world and be released from boredom. Besides all these, there were great masses of people aroused to a high pitch of enthusiasm in their devout desire to further Christianity.

In 1096, a motley crowd, made up of peasants, artisans, vagabonds, runaway serfs, beggars, women, and children, started for the Holy Land. They had no organization and were unprepared for a long journey. Some of them were slaughtered by the Hungarians on the way; a few of them reached Asia Minor only to meet death there by the sword of the Turk. The next year and at intervals for nearly two centuries better-organized forces went out under the leadership of powerful nobles, among them kings of England and France and an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Crusades, however, soon lost their first romantic appeal so that the last ones were unimportant military ventures, made to avoid the pope's displeasure or to satisfy purely selfish ambitions. The Crusades are examples of large-scale, popular coöperation never before witnessed in history. They had a great influence in bringing about the exchange of ideas among the peoples of all countries and all classes. They also revived interest in the East and promoted trade. They show the power of the Christian church, and especially that of the pope, over the minds of the people of the time.

B. The Protestant Revolt. Throughout the Middle Ages the church was the most influential institution in existence and the pope was far more powerful than any temporal ruler. One of the signs that the old age was passing and a new one beginning was the lessened influence of the church and the pope which culminated in the Protestant Revolt or Reformation of the sixteenth century.



From a fifteenth-century manuscript. Culver Service

Balancing the Books

Some of our most interesting information about the Middle Ages comes from the records of the monasteries. This scene is of the brotherhood of the Charité-Dieu et Nôtre Dame at Rouen, France, in 1466.

1. Causes. (*a*) *Jealousy of the kings.* With the growth of power of the national states the kings saw in the international church a serious obstacle to their claims to absolute power. Fertile sources of dispute arose from questions as to what cases should be tried in church courts rather than in national courts and whether the king or the pope should appoint the bishops. The kings were

also jealous of the great wealth of the church. A great deal of the best land of Europe had come into the possession of the monasteries which paid few or no taxes to the national governments. The kings saw a chance, by breaking away from the pope, to confiscate this land and add it to their own personal domains. Besides the income from this property, the clergy collected taxes from the people and received fees for various ceremonies that they performed. Much of this money found its way to Rome. The rulers hated to see all this good money going out of their countries.

(*b*) *Abuses.* The rulers, however much they might have wished to break away from the pope's control, would not have dared to do so had the great mass of people remained convinced of the soundness of the church's doctrines and the sanctity of the clergy. But for a large number this was no longer the case. It was inevitable that an institution so powerful and rich as the church should attract to itself some unscrupulous men. A few ignorant, immoral, or greedy members did a great deal of harm to the whole body of the clergy. Stories of extravagance among some of the higher clergy and of the luxury of the papal court made the taxes and fees which the common people had to pay seem all the harder to bear.

(*c*) *New attitudes toward religion.* With the expansion of interests that came with the growth of trade and the revival of interest in the culture of Greece and Rome, religion, for many, had ceased to be the all-important thing that it had been during the Middle Ages. In time many came to regard the formal side of religion—attending church services, giving alms, making pilgrimages, venerating relics of the saints—as more important than living a really good life and having a real faith in the teachings of the church. On the other hand, a small group calling for a different emphasis on the simple teachings of Christ disliked formal acts—"good works" as they were called—and began to attack some of the doctrines as well as the practices of the church. In spite of the harsh suppression of heresy, criticism of the church continued, especially in Germany in the fifteenth century. The man who finally brought criticism to a head and declared that a fundamental change was necessary was Martin Luther.

2. THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL CHURCHES. (*a*) *Martin Luther.* Luther was a monk who despaired of gaining salvation by even the most whole-hearted devotion to the rules of his order. He became convinced that the one and only way to salvation was through faith in God. This doctrine, that man is a miserable sinner whose only hope is to throw himself on God's mercy, is known as "justification by faith" and is the central doctrine of Luther's teaching. Although Luther had at first no intention of breaking with the church, he soon found himself repudiating the pope's authority and urging the rulers of the German states to set up independent churches.

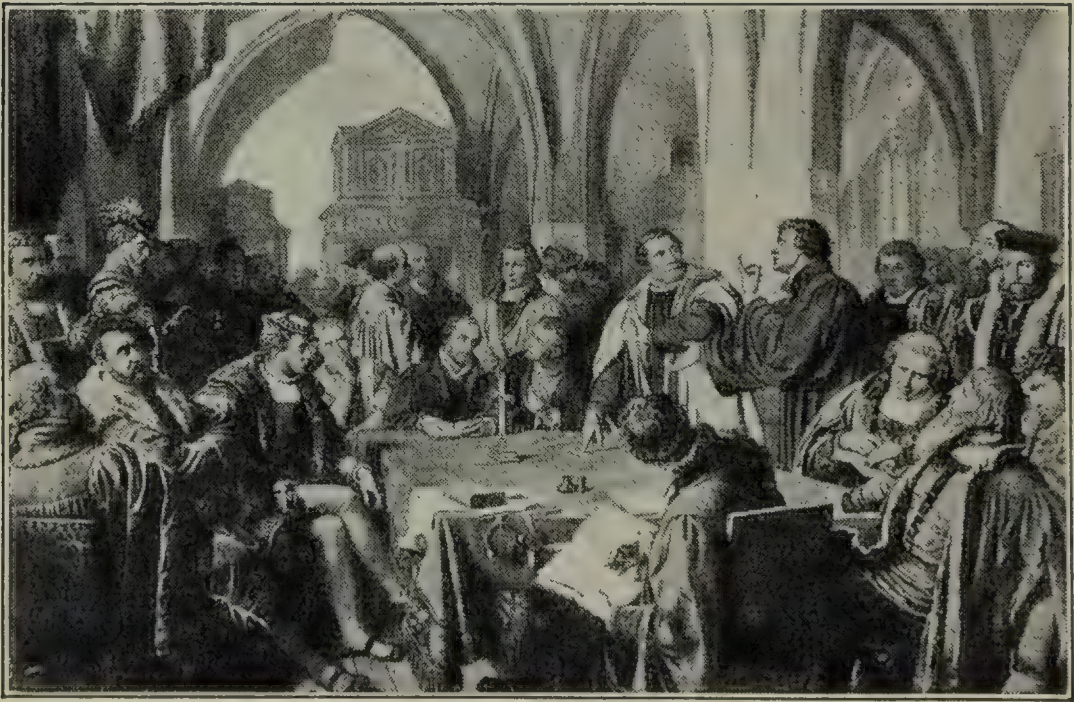
Publishers' Photo Service

THE DOORS OF THE CASTLE CHURCH, WITTENBERG, GERMANY

It was upon the doors of this church that Luther posted his ninety-five theses. The present doors bear the theses cast in bronze.

While Luther believed that some changes were necessary, he accepted the idea which had been held universally before his time—that there should be but one form of religion in a state. Consequently he had no idea of establishing complete religious freedom as we understand it today; that is, allowing everyone to worship as he pleases. His idea was a state in which the ruler should accept the religious ideas that he advocated and compel all his subjects to adopt them. After a time many of the rulers, especially those of northern and central Germany, set up Lutheranism as the state religion. The attempt of the emperor and some of the Catholic rulers to suppress Lutheranism led to years of bitter warfare. Finally the Peace of Augsburg (1555) provided that each of the German rulers should decide whether Catholicism or Lutheranism should prevail in his territories.

(*b*) *The spread of the revolt.* Contemporary with the movement which Luther started in Germany, Zwingli in Switzerland and Calvin in France were developing slightly different forms of Protestantism—the general name given to the religion of all those who revolted from the Catholic Church. Calvin's ideas were with some modifications accepted by the Huguenots in France, the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland, the Puritans in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland. Although England had many of the same reasons for revolt as were to be found on the Continent, King Henry VIII was at first a strong opponent of Luther and his doctrines. Later, however, when the pope refused to consent to Henry's divorce he, too, revolted and established the Church of England, or the Anglican Church.



From the painting by A. Noack. Publishers' Photo Service

LUTHER AND ZWINGLI AT MARBURG

3. RESULTS. In Italy, Spain, Portugal, the southern Netherlands, France, Poland, Austria, and the south German states, Catholicism remained the established religion, that is, the religion which the ruler

decreed should be the state religion and to which he gave financial support. In the rest of western Europe Protestantism in one of the three main forms—Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism—grew stronger than the Catholic Church and became the established religion. In all countries, however, there were groups which refused to accept the state religion and so suffered varying degrees of persecution.

In the Catholic countries there were Protestants; in the Protestant countries there were not only Catholics but often considerable groups of Protestants who upheld some form of belief other than the one established by the state. In such a situation it is easy to see how the differences of opinion that arose from strong religious convictions led to great confusion, often resulting in bloodshed. Sometimes the disturbances were merely local, but they often involved large areas and more than one nation. Many of the wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are called "religious wars," in spite of the fact that trade or rivalry between nations was often the real cause, religion being used to fan the flame of bitterness. The most bloody and destructive of these religious wars was the Thirty Years' War which ended in 1648 after involving most of the nations of the Continent. Even more important than the international wars were the civil wars and persecutions that went on within the different states, Catholic and Protestant rulers being equally intolerant. In time, however, the increasing number of sects made toleration almost a necessity. People gradually wearied of bloodshed and came to believe that it was not essential that every person in a country should have the same beliefs or worship in the same way.

Besides the disruption of the universal church and the establishment of national churches, the Protestant Revolt had several important indirect results: (1) Rivalry between Catholics and Protestants led to a higher standard of individual morality. (2) Partly as a result of the Protestant Revolt a reform movement within the Catholic Church (often referred to as the Counter-Reformation) carefully defined the doctrines of the church and abolished many abuses. (3) Politically the removal of papal control greatly increased the power of the rulers in Protestant countries. Even in Catholic countries the popes granted concessions to keep the rulers faithful, and royal authority gradually grew stronger. The founding of national churches fostered the growth of nationalism.

C. The churches in the eighteenth century. In every country of Europe in 1750 there was an established church, either Protestant or Catholic. In earlier times all citizens had been required to worship in the established church, all other religions being prohibited. By 1750, although other religions were still prohibited by law in most countries, heretics were no longer executed and active religious persecution was dying out. Only members of the established church had full civil and political rights. The clergy of the established church had privileges similar to those of the nobles. They were exempt from practically all taxes and from military service. They controlled vast estates, collected the tithes, and many of the religious orders even carried on profitable businesses. They controlled education, dispensed charity, censored books and pamphlets. The established churches maintained courts in which were tried crimes against their laws. Punishments meted out by these courts were seldom questioned. So large a part did the church play in the life of the time that its rules and regulations were generally looked upon as being fully as important as state laws.

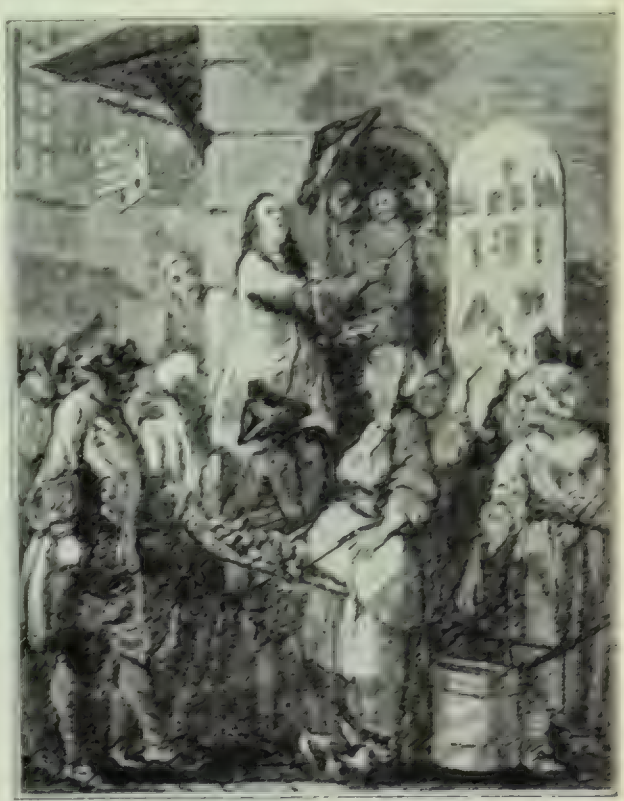
II. Social Classes

We often speak of classes of society—rich and poor, the capitalist class and the working class—but in the United States the lines between social classes are not strictly drawn and we have the same laws for all. This idea of equality before the law, which seems so natural and right to us, is a comparatively new thing. In the eighteenth century it was practically unknown. Inequality before the law was the rule. Social classes of the eighteenth century were an outgrowth of those of feudalism.

A. Classes in feudal society. Under feudalism, as we have seen, there were but two classes of society—the nobles and the serfs. Land was the main form of wealth and the nobles owned the land.

Indeed, it was the holding of land under the feudal system, rather than any "nobility" of character or life, that made a man a noble. Although he was bound somewhat by custom and owed certain duties to his superior lord, each noble governed his own domains much as he pleased. There was everywhere one law for the common man and another for the noble. The noble was privileged but he rendered real services in return for his privileges. He governed his estates, put down robbers, and protected his people from attacks of foreign invaders or neighboring nobles.

B. The rise of the middle class—the bourgeoisie. The growth of trade led to new forms of wealth—stocks of merchandise, shops, warehouses, ships, docks, gold and silver coins. The nobles, busy with their own affairs, took little part in trade so that the new wealth fell largely into other hands. In time this new wealth became so important that those who owned it were looked upon as a new social class, called the "middle" class since it was midway between the nobles and the peasants. It is also often called the "bourgeoisie," that is, "townsmen" (from *bourg*, town).



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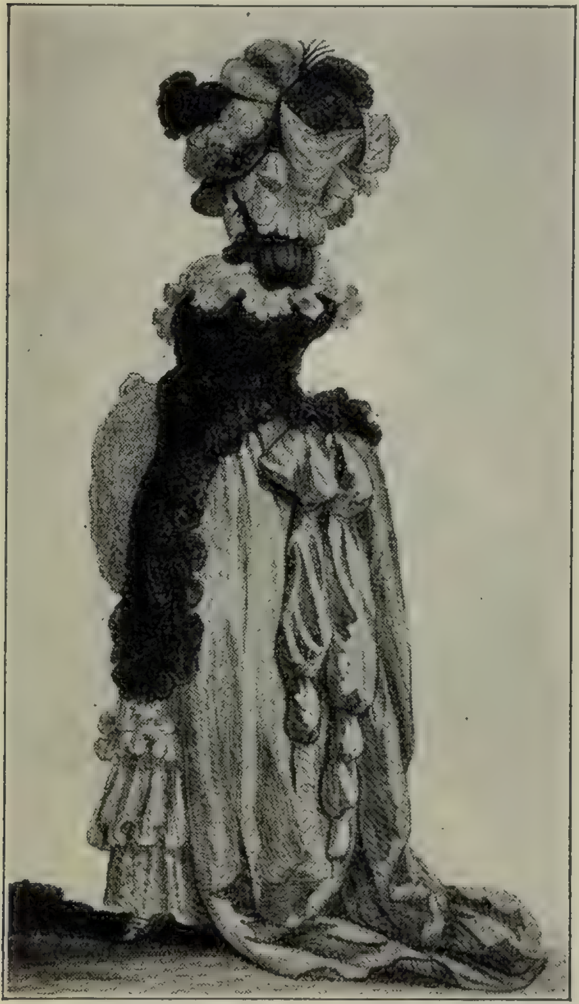
PARISIAN TYPES

An eighteenth-century Parisian street scene with a hymn singer in the background.

The first of the middle-class groups to arise was the merchants—importers, exporters, wholesalers, retailers. Closely allied with the merchants were the owners of the ships that carried their goods. Soon there arose another group, the money lenders or bankers, who bought and sold coins of different countries, received deposits, and made loans. As trade developed, banking houses established branches in different countries which enabled merchants to settle foreign accounts by transfers of credits. In the early days most foreign trade was carried on by individuals but the need for greater amounts of capital led to the formation of stock companies, which received charters from the national government. These charters usually granted the company the right to govern a certain region and a monopoly of the trade with it. These companies enabled people to invest small or large sums of money in trading or colonial enterprises. It was the beginning of a capitalist class as distinguished from a merchant class. Speculation in stocks became common and the stock broker was added to the list of occupations which made up the bourgeoisie. One other group should be mentioned—the lawyers for whose services disputes over trade offered a wide field.



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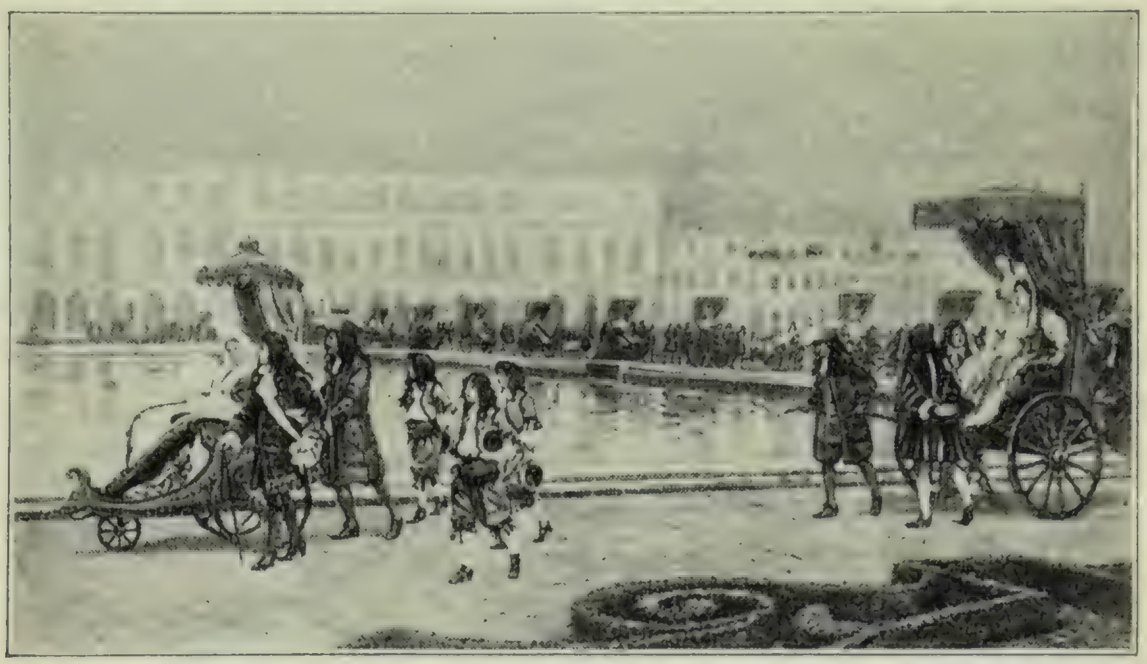
PARISIAN COSTUME, 1786

C. Social classes in the eighteenth century. 1. THE BOURGEOISIE STILL UNPRIVILEGED. Although the bourgeoisie had grown steadily in wealth and numbers they were still a part of the unprivileged class in the eighteenth century. Although some of them because of their ability had been appointed to positions in the government, and although their wealth gave them considerable indirect influence, nowhere except in England did they as a class have a direct voice in the government. Socially they were looked upon by the nobles as inferiors. The bourgeoisie were dissatisfied with their position and were beginning to demand the power to which they believed their wealth entitled them.

2. THE PRIVILEGED NOBILITY AND CLERGY. Eighteenth-century Europe was still divided into two groups, the privileged and the unprivileged. The privileged were the nobles and the clergy; the unprivileged were the mass of the people—serfs, peasants, artisans, bourgeoisie. Everywhere the nobles were supported by the labor of the unprivileged, everywhere they had a monopoly of the important offices, everywhere except in England they were exempt from many taxes and obligations. In some of the countries of continental Europe in the eighteenth century although the nobles had lost much of their former power, they still ruled their domains and performed many important services. In France they no longer rendered any real service, but they still claimed all of their privileges.



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THE ARISTOCRACY

An after-dinner stroll at Versailles was an elaborate affair. Led by the king, the whole court falls in line for a promenade about the gardens. Compare the elegance suggested in this picture with the costumes in that on page 170.

3. FRENCH SOCIAL CLASSES TYPICAL. Out of a French population of twenty-five million in 1780 barely two hundred thousand were privileged. The French nobles still had vast estates but they no longer really ruled them. A royal army directly responsible to the king had replaced the feudal forces of the dukes and barons. Courts presided over by the king's judges had taken the place of the lords'

courts of former times. Many of the nobles entrusted their estates to stewards and spent their time at the royal court at Versailles, where it is estimated that eighteen thousand lived from the public treasury. They monopolized most of the higher offices of the government; they held all the commissions in the army but were seldom with their regiments. At the time of Louis XVI there were thirty-five thousand officers to command the French army of one hundred fifty thousand men.

The French nobles enjoyed hunting rights which resulted in a great burden to the peasants. Game preserves were maintained for the nobles' benefit, but the peasants were not allowed to kill the game that destroyed their crops, nor did they have any redress if the nobles trampled down their crops in pursuit of game.

A most important privilege which the French nobles enjoyed was exemption from certain taxes. The principal tax was the *taille,* a tax on land and on income from certain industries. There were also indirect taxes on salt, tobacco, wine, and cider; the *corvée,* a tax paid in labor on roads and bridges; the import and export duties on goods sent from one district to another. The indirect taxes were not collected by government officials but were farmed out to the highest bidder, so that the more the collector could take in the more he had for himself. The nobles were exempt from the *taille* and the *corvée,* and by unfair assessments and special favors from the collectors they managed to escape most of the others.

4. ENGLISH SOCIAL CLASSES AN EXCEPTION. The position of the English nobility differed considerably from that of the nobles of other countries. In France each son of a noble was himself a noble, entitled to the special rights and privileges of his class. In England only the oldest son inherited the title. There were therefore relatively fewer nobles in England than in France, and although the English nobles practically controlled the government and enjoyed wealth and social distinctions denied to others, they paid taxes on the same basis as other citizens and were subject to the same laws. We shall see later that this English equality before the law, in contrast to French inequality, particularly attracted the attention of French reformers.

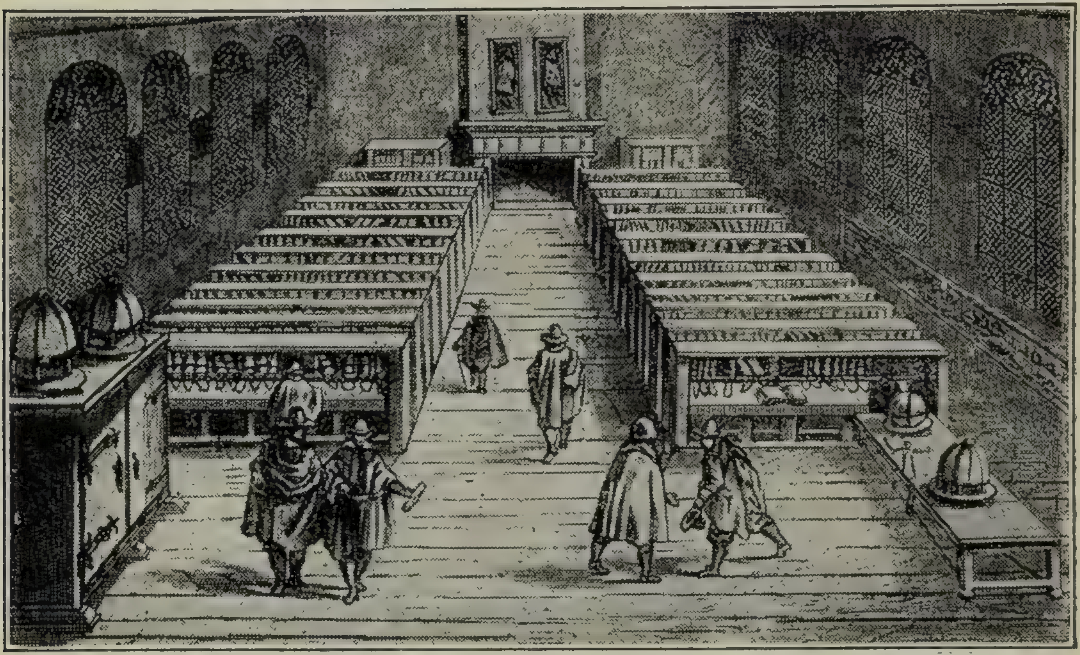
III. CULTURE

Professor Preserved Smith says: "To many men today the most interesting thing about society is its culture, just as the most interesting thing about an individual is his thought." Our modern culture—our ideas, our literature, our art, our education—is a direct development from that of the eighteenth century just as that of the eighteenth century was a direct development from that of the Middle Ages.

A. Medieval culture. In discussing the intellectual life of the Middle Ages we must remember that during all periods of history there is a great gap between what educated people know and the beliefs of the average person. This was especially true during the Middle Ages, when the great majority of people were serfs who had never been more than a few miles from the manor on which they were born. Since they had no books, newspapers, or magazines, no telephones, moving pictures, or radios they were dependent for their knowledge of the world on stories handed down from generation to generation, modified by hearsay reports of an occasional traveler. This mass of tradition and hearsay included a great deal of nonsense, and many fantastic notions about nature and about the peoples of other lands. Belief in demons, witchcraft, and magic was almost universal. Many of our present-day superstitions about what is lucky and what unlucky and the faith that some people still have in fortune tellers are part of our heritage from the Middle Ages and earlier times.

1. SCHOOLS. The gap between the best knowledge and common belief was also wide because few people had what may be called formal education. Religion was taught in home and church; the way of making a living was learned from parents and elders but the great majority never attended school. The monasteries sometimes maintained schools for the children of their neighborhoods in which they taught religion, a little Latin and arithmetic, and sometimes geography. Besides the monastery schools there were some schools attached to cathedrals and a few conducted by parish priests. Far from being compulsory, going to school was looked upon as a privi-

lege for the few. Most people were illiterate, few of the nobles even being able to read or write. The clergy was the only educated class.



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LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN

Note the books chained to the shelves.

2. UNIVERSITIES. In contrast to the ignorance of the vast majority, the Middle Ages produced a few great scholars. Intellectual life reached its highest development in the universities. As early as the eleventh century we can trace the beginnings of the universities, some of which are still flourishing. Able scholars began teaching independently of the cathedral and monastery schools and students often traveled long distances to attend their lectures. The teachers of the same city quite naturally banded together in a guild for their own protection. Sometimes the students formed a guild and controlled the teachers. The word *universitas* (Latin for "corporation" or "association") was used to describe the association of teachers or students, and from this comes our word "university." The universities received special charters or protection from the city, king, or pope. If they did not get along well with the townspeople they would migrate to some more congenial center. The University of

Oxford in England, for example, was founded by students and teachers migrating from Paris.

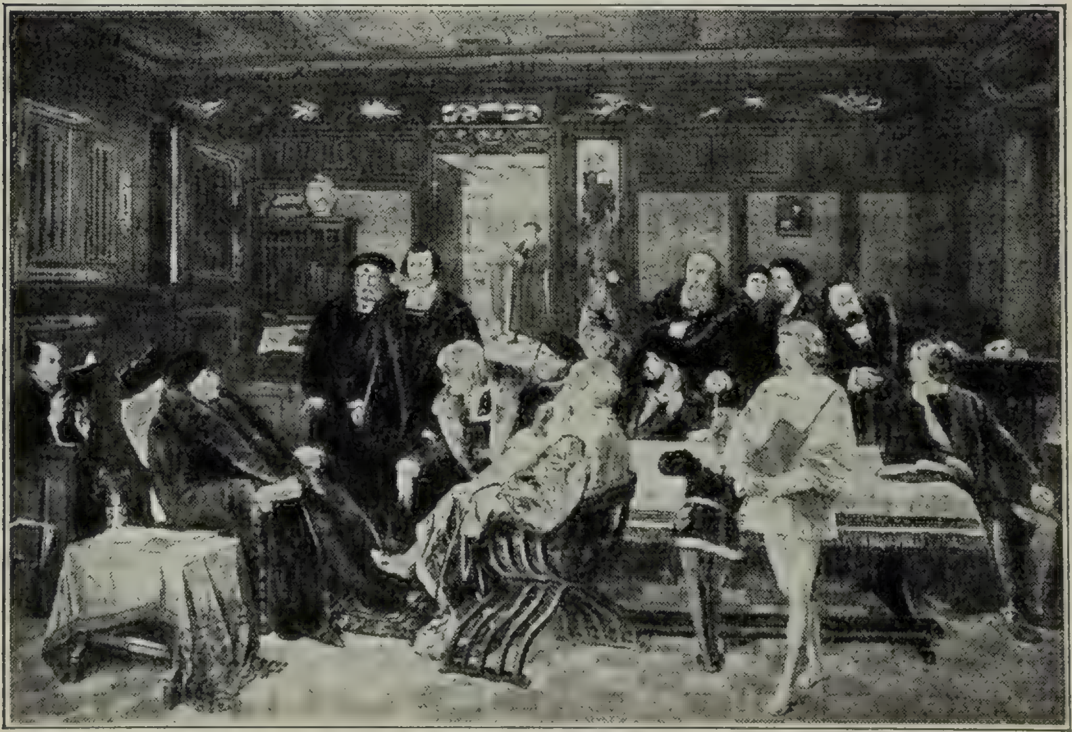
The studies commonly pursued were theology, law, medicine, and the "arts," which included grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The only Greek or Roman works studied were Latin translations of Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, who was considered to be the final authority in science and many other fields.

Scholasticism is the name given to the method of teaching that developed in the schools and universities from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Scholasticism used logic and reasoning to explain the Christian religion. Its method was to state a proposition, give all possible objections to it, and then refute the objections. The works of the scholastic philosophers, written in Latin, were the most important literature of the Middle Ages.

3. ART. The church dominated all art in the Middle Ages as it dominated all other intellectual activity. The chief buildings of note were church buildings; painting and sculpture were practiced mainly as a means of decorating the churches; most of the music was church music; most of the literature dealt with religious subjects. As we have noted in other fields, tradition was strong in the Middle Ages. Art and literature were no exceptions. Tradition, strengthened by the sanctity of religion, dictated both the subjects and the methods. Individuality was discouraged, new methods were frowned on, experimentation was seldom practiced.

B. The Renaissance: the revival of ancient learning. The Eastern trade brought great wealth to the Italian cities. Wealthy merchants lavished it on the construction of beautiful buildings furnished with the luxury of the East. They became patrons of art and literature, vying with each other in their efforts to beautify their homes and their cities. Here it was that architects, sculptors, painters, poets, and scholars found their genius in demand and amply rewarded. It was natural that about the middle of the fourteenth century there should begin here a revival of interest in art and literature, particularly in that of the Greeks and Romans, which had been almost forgotten for centuries.

1. General characteristics. The Renaissance, or "rebirth," as this revival is called, was a period of great productivity in all fields of art. In architecture, painting, sculpture, literature, and music it produced men who are still called "the masters." One characteristic of the Renaissance was a study of the ancients and an imitation of their artistic and literary forms. This study of ancient standards gave a background and a stimulus to originality. Originality was further stimulated by the low esteem which Renaissance artists had for the Middle Ages. Since the Middle Ages had known little of the ancients, medieval culture came to be regarded as inferior, and since the Middle Ages had been ruled by authority, respect for authority, even the authority of the church, broke down. Instead of following set rules, artists tried to express their own ideas and their own emotions in their works. For their models, artists turned to other fields of human activity than religion. A high regard for the works of the Greeks and Romans and originality in expressing their ideas were two dominant characteristics of Renaissance artists.



From the painting by Felix Cogen. Culver Service

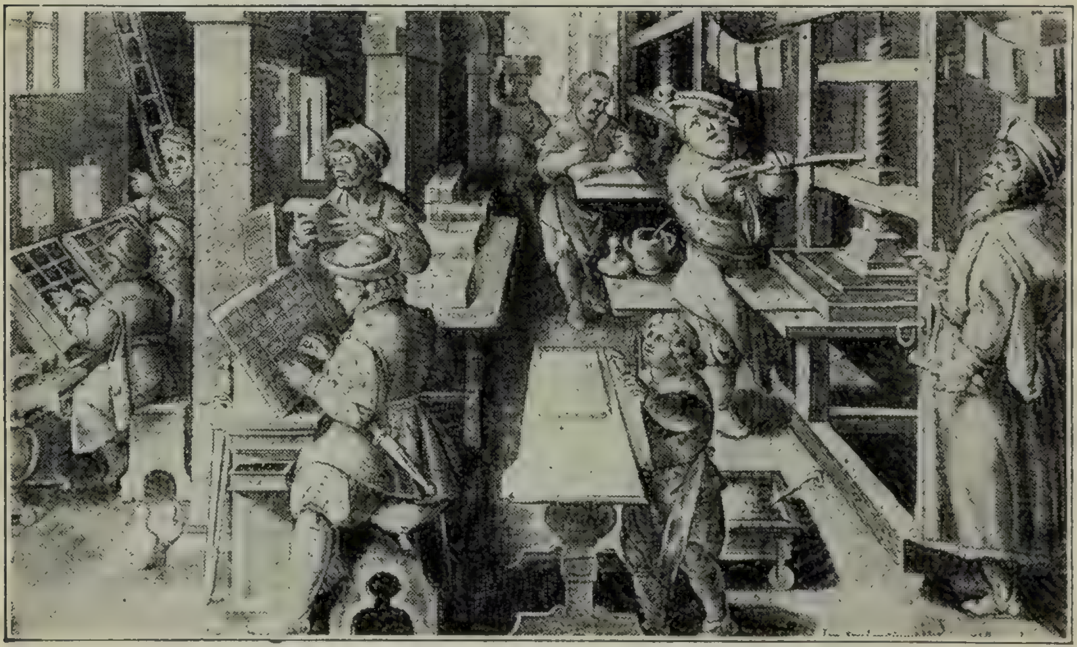
Erasmus (1466-1536)

Erasmus spent his later years in Rotterdam surrounded by disciples and friends.

2. LITERATURE. (*a*) *The humanists.* Learned men began to turn from the theological speculation of the scholastics to a study of the Greek and Roman writers. This devotion to the literature of antiquity was called "humanism." The humanists declared that the study of humanity was far more important than the study of theology and that for the study of humanity Greek and Latin literature offered the finest field. The greatest of the humanists was the Dutch monk, Erasmus, who was particularly interested in the study of Greek. He enjoyed an international reputation, lecturing and teaching in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. His satirical attacks on the abuses among the clergy helped prepare the way for the Protestant Revolt. Humanism gradually replaced scholasticism in the universities and gained such a hold on educational methods that even today many people believe that a knowledge of Latin and Greek is absolutely essential for a liberal education. In the fifteenth century those who wanted Latin literature were educational radicals; today they are conservatives.

The humanists wrote mostly in the classical Latin of Cicero and Horace, scorning the language of the people and even the corrupted medieval Latin. On the other hand some writers began to realize that no wide audience could ever be reached through the use of Latin. These wrote in the vernaculars, as the spoken language of the peoples was called. The sixteenth century produced a great number of literary masterpieces which firmly established the national languages. In German, Martin Luther's Bible was a monumental work. In Italian, Machiavelli wrote *The Prince,* a handbook for rulers, whose main theme is that the ruler who would be strong must have few scruples. In French, the satirical Rabelais wrote fanciful tales poking fun at the customs of his time. The Spaniard, Cervantes, showed the attitude of the time toward the Middle Ages in his *Don Quixote,* a burlesque on feudalism and chivalry. England produced the plays of Ben Jonson, Marlowe, Beaumont and Fletcher, the essays of Francis Bacon, and above all the plays of Shakespeare. All of these writers, and many more, contributed to the development of written languages which the common people could understand.

(*b*) *Printing.* The development of literature was aided by the invention of printing from moveable type. This invention is commonly ascribed to Gutenberg. a German, in the middle of the fifteenth century, although it is doubtful if others are not entitled to share the honor. Printing presses were quite common by the end of the fifteenth century. Wealthy patrons of literature collected magnificent libraries. Some of the popes were interested and aided the literary Renaissance by establishing the Vatican Library, still one of the most important book collections in the world. Books became cheaper and more abundant; they were more accurate; they helped to spread education and to establish the growing national literatures.



From an original sixteenth-century print by Joan Stradanus in the Landaur Collection, New York Public Library

EARLY PRINTING SHOP

3. ARCHITECTURE. Architecture had been the dominant art of the Middle Ages, the art which best expresses the spirit of medieval times, the art which has had most influence on later times. Many of Europe's most beautiful buildings were erected during the medieval period—parish churches, abbeys, and the great cathedrals. In the construction of a cathedral, which sometimes took generations, it was customary for the entire population of a district to coöperate.

Rich and poor, priest and layman, artist and laborer, gave freely of their time and money. "It gratified at once their religious sentiments, their local pride, and their artistic cravings." Until the twelfth century most of the churches were built in the Romanesque style, so called since it was copied from Rome. Romanesque buildings had vaulted ceilings, usually of stone, which were so heavy that they required thick walls, with few windows, to support them. French architects, seeking to get more light into their buildings, developed the Gothic style. The essentials of Gothic architecture are the pointed arch and the support of the ceiling by great pillars, called buttresses, set outside the walls and connected with the walls by flying buttresses. The use of buttresses made it possible for the Gothic cathedrals to have many large windows. To prevent the light from many windows from being too glaring, beautiful stained-glass was used which added the finishing touch of beauty. With all the aids of science modern glass-makers have never been able to equal these windows.

In architecture the Renaissance brought back the simple, straight lines of the Greek temples and the rounded domes of the Romans in place of the often over-ornamented Gothic. The movement started in Italy, where the Romanesque had always been used rather than the Gothic, and gradually displaced the Gothic all over Europe. St. Peter's in Rome, the Louvre in Paris, and St. Paul's in London, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, are beautiful examples of Renaissance architecture. The influence of the classic forms revived by the Renaissance is still strong in architecture all over the world, each country modifying them to suit its own needs and traditions.

4. Sculpture and painting. The lifelike statues of Renaissance sculptors, based on Greek models, were a real revolution after the stiff and formal appearing statues which were characteristic of the Middle Ages. Most medieval painting was fresco painting, that is, done on plaster walls. Several advances were made in the technique of painting during the Renaissance period, particularly the use of oil paints on wood and canvas and the introduction of shading and perspective. It would add little to our appreciation of the beauty and charm of Renaissance painting to give the long list of prominent

painters and their work. Many of their scenes are familiar to us for they have been copied to adorn school and library, office and home, museum and church, throughout the world. Four Italians of the period would be included in any list of the world's great painters —Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian. Da Vinci was a universal genius. He was one of the leading scientists of his time and also an engineer, architect, and sculptor; but his achievements in other lines are obscured by his fame as a painter. Two of his greatest paintings are "The Last Supper," representing Christ and his twelve apostles, and "Mona Lisa," the portrait, smiling and enigmatic, of an Italian lady.

Michelangelo was for several years the architect in charge of building St. Peter's in Rome. His greatest work is the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome which represents the biblical story from the Creation to the Flood. Another of his well-known paintings is "The Last Judgment" which was executed on one of the end walls of the Sistine Chapel. Raphael, unlike da Vinci and Michelangelo, devoted himself exclusively to painting. He died at the age of thirty-seven, but in his short life achieved enduring fame, surpassing even Michelangelo in the charm of his work. Titian was the genius of the famous Venetian school of painting and the greatest of all painters in his coloring.

Italian painters became the teachers of all Europe. Murillo and Velásquez in Spain, Dürer and Holbein in Germany, and Rubens, Van Dyck, and Rembrandt in Holland all show the influence of the Italian masters. Even more than the Italians these artists beyond the Alps turned from religious subjects and began portraying people and scenes from everyday life. The great Rembrandt took many of his subjects from the Bible but used as his models the Dutch burghers and workmen whom he saw about him.

5. MUSIC. Of the three fundamentals of music—rhythm, melody, and harmony—rhythm was the main element in all early forms. Indeed for centuries music was looked upon mainly as an accompaniment for the dance or the recitation of poetry. Later, melody was introduced and about the twelfth century came the beginnings of harmony. This marks the beginning of modern music.

From the beginnings of Christianity the chanting of hymns formed a part of the church service and it was in church music that many of the early developments took place. But the urge for musical expression was too universal to be confined within the strict rules that had developed for church music. All over Europe the common people, at work and at play, expressed their emotions in song. As catchy melodies developed they were repeated from generation to generation, and became "folk songs." Helping to perpetuate the folk songs and to spread interest in music were various groups of wandering musicians—called minstrels, troubadours, or minnesingers—who during the Middle Ages wandered about entertaining lords and ladies in lonely castles and the common people at fairs and festivals.

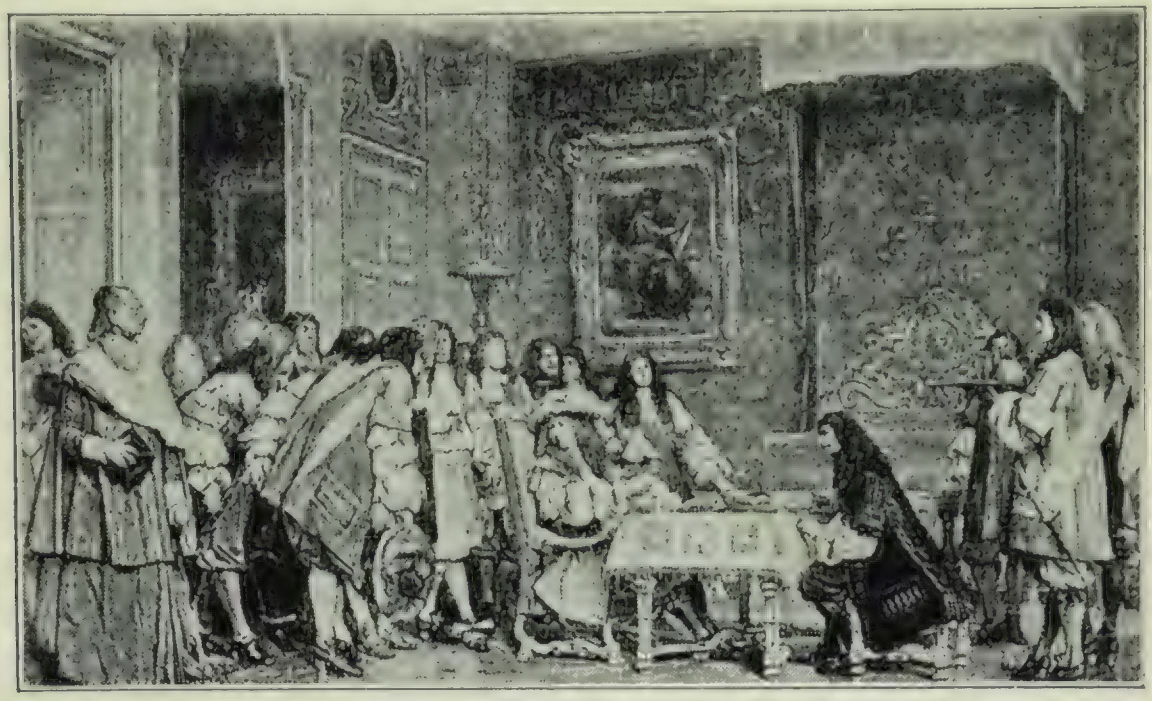
The Renaissance was the period of the development of our two most important forms of dramatic music, the opera and the oratorio. Music was frequently introduced in the miracle and mystery plays of the Middle Ages but was of secondary importance. As the growth of artistic music developed, dramatic musical productions began to appear. The oratorio was devoted to religious themes and usually was performed in churches; the opera dealt with secular themes, most of the early operas being based on Greek tragedies. The Renaissance also saw the beginnings of the development of the piano and the violin.

C. Eighteenth-century culture. 1. EDUCATION. The development of printing, the manufacture of paper, and the rise of the bourgeoisie who could afford to educate their children all combined to bring about a great extension of literacy. Those who could not even read were still in the overwhelming majority but learning was no longer confined to the clergy; in fact most of the great writers of the eighteenth century were not clergymen. The churches still controlled education, however, and nearly all schools were church schools. Universities were growing in number but since most of them clung to the humanist idea that Latin and Greek were the only important studies they lost the position of intellectual leadership which they had formerly enjoyed. With few exceptions the new ideas in the natural and social sciences were developed by men outside the universities. Although there were a few schools for the education of poor boys—the education of girls was entirely neglected—education was still for the wealthy. No European state spent any money on schools or took any responsibility for them.

2. Classicism in art and literature. One of the main characteristics of the Renaissance was the revolt against fixed rules and rigid standards and the assertion of the right of the individual artist to express his own feelings unhampered by convention. In time, however, the great works of the Renaissance became the basis for new rules. Art and literature in the seventeenth centuries became largely imitative, content to copy the masterpieces of earlier times. Once more good form—that is, adherence to custom—was emphasized more than originality. This new attempt to set up standards is sometimes called classicism. Its adherents insisted that the classics of Greece and Rome were the only true guides to excellence in literature and in art.

Classicism was a natural development of the times. An aristocracy ruled Europe politically and socially; it was to be expected that an aristocracy would rule in art and literature. Art was for the few, not for the masses, consequently it tended to be elegant, formal, and artificial, as was natural in a society that was elegant, formal, and artificial.

Elegance and refinement were characteristic of both the painters and writers of the period. On the other hand, Goya of Spain showed his scorn for the emptiness of the court life which he portrayed so faithfully. Two Englishmen, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough, who painted the portraits of the great ladies of the eighteenth century, are typical of the spirit of classicism. The greatest development in French literature came in the drama. Corneille set the models and, under the patronage of Louis XIV, Racine carried them to perfection in tragedy and Molière in comedy. In England, Pope, Addison, and Samuel Johnson are typical writers. The bitter satires of Swift on the hypocrisies of his time are the most original and forceful English works of the period. In music, eighteenth-century classicism produced five of the world's great musicians—Bach, Handel, Glück, Haydn, and Mozart. All of them were Germans, although Handel did most of his work in England and Glück in Paris.



From the painting by Gérôme. Culver Service

THE KING'S BREAKFAST

Louis XIV (1638-1715) was a patron of arts and letters. He sits at the left and has as his guest Molière (1622-1673) who is commonly regarded as the greatest of the French dramatists.

3. BEGINNINGS OF NEW IDEAS. This brief description of the work of the classicists leaves out one most important phase of the intellectual development of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century some fundamental scientific discoveries were made, beginning the development of science which, ever expanding, has continued down to the present time. Scientific discoveries upset many old ideas, and led some men to question ideas which had been long accepted in other fields. In the eighteenth century a group of writers began to attack the fundamentals of government and society. Locke, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and their colleagues stirred up the spirit of revolt which led to the French Revolution and the overthrow of the Old Régime. We are leaving these writers and their scientific forerunners to a later chapter, for

although in time they belong to the Old Régime, in spirit they belong to the modern age. (See pages 103-120.)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What does the history of Christianity prove about the use of persecution to stamp out ideas?

2. How can the great temporal powers of the church in the Middle Ages be explained?

3. What led so many men to become monks in the Middle Ages?

4. "The Crusades were an economic no less than a religious movement." Explain.

5. Can you justify the statement that the Protestant Revolt was an economic and political movement as well as a religious one?

6. How do you account for the fact that northern Europe, in general, became Protestant while southern Europe, in general, remained Catholic?

7. Why was the new social class that came into existence as the result of the growth of trade called the *middle* class? How does the term "middle class" as sometimes used in the United States today differ from the original meaning?

8. Social classes have always existed and still exist in every country. Why are they considered an especial evil in the Old Régime?

9. What illustrations from modern life can you give of the gap "between what educated people know and what the average person believes"?

10. Why was a knowledge of Latin and Greek more important in the fifteenth century than it is today?

11. Explain the statement that the Renaissance (rebirth) was essentially a backward-looking movement.

12. The term Renaissance is sometimes applied to the whole period of change from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, including the growth of trade, discovery and exploration, beginnings of science, rise of national states, and the Protestant Revolt. Is this a sound use of the term? Why?

13. "The radical ideas of one age become the conservative ideas of the next." Show how this is true in the history of art.

14. What books have you read which you consider to be typical of classicism?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Church and Monasticism

Van Loon, Chap. 27
Robinson, Vol. I, pp. 226-260
Thompson, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages,* Chaps. II, V, XVI, XXV
Flick, *The Rise of the Medieval Church*

The Protestant Revolt

Van Loon, Chap. 44
Hayes, Vol. I, Chap. IV
Robinson, Vol. I, pp. 365-459
Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 136-183

Intellectual Progress; The Renaissance

Robinson, Vol. I, Chaps. IV, XIII, XIV, pp. 278-341
Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 175-209
Van Loon, Chaps. 39, 40
Haskins, *The Rise of Universities,* pp. 3-120
Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 96-136

CHAPTER V

THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR BACKGROUND

Some of us think of a government as something established by a group of important laws called a constitution. The government of the United States was established in this way by the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, but there are other ways in which governments originate and other kinds of constitutions. An illustration may help to make clear the nature of constitutions and governments. If a group of boys or girls begins to meet together in an informal club they gradually develop certain customs and precedents. They meet, say, on Friday evenings; they find that they need a presiding officer and so choose a president; some sort of records seem necessary and they choose a secretary to keep them; they can't get along without money so they agree to pay a certain amount of dues and they appoint a treasurer to care for the funds; they adopt many rules and regulations such as that the president shall appoint committees and that the treasurer shall spend no money without a vote of the club. The officers constitute the government of the club; the customs, gradually developed, of having certain officers with definite powers and duties are the constitution of the club. The constitution may be put in written form, but whether it is written or not the constitution is the body of laws, rules, or customs which establishes the government—that is, which says what officers there shall be, how they shall be chosen, what their powers shall be.

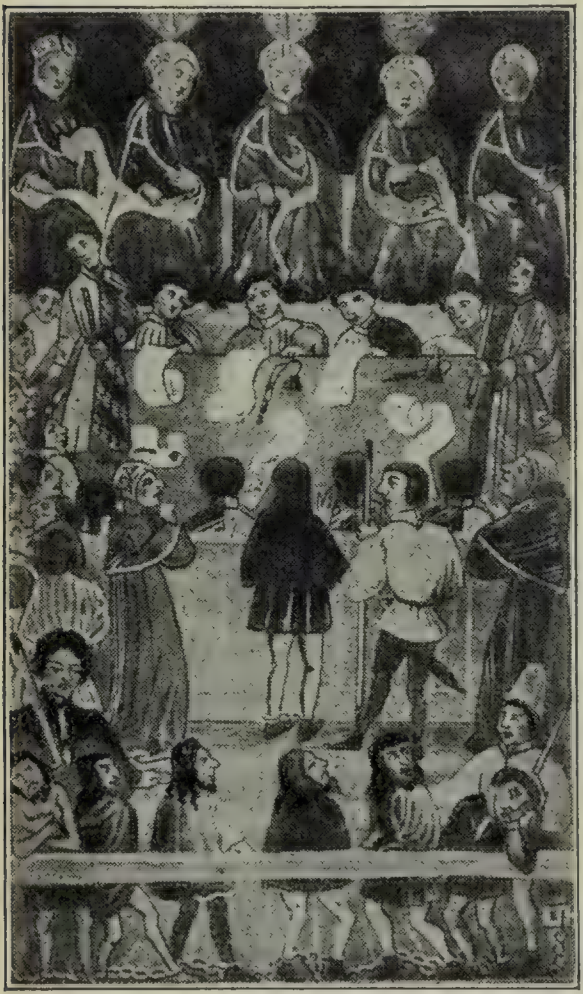
The governments of eighteenth-century Europe were the result of a long development of custom and precedent. They were not created by written constitutions; written constitutions came into existence largely as a result of the American and French revolutions. The national governments of Europe developed from feudalism as the kings made themselves supreme over the feudal lords. During the centuries in which these states were developing the king's powers were steadily growing, until by 1700 absolute monarchy was the typical government of Europe. By absolute monarchy we mean a government in which the king's will is supreme, a government in which the king, or those whom he controls, makes the laws, enforces them, and punishes those who disobey them.

One country, England, was an exception. In England the king had been supreme, but gradually limitations on his power had been developed. We shall describe the English government first, but we should keep in mind that the English government was exceptional, not typical of the governments of the eighteenth century.

I. The Development of Limited Monarchy in England

Because of her nearness to the continent of Europe England has shared in all the great movements that have affected the Continental countries, but her separation from the mainland has caused many of these movements to assume a special form on reaching England. Her separation has also left England free, during a large part of her history, to develop her ideals, customs, and institutions without interference from other peoples. England's government in the eighteenth century is interesting not only because it was different from all others but also because it has served as a model for other governments. It is particularly interesting to citizens of the United States since our state and national governments were copied from it directly.

A. Development of limitations on the king's power. 1. The common law. One English institution which has been copied throughout the English-speaking world is her system of common law. Our idea of law as something made by a ruler or legislature is of distinctly modern origin. Originally law was merely what was established by custom and precedent. Before the time of Henry II in the twelfth century the feudal lords, each in his own dominions, had settled all ordinary disputes and maintained order. Only occasionally did the royal officials visit different parts of the country to settle more important cases and guard the king's interests. Henry, however, divided the country into districts and provided that judges should go regularly "on circuit" to hold court in each of these districts. The law, in accordance with which these judges decided cases, was nothing more than the custom that had developed. The decisions given by the judges were used as the basis for future judgments. In this way English common law gradually became unified and standardized for the whole country.



From a contemporary law treatise. Culver Service

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COURT-ROOM SCENE

Note the prisoners at the bar, the judges, and the court attendants.

The common law supplemented by statutes—that is, law made by a legislature—is still the law of England. Moreover, since it was carried by the English to their colonies, English common law has become the basis of the law of all the states of the United States except Louisiana, where the Napoleonic Code was established before the United States purchased this territory from France. In most of the states statutes, which themselves are often only common law made binding by a legislature, now cover almost the entire field of law, but if a point arises which is not covered by statute the judges still have recourse to the common law to find a basis for their decisions.

2. THE JURY SYSTEM. The jury system, which is used throughout the English-speaking world today, also had its beginnings in twelfth-century England. In order to bring all parts of the country more directly under his control, Henry II started the custom of

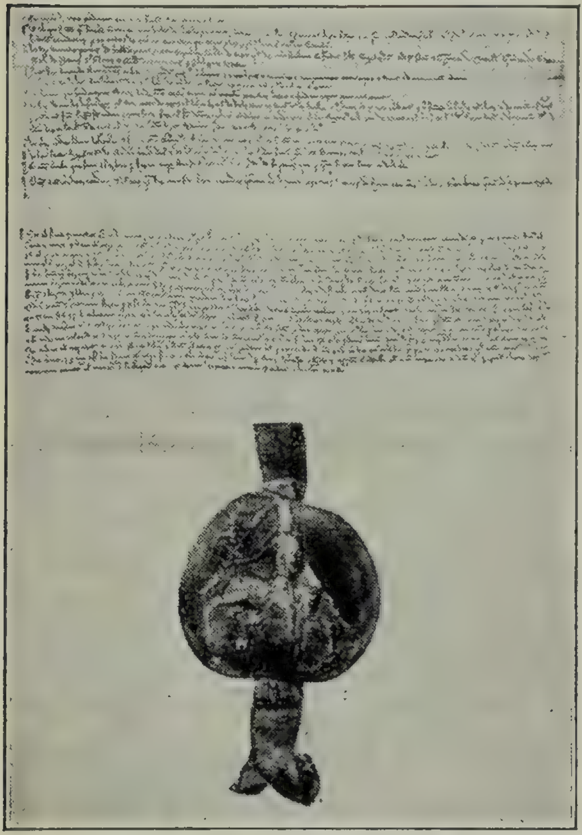
sending out judges at regular periods to hold court. The king decreed that in civil cases—that is, those cases which involved disputes about property rights—the facts should be determined by twelve men chosen by the judge from the neighborhood. After the facts had been determined by the jury, as this body of twelve men came to be called, the law which fitted these facts was decided by the judge. From this custom the trial jury, as we know it, gradually developed. Where a crime had been committed twelve men from the neighborhood were called upon to make accusations against any persons they thought guilty. The case was then tried by the king's judge. From this custom grew our grand jury, which does not determine the guilt or innocence of the accused but merely decides whether there is sufficient evidence to hold them for trial.

In time the jury system became common throughout England. The right of trial by jury came to be considered one of the rights of all Englishmen, a right with which the king himself could not interfere. Other individual rights were established, some by custom, some by acts of Parliament. One important principle that gradually came to be recognized was that all men were equal before the law. This meant that the nobles were not exempt from taxes or from certain laws as they were on the Continent. Another important right was established by Parliament by the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, which forbade a person being imprisoned without cause or being held in prison an unreasonably long time without a trial.

3. The development of Parliament. Most important of all the limitations on the English king was the power of Parliament. Like everything else in England, Parliament had a long, slow development, only the most important steps of which we shall mention.

(*a*) *The Great Council.* Parliament had its beginnings in the Great Council which William the Conqueror established as far back as the eleventh century. This was a feudal body, made up of the lords and church dignitaries who held land directly from the king. Attendance at the council was not a privilege but a duty which every vassal had to perform in return for the land that he held. Through it the king controlled the nobles, forcing them to pay their feudal dues and to furnish their quota of men for war.

(*b*) *Magna Carta.* The first great step in the development of the King's Council into Parliament was Magna Carta, which the nobles forced King John to grant in 1215. While the rights won in Magna Carta were rights for the benefit of the nobles and not for the common people, nevertheless, forcing a king to recognize the rights of anyone in those days established a precedent which the common people made good use of later. Perhaps the most important clause of Magna Carta was that by which the king promised that no taxes (on the nobles), except the regular feudal dues, should be levied without the consent of the Council. Although John himself and later kings tried to ignore this promise and levy taxes without asking permission, Parliament insisted upon its rights and used this power to gain many others. The kings were always wanting money and Parliament made every grant dependent upon the king promising some reform or on his giving over some additional power to itself. This control of the purse enabled Parliament to steadily increase its power.



From the original document in the British Museum

THE LOWER THIRD AND SEAL OF MAGNA CARTA

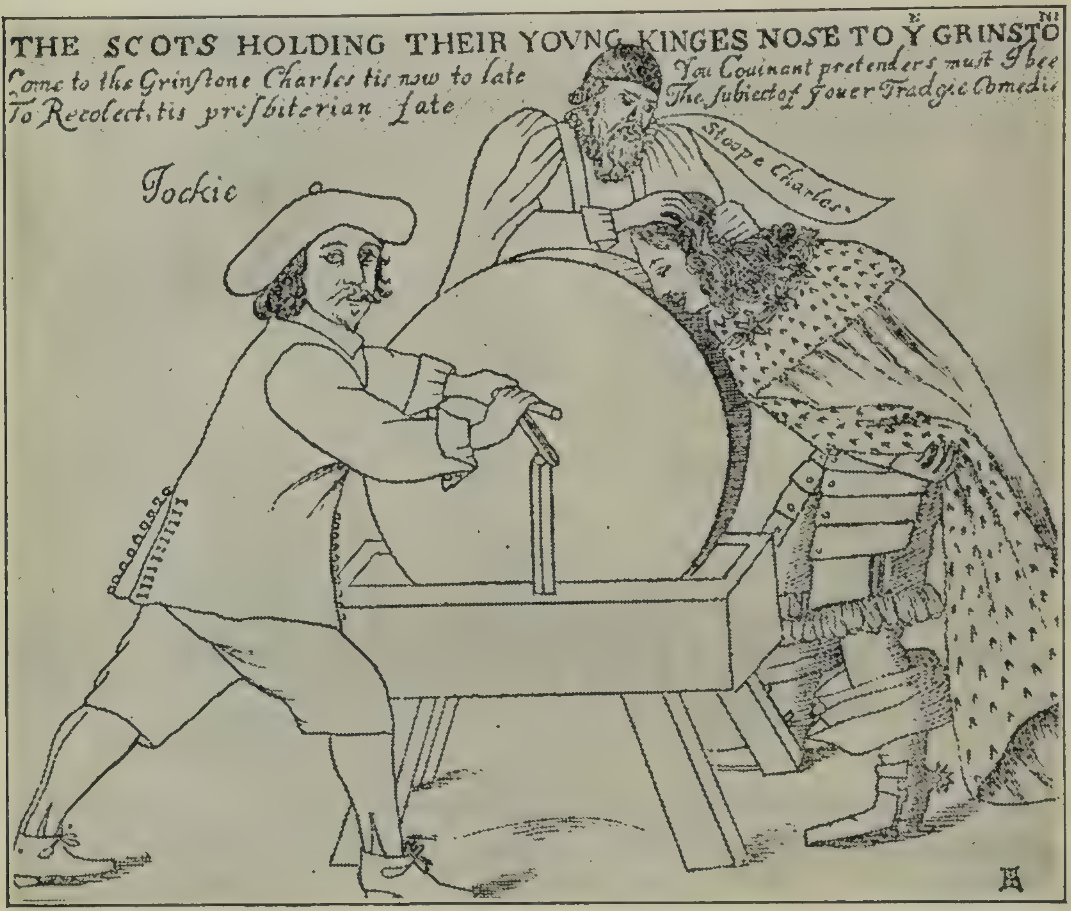
(*c*) *Beginnings of the House of Commons.* While Parliament was growing in power it was also changing in form. The development of trade produced new forms of wealth and a new wealthy class, the merchants. In order to be able to tax the wealth of the merchants and the smaller landlords, the kings, starting with the

"Model Parliament" of 1295, summoned two representatives from each town and two from each county to sit with the great lords and bishops. After a time these representatives of the towns and counties began to sit separately and were called the House of Commons. In the beginning these new members of Parliament did not ask to come and did not want to. They were forced by the king to attend so that he might get more taxes.

(*d*) *The struggle with the Stuarts.* We must remember that all these changes in the powers and form of Parliament were not made by law but developed gradually through custom. Since there was no written constitution there was always some difference of opinion as to just what powers Parliament had at a given time. Under weak rulers Parliament increased its power; but a strong ruler was able to override Parliament and to ignore many of its claims. Under the able and popular Tudors who ruled from 1485 to 1603 Parliament's power decreased. At the same time, however, the middle class, which had some representation in the House of Commons, was steadily increasing in numbers and wealth, and since it paid a large part of the taxes it was constantly demanding more power for Parliament which meant less for the king.

When James I, the first of the Stuart kings, came to the throne in 1603, Parliament began to assert itself vigorously. James claimed that he ruled by divine right and that he was in no way responsible to Parliament. At the same time most of the middle class were Puritans, demanding reforms in the Church of England—the established church—while James intolerantly insisted upon the strictest conformity to its forms of worship and its doctrinal teachings. Under these circumstances it is not hard to see that the stage was being set for a real struggle between the king and Parliament.

(*e*) *The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.* We need not go into the details of the century-long struggle between Parliament and the Stuarts—the execution of King Charles I, the establishment of the Commonwealth and later the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell, the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660. The struggle finally ended in a complete victory for Parliament in 1688 when the parliamentary leaders deposed James II and invited his daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, the Protestant ruler of Holland, to take the throne. William and Mary agreed to Parliament's terms and the "Glorious Revolution," as it was called, was accomplished with practically no resistance.


THE SCOTS HOLDING THEIR YOVNG KINGES NOSE TO Yᴱ GRINSTOᴺᴱ
Come to the Grinſtone Charles tis now to late
To Recolect, tis preſbiterian ſate
You Couinant pretenders muſt bee
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Culver Service

A Political Cartoon of July 14, 1651

The dispute between Charles I and Parliament developed into civil war in 1642. Charles's forces were finally defeated and he was executed in 1649. His son, driven into exile, started negotiations with the Scotch. Having agreed to establish Presbyterianism in both Scotland and England, he was crowned king of Scotland in 1651. This cartoon illustrates the harsh terms to which the Scotch Presbyterians forced him to agree. Later Charles, at the head of a Scotch army, was defeated by Cromwell and fled to France where he lived until, after Cromwell's death, he was restored as king of England in 1660.

The Bill of Rights, 1689, put in definite form what the revolution had accomplished, asserting Parliament's power over taxation and the army and forbidding the king to suspend or violate the laws or to deny the right of jury trial. The Act of Settlement of

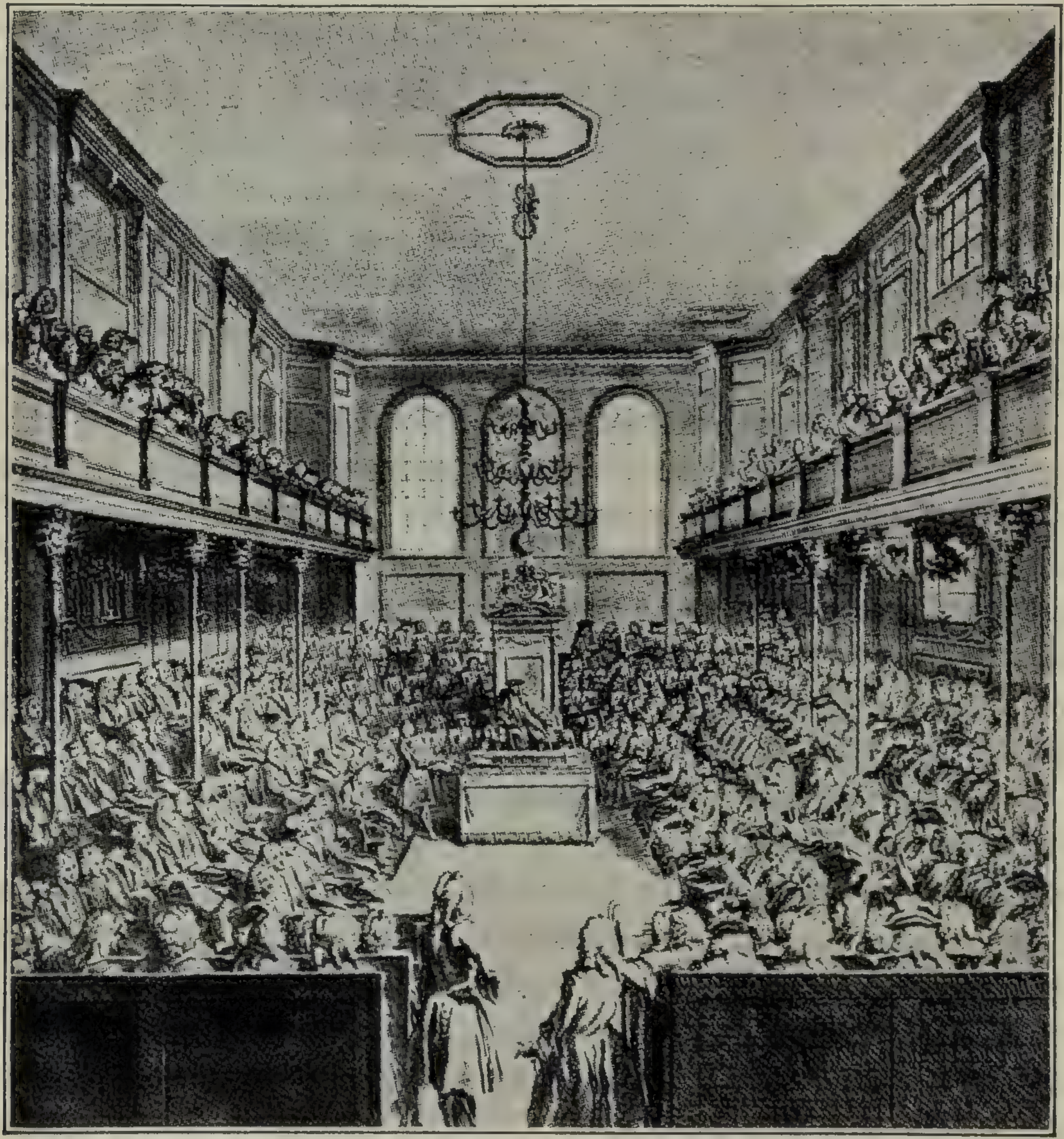
1701 fixed the line of succession to the throne and added other restrictions on the monarch, including the provision that the judges should be chosen for life unless they misbehaved, when they might be removed but only by Parliament. This insured a judiciary free from the king's control.

The "Glorious Revolution" settled once and for all the fact that Parliament was supreme over the king. Hereafter, no king could claim to rule by divine right or hope to make his will supreme since Parliament had deposed one king and put another in his place. Another limitation on the king's power was growing up at the same time that Parliament was making its power secure—the cabinet system.

4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABINET. At the opening of this chapter we tried to show how law and government gradually come out of custom and what we call precedent. The development of the English cabinet is a good illustration of this principle, for the cabinet which is today the main governing body in England grew up outside of the statute law—in fact, there is today no written law authorizing it. Here is a brief history of the development of the modern English cabinet.

The king, even when his power was greatest, had advisers and ministers who acted for him. As Parliament grew in power, the king found it advisable to choose his ministers from the members of Parliament because such men were in closer touch with the lawmaking body and had greater influence with it than could be expected of any outsiders. At first, it must be remembered, these ministers were entirely subordinate to the king, being appointed and removed by him at will.

The first great step in the development of the modern cabinet came in the reign of William III. At the time of the revolution of 1688, the Parliament for the first time was divided into two political parties which came to be known as Tories and Whigs. The Tories were in favor of maintaining, or even increasing, the powers of the king. The Whigs, on the other hand, fought for less political strength to the king and more to Parliament itself. William at first tried appointing a ministry composed of both Whigs and Tories, but soon found that it was difficult to get a Parliament in which the Whigs had a majority to follow recommendations made by Tory ministers. William, therefore, later in his reign, appointed his whole cabinet from one party, the party which had a majority in Parliament. This custom, which started as a matter of convenience, soon came to be a matter of principle, and the party in power came more and more to be held responsible for the conduct of the government,



From an engraving by John Pine after the drawing by Gravelot. Culver Service

INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1742

Speaker Onslow is in the chair, and Sir Robert Walpole is addressing the House.

since its ministers were the king's advisers. Again, it should be remembered that the king still presided over and dominated his ministers at this time.

The next great step came with the accession of the Hanoverian house to the throne. George I, not being able to speak English and being but poorly acquainted with British politics, did not even attend cabinet meetings. In this way the cabinet became the real governing body of the country, independent of the king. Instead of the king, a prime minister presided over the cabinet. Robert Walpole, the first great prime minister, controlled the cabinet for twenty-one years (1721-1742). When at last he lost favor with the majority he resigned as a matter of course, and as time went on this practice of regarding the cabinet as responsible to Parliament instead of the king became an established custom. The idea of the cabinet had become so well fixed during the forty-five years that covered the reigns of the first two Georges, that George III was unable to overthrow it, although he would have liked to do so. The cabinet system was well established by 1800, although it was the middle of the next century before all its details were fully appreciated by the people. (See also pages 433-436.)

B. The English government in 1750. 1. SUPREMACY OF PARLIAMENT. With the power of Parliament and the cabinet definitely established the king of England had indeed become a figure-head. In 1750, as today, all appointments were nominally made by the king, all laws introduced by him and issued in his name, but these things were really done by the cabinet, not the king, and Parliament controlled the cabinet. The king had the nominal right to veto bills, and still has it, but no monarch has exercised this right since Queen Anne in 1707—an illustration of the loss of power by the monarch through disuse.

2. LACK OF DEMOCRACY. The government of England was the most liberal in the world at the middle of the eighteenth century; it was the model for the French reformers when they attacked the absolute power of their king. It was, however, undemocratic and, judged by modern standards, most illiberal. Parliament was supreme but, because of suffrage restrictions, the owners of land—a

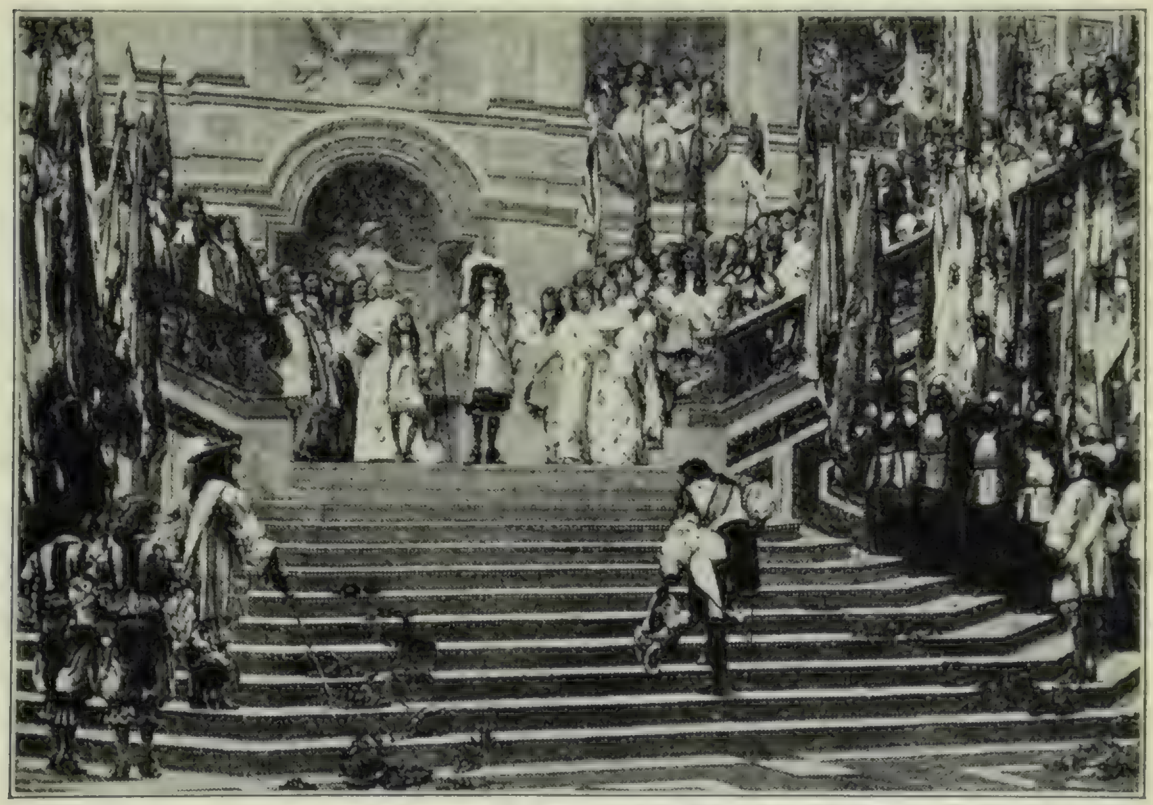
small fraction of the population—controlled Parliament. The House of Lords, an hereditary body, was in theory equal in power to the House of Commons, but in practice was much more powerful. The middle class had some representation in the House of Commons, but the workingmen had no voice whatever, so that the Commons was not representative of the people as a whole. (See pages 417-419.)

II. ABSOLUTE MONARCHY IN FRANCE

Other national states were developing and other national governments growing in strength at the same time as England; but while the feudal lords of England, later aided by the middle class, were limiting the king's power, the kings of other countries were becoming more and more absolute. They made the laws, levied taxes, spent the public money, appointed and removed all officials, and controlled the courts, unchecked by any parliament or written constitution. While the theory and practice of absolutism reached its highest development in France, political conditions in that country were typical of those throughout the Continent. Few of the kings had the wealth to equal the extravagant luxury of the French court but everywhere absolutism was the rule, from the powerful czar of Russia or the sultan of Turkey to the petty princes of the small German states.

A. The French Estates General fails to develop into a parliament. In feudal times all kings had had councils made up of their land holders, similar to the Great Council in England. In England, as we have seen, the council developed into a parliament in which the bourgeoisie shared power with the nobles. In other countries the councils failed to grow in power, becoming merely formal bodies or ceasing to meet at all. The bourgeoisie aided the kings in their struggles against the nobles because a strong national government gave greater protection to trade and manufacture in which they were principally interested. On the other hand they were not strong enough to gain power for themselves; this was to come later. In France a body called the Estates General, made up of representatives of the nobility, the clergy, and the common people, gradually lost power and was not summoned after 1614 until the French Revolution.

B. The divine right of kings. As the kings grew in power they developed a theory to justify their absolutism, the divine right of kings. According to the theory of divine right, God ruled the world through kings, who acted as His lieutenants, receiving their authority directly from Him. Many people were led to believe that to question the king's authority was therefore wicked and blasphemous as well as illegal. "If people had a good king they should be thankful; if they had a bad one they could only pray to God that his heart might be changed."

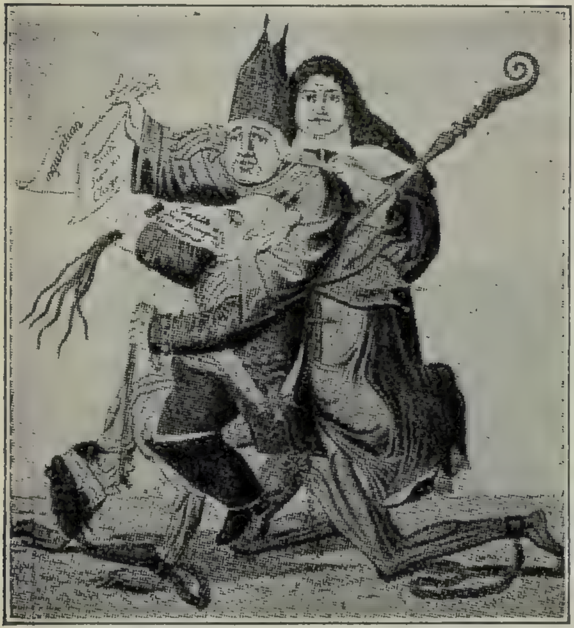


From the painting by Gérôme. Culver Service

THE GRAND MONARCH: LOUIS XIV RECEIVING THE DUKE OF CONDÉ

Condé, one of the great generals of Louis XIV, at one time deserted to the service of Spain but was later reinstated in the French army.

C. Louis XIV: the Grand Monarch. Absolute monarchy reached its highest development and its greatest glory in the reign of Louis XIV, the "Grand Monarch," who ruled France from 1643 to 1715. Louis was able, ambitious, and industrious. He inherited a kingdom already strong and strengthened it still more by wars on his weaker neighbors and by careful administration of internal affairs. Partly to satisfy his own love of luxury and display and partly to distract the nobles, who no longer had any real power, he built at Versailles a magnificent palace set in beautiful grounds. Versailles became the center of fashion and smart society; Louis' court set the style which other kings vainly tried to imitate. To Versailles flocked not only the nobility but writers, painters, sculptors, and architects, for Louis was a liberal patron of the arts. France became not only the strongest military power in Europe but the leader in art and literature. Louis XIV's extravagant court and his costly wars, however, left the French people a heritage of debt which was to make trouble in later reigns.


Culver Service

A CARTOON OF 1789

An anonymous representation of the oppression of the peasants by the privileged classes.

D. Abuses in the government of France. 1. ABSOLUTE POWER IN WEAK HANDS. Much of Louis XIV's success was due to his able ministers, whose advice he was glad to use although he himself dictated general policies and kept in close touch with all the activities of the government. His successors did not have his ability nor his ambition. Louis XV was interested only in his own dissipations. Louis XVI meant well but was stupid and weak-willed. Most of the kings who ruled Europe so absolutely in the eighteenth century resembled Louis XV or Louis XVI rather than Louis XIV. They were too frequently lacking in common sense and ordinary business ability, too much absorbed in their own pleasures to pay much attention to the responsibilities that the accident of birth had thrust upon them. The actual management of affairs was usually entrusted to a council of ministers and numerous subordinate officials. Although these officials were nominally responsible to the king, the real control of the government was in their hands. Occasionally a country was blessed with able and conscientious ministers, but for the most part they inherited their offices or got them through bribery or favoritism. Just as today politicians frequently create offices in order to give a position to some political favorite, so these bureaucrats created offices to provide for their relatives or to sell them to the highest bidder. Consequently, inefficiency and corruption were the rule and the poor peasants and artisans had to pay the bills.

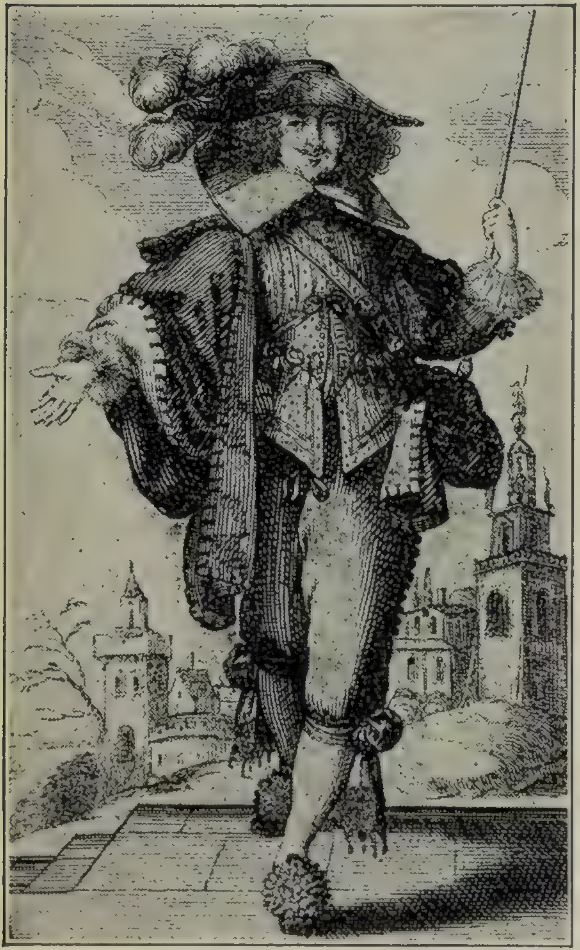
2. Lack of popular control. In some of the provinces and towns of France local assemblies of the people were allowed, but they had no real power. The only agency that in any way restricted the action of the French king was the thirteen *parlements,* and especially the *parlement* of Paris. The *parlements* were not legislative bodies but the highest law courts. In order that they might know the law, all the king's decrees were sent to them to be registered. Originally registration was a mere matter of form, but in time the *parlements* began to criticize certain laws as being contrary to the custom of the country, and toward the close of the eighteenth century they even refused to register some of the king's decrees. Upon such refusal the king might either recall the decree or summon the *parlement* before him and personally order it registered. So, in the last analysis, the *parlements* had no real veto over the king's acts.

3. Local inequalities. Another cause of confusion and dissatisfaction in France and many other countries was the fact that the laws were not uniform and were not administered uniformly throughout the country. The national state had been formed by welding together peoples who were akin in language but who for centuries had been ruled by feudal lords and princes. During these centuries many local differences of law, custom, and tradition had developed, and when they were united under one government each district was allowed to retain its own laws. Often whole provinces were exempt from a tax or free from the obligation to obey certain laws that affected other communities. There were more than two hundred fifty different local codes of law in force in France, resulting in

great inequality and unfairness. For instance, the price of salt, which was controlled by the government, varied in different sections from seven to fifty-eight francs for the same quantity.

III. SUMMARY. FRANCE IN THE OLD RÉGIME

In some ways the eighteenth-century world was far different from the world of the fifth century. The growth of trade, the rise of national states, the Renaissance, and the Protestant Revolt had all produced far-reaching results. Europe had pushed out across the Atlantic to explore and partly settle a new hemisphere. But if a man of the fifth century, or even the first, could have come back to the earth for a visit he would have been struck more by the world's sameness than by the changes that had taken place. The great mass of Europeans were still illiterate, still hedged about by custom and tradition. Except for a few in the cities, they still made their living and spent their leisure as their remote ancestors had done. The idea that the common man should have a voice in the government was still unheard of.

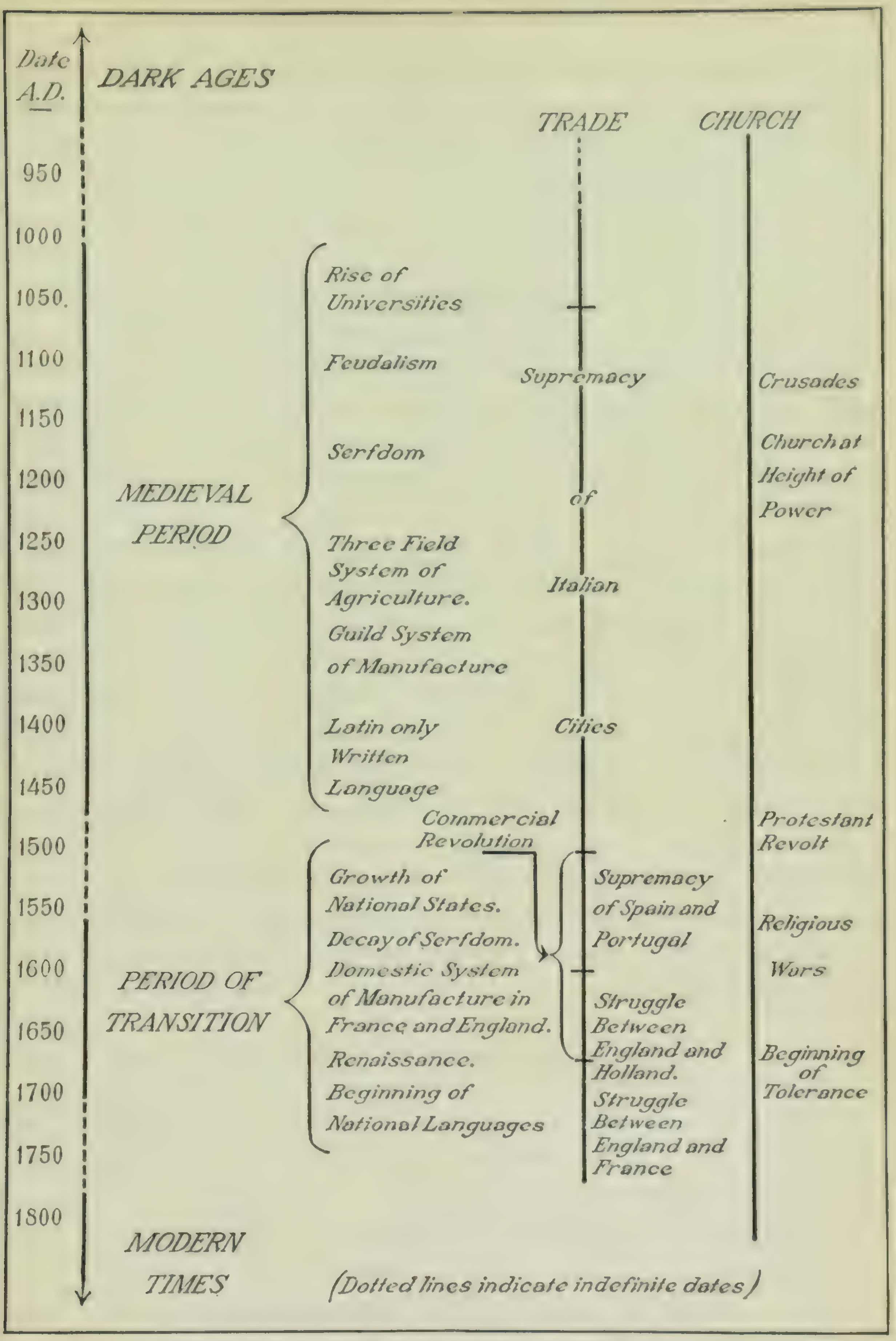


Culver Service

A FRENCH SOLDIER, 1630

His costume suggests that he was more at home at the court than on the battlefield.

Since conditions in France were typical of the Old Régime, and since it was in France that the first great changes occurred, we shall review briefly the conditions in France in the later part of the eighteenth century.



THE RELATIVE TIME OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

1. Politically, the king was absolute, making the laws, raising and spending the public money, controlling the courts as he pleased. The king was dependent on a great group of officials, most of them inefficient and corrupt, but in theory at least he could appoint and remove them at will. Laws were not uniform throughout the country but varied from province to province.

2. Socially, the country was divided into privileged and unprivileged classes. The privileged nobility (a) had a monopoly of all higher government offices; (b) they were exempt from most of the taxes; (c) they had hunting and fishing rights; (d) they collected numerous feudal dues from the peasants. The clergy were also privileged; they were exempt from taxes and military service, they collected the tithe, they controlled education.

3. Economically, (a) almost all of the land was owned by the nobility and clergy; (b) the corrupt government and the extravagant court squandered large sums of money; (c) since the nobility and clergy were exempt from taxes the burden fell on the unprivileged; (d) each province had its own tariffs, greatly hampering trade; (e) various old guild and other restrictions further hampered trade and manufacture. The peasants and artisans suffered most from the abuses of the Old Régime, but the bourgeoisie were most conscious of their troubles. While they were barred from any share in the government, taxes, government inefficiency, and corruption interferred with business; antiquated laws, unjust laws, unequal laws cut down their profits. It was the bourgeoisie who finally brought on the French Revolution.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. There is a tradition that Louis XIV once said, *"L'état, c'est moi"* (I am the state). Assuming that Louis did make this statement, what does it mean? Was it true?

2. How does the Constitution of England differ from that of the United States?

3. What reasons can you give why Parliament developed in England long before it did in other countries?

4. Although England found her system of common law satisfac-

tory until about the fifteenth century, why did she find it necessary to supplement and modify it by statute law after that time? Why is common law likely to be more easily enforceable than statute law?

5. "The very fact that Magna Carta existed was more important for the people of England than any or all of its provisions." Explain.

6. Why is the struggle between the Stuart kings and Parliament of especial importance to Americans?

7. What was the real significance of the Revolution of 1688?

8. Show why the struggle between Parliament and the Stuart kings was largely due to the nature of the British Constitution.

9. What political institutions in the United States originated in England?

10. What illustration can you find in this chapter of the fact that "the geography of a country helps determine its government"?

11. How does the history of France in the reigns of Louis XIV, XV, and XVI illustrate both the strength and the weakness of absolutism?

12. The English custom that only the oldest son shall inherit the title is called "primogeniture." Discuss the arguments for and against this system.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

England's Political Development

- Robinson, Vol. I, pp. 498-519; Vol. II, pp. 183-189
- Hayes, Vol. I, Chap. VIII, and pp. 430-440
- Van Loon, Chap. 45
- Cheyney, *Short History of England*
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 425-469

Absolutism

- Van Loon, Chap. 46
- Hayes, Vol. I, Chap. VI; pp. 235-242, 449-464
- Robinson, Vol. I, pp. 519-531
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. I, pp. 380-381
- Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 290-294

SECTION II

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

Chapter VI. The Intellectual Revolution
Chapter VII. The French Revolution
Chapter VIII. Napoleon
Chapter IX. The Period of Reaction

PREVIEW

In Section I we have outlined the conditions that existed in eighteenth-century Europe and traced briefly how these conditions developed from earlier times. From this point on, our story becomes more detailed, for as we approach our own times we find an increasing number of things that have more directly influenced our lives today.

Here we trace the story of some of the forces that have changed the Old Régime into our modern world. The central theme of this section is the struggle between the ideal of authority, which dominated the Middle Ages and the Old Régime, and the ideal of liberty, which is one of the characteristics of modern times. We shall see how the development of new scientific ideas, by upsetting the old ideals based on authority, led to a questioning of current social, political, and economic beliefs. We shall see how this questioning helped to bring on the French Revolution which overthrew the Old Régime and enthroned the ideals of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." We shall see how Napoleon, ambitious to make himself ruler of all Europe, spread these revolutionary ideals; how the upholders of authority and tradition in other countries united to crush Napoleon; how they tried to stamp out the revolutionary ideals. Finally we shall see how the ideal of liberty persisted in spite of repression and in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 began to win widespread acceptance.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION

LOOKING back from the vantage point of the twentieth century, conditions in eighteenth-century Europe seem intolerable. Absolutism in government, intolerance in religion, privileged classes in society, restrictions in commerce, were everywhere the rule. Our wonder is not that the people rose in revolt, but that the revolution was so long in coming. We must remember, however, that conditions that seem intolerable to us seemed perfectly natural and inevitable to the people of the eighteenth century. They had been born in the midst of them, had lived with them, and were accustomed to them. The average man tends to accept life as he finds it, to regard the world he lives in as incapable of improvement; but despite this human tendency, civilization has made tremendous strides.

Fortunately there are always pioneers in thought, critics of the old era and prophets of a new one, who cry out against abuses and help prepare the way for progress. So it was in the eighteenth century. A group of writers attacked not only the old institutions, but also the fundamental ideas on which they were based. This rise of a spirit of protest and criticism is called the "intellectual revolution." Never, perhaps, was there a more concentrated attack upon an established social order and its philosophy. The thought of the period is especially characterized by its attack upon authority.

Why did this intellectual revolution start? Why, in a world bound by tradition and authority, did some men begin to question tradition and authority and declare that if people would throw off their reverence for the past and give full freedom to their reason, unlimited progress would be made possible? No positive answer can be given to this question, but certainly one thing that led men to challenge tradition and question authority in many fields was the example of the scientists. For two centuries an ever-growing number of thinkers had been examining age-old beliefs about the physical world. They had found that most of that which had been accepted as scientific truth was false. Naturally the idea developed that if tradition and the accepted authorities were wrong about nature they might also be wrong about social institutions. A short account of the development of science will help explain the growth of the spirit of liberty.

I. The Development of Natural Science

A. Medieval science. Until the sixteenth century little progress had been made in science since the time of the Greeks. The Romans had not been greatly interested in science, while ignorance of the laws of nature was the great handicap of the Middle Ages. Fantastic ideas prevailed; all sorts of weird animals and plants with strange powers were supposed to exist. A physician prescribed for spots in the eye "that the patient take whole, in a little wine or water, the worms with many feet that are found between the trunk and bark of trees." The idea, as old as the ancient Babylonians, that sickness and health, fortune and misfortune, depended upon the position of the stars in the heavens was prevalent. While astrology, as the study of the stars for the purpose of foretelling the future was called, could have done no one any good, it did prove to be the forerunner of modern astronomy. Another subject of interest to the medieval scientist was alchemy. The alchemists were mainly concerned with finding the "philosopher's stone" which, they believed, would turn all metals into gold. While, of course, they never succeeded in their main purpose, search for this stone led to many important discoveries that laid the basis for the modern science of chemistry.

In spite of the fact that the Middle Ages made little advance in pure science—that is, in discovering scientific laws—several practical inventions that have had great influence on modern progress were made. Among them were magnifying lenses, clocks, chimney flues, glass windows, the mariner's compass, and gunpowder. The mariner's compass was a necessary preliminary to the great discoveries and explorations of the following centuries. Gunpowder revolutionized warfare. Both the mariner's compass and gunpowder were used by the Chinese before they were known in Europe and were probably first brought from China.

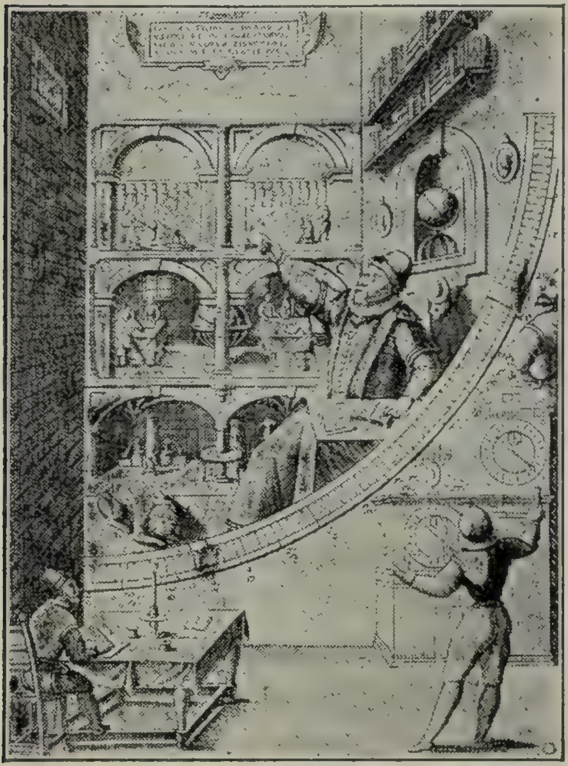
The great weakness of medieval science was the belief that the ancients, especially Aristotle, had learned all that there was to know about nature. Consequently medieval thinkers spent their time studying Aristotle instead of studying nature itself. An outstanding exception was Roger Bacon, an English monk who lived in the thirteenth century. His greatest service was his insistence on experimentation. He maintained that there was no limit to the possibilities of human invention and discovery, but that this progress could be possible only if men ceased their worship of Aristotle and began to investigate nature for themselves. He was the herald of a new day, but it was nearly three centuries after his death before men began to follow his teaching.

B. The new sciences of measurement: astronomy and physics. 1. COPERNICUS. Throughout the Middle Ages the great authority in physics and mathematics was Ptolemy, who in the second century had gathered together the knowledge of the ancient Greeks. According to Ptolemy the earth was at the center of the universe and the sun, moon, stars, and planets revolved about it in fixed orbits every twenty-four hours. In 1543, Copernicus, a native of Poland, published his *Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies*, one of the world's epoch-making books. In it he rejected the Ptolemaic theory of the universe and advanced the new theory that the sun was at the center of our planetary system and that the earth revolved about it.

2. TYCHO BRAHE AND KEPLER. Copernicus did not prove his theory. Before it could be proved, the necessary instruments for astronomical observation had to be developed. This work was reserved in part for the great instrument maker and observer, Tycho Brahe, who developed and improved various astronomical instruments with which he made careful observations of the heavens. He lacked the genius, however, for formulating his recorded observations into a

system. This work was reserved for one of his young assistants, Johannes Kepler, who advanced many important astronomical ideas about the courses of the planets around the sun.

3. GALILEO. Even more famous is Kepler's friend and contemporary, Galileo. Galileo has been called the first modern scientist; he was the first great experimenter. For example, the idea had long been accepted that heavy bodies fell more rapidly than light ones. Instead of accepting this belief without question, or instead of trying to prove or disprove it by speculation or logic, Galileo dropped cannon balls of different weights from the leaning tower at Pisa and found that they reached the ground at the same time. In this way he established the law that, except for the resistance of the air, all bodies fall at the same rate of speed and that the rate of speed depends upon the distance which they fall. By experiment Galileo also made revolutionary discoveries in regard to pendulum vibrations. He carried on the work of other men who had been experimenting with lenses and perfected a telescope powerful enough to disclose the spots on the sun.



From an engraving of 1602. Culver Service

TYCHO BRAHE IN HIS OBSERVATORY

Tycho Brahe was given the island of Hveen (between Denmark and Sweden) on which to conduct his experiments. In addition to the research in astronomy which brought him fame he is reputed to have engaged in numerous duels and on one occasion to have lost his nose, which he replaced with a golden one. Eventually he was exiled, and he died in Prague.

4. NEWTON. Copernicus, Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and a host of other scientists had discovered many more or less closely related astronomical laws. It was left for Sir Isaac Newton, late in the sev-

enteenth century, to bind all these together in one universal law. The earlier scientists had discovered that the planets moved around the sun in regular paths. Newton asked *why?* What kept them from bumping into each other? What kept them from falling into the sun? He thought that there must be some invisible force which attracted every body in the world to every other body. Using Galileo's discoveries as to the velocity of falling bodies he made mathematical computations which seemed to prove his theory. He called his theory the law of gravitation, which, simply stated, says that every body in the universe, great and small, a pebble as well as the moon, is pulled toward every other body by a force which is in proportion to the size of the bodies and inversely in proportion to the square of the distance between them.

OROC

Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727)

The theory of gravitation furnished the key to later astronomical discoveries and is of fundamental importance in all physical science. Newton also formulated the laws of motion, improved the telescope, studied the phenomena of light, and helped in the invention of differential calculus. Newton gained world-wide fame. He did much to popularize scientific ideas. Pope's enthusiastic lines—

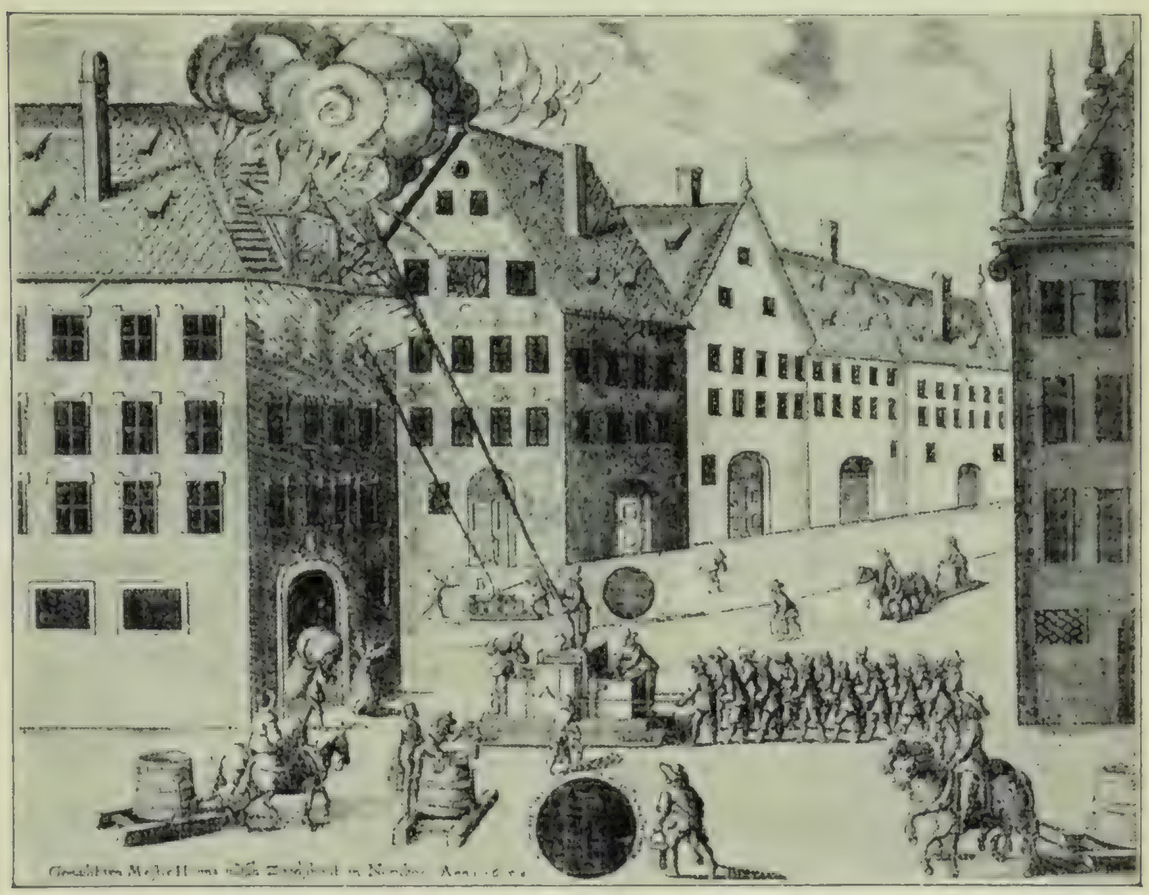
> Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night.
> God said, "Let Newton be!" and all was light—

well express the high regard in which he was held.

C. Progress in other fields of science. 1. SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS. The scientific progress of the sixteenth and later centuries was made possible by the development of accurate instruments and apparatus. First of all mathematics, indispensable tool of all the sciences, greatly helped by the introduction of Arabic numerals, had to be perfected by the development of logarithms, plane and solid geometry, analytical geometry, and trigonometry. The telescope, the microscope, the barometer, the thermometer, the air pump were among the important instruments developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most of these were the results of the combined efforts of several scientists, one supplementing the work of another over long periods of time.

2. BIOLOGY AND ANATOMY. While revolutionary discoveries were being made in astronomy and physics, scarcely less important were the developments in other fields. In 1543, the same year that Copernicus issued his work discrediting the Ptolemaic system, a book was published which in time overthrew another group of ideas as old as Ptolemy's. This book was *On the Structure of the Human Body* by Vesalius, a Belgian anatomist. Vesalius rejected the old method of teaching anatomy, which consisted mainly in reading and commenting on the work of Galen, the compiler of the medical knowledge of the ancients. He conducted experiments of his own, dissecting bodies, human as well as animal, and examining the actual structure of bone and muscle. Early in the next century the work of Vesalius was followed by that of an Englishman, William Harvey, whose use of the same experimental methods led him to believe in the circulation of the blood. In the eighteenth century Linnæus, a Swedish scientist, who collected and catalogued innumerable plants, earned for himself the title of founder of the science of botany. Buffon, a

Frenchman, devoted his attention to the study of animals, classifying them into species according to fundamental likenesses.



From a contemporary print. Culver Service

NUREMBERG FIRE ENGINES, 1658

As there were no water mains the water was brought by bucket and barrel. Three types of pressure engines were available, however, as shown at A, B, and C. The largest, capable of throwing water eighty to a hundred feet, was operated by a score or more of men. The smaller size, B, could be handled by one man alone, while the hand extinguisher, C, would throw water fifty feet.

3. CHEMISTRY. In the seventeenth century, Robert Boyle, an Englishman, did much to lay the foundations of modern chemistry, not only through his experiments on the compressibility of gases, but also through his book, *The Skeptical Chemist,* in which he poked fun at the alchemy of the Middle Ages. Chemistry, however, was not put on the same sure basis as the other sciences until the close of the eighteenth century. Then, largely through the work of the Englishmen, Priestley and Cavendish, and the Swedish scientist, Scheele, great progress was made. The famous Frenchman, Lavoi-

sier, built upon the work of these men, combined their results, and is regarded as the founder of modern chemistry. Lavoisier, whose career was cut short by the guillotine during the French Revolution, developed an accurate explanation of combustion, and began the nomenclature of modern chemistry.

D. The scientific method. The use of the "inductive method" of reasoning, employed by some of the scientists, was almost as important in the long run as the actual discoveries made at this time. The medieval scientists and philosophers followed the "deductive method"; that is, they started from generally accepted truths found in the writings of the ancients or in the Bible, and from these general truths reasoned to conclusions about particular facts. The inductive method starts with facts arrived at by observation and experiment, notes the likenesses or differences of the facts collected, and expresses these likenesses or differences in general laws. Most of the great men in science have had the genius to see and express in general laws the significance of facts which they or other men have collected. Early in the seventeenth century Francis Bacon, the English philosopher, essayist, and politician, did much to popularize the inductive method. The same doctrine was preached, although not always practiced, by Descartes, the French mathematician and philosopher. Descartes doubted everything—even his own existence—and then sought to build up a body of knowledge based upon the observed phenomena of nature which, irrespective of authority, would appeal to his own reason. The method of observation and experimentation had been used by a large number of thinkers, even in ancient times, but Bacon and Descartes did so much to popularize it that they may be called the founders of the modern scientific method.

E. Significance of scientific development. 1. EARLY OPPOSITION. At first the new scientific ideas met with violent opposition from the upholders of tradition. The humanists who controlled most of the universities insisted that true learning was to be had by the study of the classic Greek and Roman writers, not by the study of nature. Churchmen opposed the new ideas because, they said, some of the scientists had gone outside their proper fields and attacked the accepted interpretations of some of the passages of the Bible. In the Preface to his *Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies*, which he dedicated to Pope Paul III, Copernicus said: "I can easily conceive, most Holy Father, that as soon as some people learn that in this book which I have written concerning the revolutions of the heavenly bodies I ascribe certain motions to the earth, they will cry out that I and my theory should be rejected. The contempt which I had to fear because of the novelty and apparent absurdity of my idea nearly induced me to abandon utterly the work I had begun." His theory met with all the scorn and ridicule that he had anticipated. When Galileo, in his defense of Copernicus' ideas, attacked the attitude of the church he was called before the Inquisition, a church court for the detection and suppression of heresy. The Inquisition condemned some of his writings as heretical and prohibited him from teaching them.

2. Gradual acceptance of scientific ideas. In spite of opposition the new scientific theories gradually won acceptance from an ever-widening group. The growth of trade, the increase of wealth, the awakened interest in intellectual matters, the development of printing, all combined to increase the number of literate people to whom the scientists could appeal. By the close of the seventeenth century active opposition to the new ideas was dying out, but it was left for Newton to make science respectable and popular. Newton worked out his theories by mathematical computations. Following Descartes' idea that mathematics was the key to the universe, he declared that all the laws of the universe could be discovered and reduced to mathematical formulæ. Man had only to discover these laws to control the universe; man was to become more and more the master of his own fate.

Few people understood Newton's mathematics, but many accepted enthusiastically the idea that the world was a great machine governed by laws which could not be changed. This idea, that science could unravel all the mysteries of life, came to dominate the thought of the eighteenth century. It became the fashion in smart circles to cultivate the scientist. Societies and academies for the promotion of science were established in London, Paris, and Berlin. Pensions and gifts were bestowed upon men of science by kings, governments, and wealthy patrons; observatories and laboratories were built at state expense. Expeditions were sent to distant parts of the world to collect specimens or observe an eclipse.

3. The scientific revolution leads to a general intellectual revolution. For centuries men had looked back to the "good old days," convinced that the most they could hope for was to approach the glories of Greece and Rome. With the triumphs of science added to those of the previous centuries in art, literature, and exploration, men began to express the idea that their own generation had surpassed the ancients. They became convinced that life was capable of indefinite improvement. They began to look to the future rather than to the past for inspiration. It was inevitable that the scientists' conception of a world ruled by unchangeable law should influence other fields of thought. Since physical nature was controlled by law, men reasoned, human nature was controlled in the same way. If the laws of the movement of the earth, sun, and stars could be discovered so could the laws which govern society. The overthrow of so many long-cherished notions about the physical world led to the belief that the same method of doubt, questioning, and reasoning would prove that the accepted ideas about government, business, and religion were just as out of date as were the natural laws advanced by Ptolemy. It was argued that if ideas were not subject to scientific proof, the mind should reject them or at least doubt them. This attitude, it is needless to say, was destructive of faith in the old order. Science and reason became objects of worship. This emphasis upon reason and the rejection of authority, either divine or human, as a guiding principle is called rationalism.

II. Rationalism—Reason Substituted for Authority in Human Relations

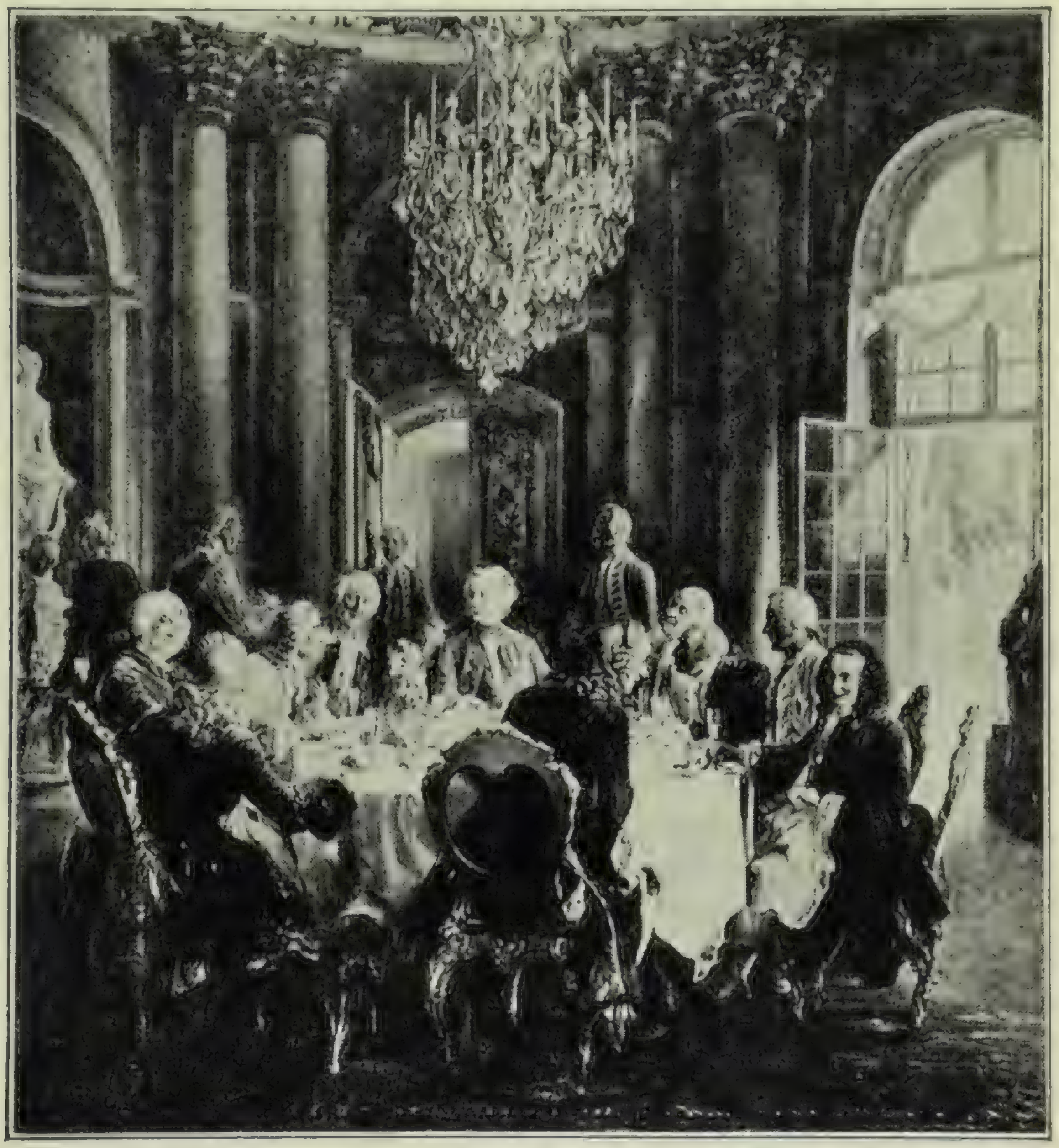
The rationalists of the Enlightenment, as this period is sometimes called, occasionally fell into serious error. They did a tremendously useful work, however, in clearing away false ideas which had been accumulating for centuries and in transforming outworn institutions into new ones which, if not perfect, were at least more in harmony with the times. We can touch here only upon a few of the more important names connected with the "intellectual revolution," and we shall deal mainly with those aspects of it which became popular rather than with the abstract reasonings of the pure philosophers. The intellectual revolution had its beginnings among a group of English thinkers, supported by a few philosophers on the Continent. It had its greatest popularity among the French in the eighteenth century.

A. The influence of Locke. The inspiration for most of the eighteenth-century philosophers came from John Locke, an Englishman, who published most of his important works in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Locke was active in politics as an opponent of the attempt of the Stuarts to rule absolutely. His writings on political subjects were a justification for the "bloodless" revolution of 1688. According to Locke, man possessed certain natural rights—life, liberty, and the right to possess private property. To protect and preserve these natural rights governments were established, and whenever governments failed in this task they were to be overthrown. This idea of popular sovereignty was used by the American colonists as a justification for their revolt against England and, popularized by Rousseau, played an important part in the French Revolution. Locke was not a Christian but a deist—that is, he believed in a personal God but a God bound by the laws of nature with no supernatural powers. In his *Letters on Toleration* he advocated toleration of all religious beliefs, including Catholicism and atheism.

B. Voltaire. The great interpreter of Locke to the French people was François Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire, who was born in 1694 and died in 1778. His life thus covers a greater part of the eighteenth century and he is easily its dominant literary figure. Voltaire received a good education in a Jesuit school and for a time studied law. However, he soon gave up law for literature, and began to attack the government and the church, much to the disgust of his pious and respectable family. His attacks on existing institutions and prominent personages, as scurrilous as they were witty, kept him in constant trouble with the authorities. He served his first jail sentence in the Bastille when he was twenty-three and spent a large part of his life in exile from Paris. These periods of exile brought Voltaire in touch with other countries and made him an international figure. His three years spent in England had a lasting influence on him. He was intimate with most of the prominent literary, intellectual, and political figures and developed a great admiration for English government and institutions, especially for the spirit of toleration and scientific inquiry. He spent considerable time at the Prussian court and carried on a long and intimate correspondence with Frederick the Great. Wherever he went his mischievous spirit and his venomous pen got him into trouble, although he was not above playing the flatterer at times in order to win favor.

Voltaire wrote voluminously; his works fill almost one hundred volumes. He was poet, novelist, historian, biographer, dramatist, essayist, critic. His style was witty and brilliant, but at the same time easy and popular. He was not a great original thinker. His judgments were often inaccurate and superficial. He was inordinately vain and self-centered. He knew how to lie and contradict himself when he chose to avoid trouble, thus laying himself open to charges of insincerity and hypocrisy. Nevertheless he is one of the great men of all time. More than any other he broke down the Old Régime and brought in a new era. The secret of his power lies in his popularity. He appealed to large numbers because he put in witty form what many felt but could not express. The fact that his writings were condemned and burned only made them read the more. Censorship always arouses the interest of the curious.

Voltaire believed that by using his reasoning power man could discover the natural laws that regulated human conduct. The central idea of all his teaching was that man should be guided in all his affairs by reason, not by authority. Since Voltaire believed that the church with its insistence upon authority was the main obstacle to establishing the rule of reason, he particularly attacked the church. He lampooned the priests, held them up to scorn and ridicule as impostors, laughed at their doctrines in theology, satirized their actions, and bitterly attacked their power and manner of living. He wanted the clergy to be subject to the government, to pay taxes, and to leave their monasteries. The regular clergy, such as the Jesuits, he especially hated. His *Letters on the English* is really an attack upon French manners, morals, customs, and government as well as upon Catholicism.

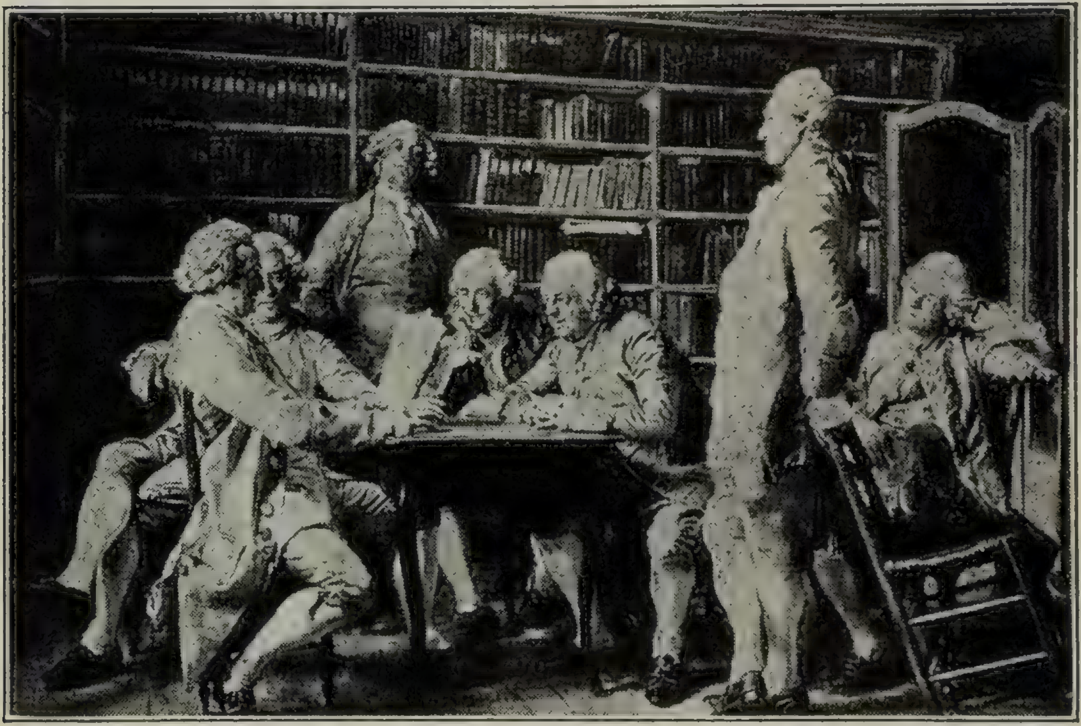


From the painting by Menzel. Culver Service

VOLTAIRE AT SANS SOUCI

Frederick the Great of Prussia, like Louis XIV of France, was a patron of arts and letters. In this picture Frederick is at the rear center and is apparently enjoying one of Voltaire's witticisms. Voltaire, at the left, is talking directly to the king.

Voltaire was not a democrat; he was a monarchist because he had little faith in the average citizen, but he did attack abuses in government and pleaded for rational and enlightened monarchs. He wanted the laws made uniform; the criminal laws improved, exemptions abolished, and the internal tariffs and customs removed. These reforms suggested by Voltaire were subsequently brought about during the French Revolution.



From the painting by Meissonier. Culver Service

Diderot and the Encyclopedists

C. The Encyclopedists. In his attacks on the Old Régime Voltaire was ably assisted by a host of writers who worshiped at the shrine of the new rationalism. Among them was Denis Diderot, who planned and edited an Encyclopedia (*L'Encyclopédie*) in which it was intended to bring together the sum total of human knowledge—"the history of our opinions." To the completion of this ambitious scheme Diderot devoted his life. Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, D'Alembert, and an army of other contributors supplied articles for the undertaking which, after nearly twenty years of labor, was completed in twenty-eight volumes. Diderot and his associated workers, known as the Encyclopedists, worked under the greatest difficulties for, after publication of the first two volumes, the work was condemned and its printing forbidden. Persecution and censorship helped to sell the Encyclopedia but its authors had to carry on the work secretly.

Diderot and the Encyclopedists were enlightened philosophers. They were for the most part rationalists and deists. Their criticism of the church and state, their glorification of liberty, toleration, reason, and nature, breathes forth from every page and gives tone and color to the whole work. In the various articles, the Encyclopedists attacked the slave trade, the system of taxation, the unequal laws, the barbarous criminal codes, intolerance in religion, despotism in government. They extolled the natural sciences, placed emphasis upon the supreme importance of the lowly tasks of the peasant, artisan, and merchant, and referred to clergy and nobles as parasites. Their work was filled with the spirit of Locke and Voltaire and was a powerful agency in helping to spread and popularize their ideas among the bourgeoisie who were being converted to the new "Enlightenment" and who were destined in a few years to apply these ideas in constructing a new social and political order.

D. Montesquieu. Of more direct influence than Voltaire and the Encyclopedists were reformers like Montesquieu and Rousseau. Montesquieu was a nobleman, a lawyer who gave up his position as judge to devote himself to study and travel, spending several years in England. In his most famous book, *The Spirit of the Laws,* he formulated his theories concerning government. According to Montesquieu, there is no one form of government that is best. All governments are good which serve the needs of the people, and in considering a particular type of government it is necessary, he maintains, to have due regard for the past history of the country, its traditions, its habits, and its pursuits.

Montesquieu was much impressed with the English type of government and in particular praised a division of power between parliament, king, and courts, which he mistakenly believed existed there. This separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government so praised by Montesquieu was incorporated in the American constitution. In theory Montesquieu preferred a republic, but urged the French to copy the government of England. His praise of the English constitution, coupled with Voltaire's praise of the English philosophy of life, profoundly influenced the course of the French Revolution.

E. Rousseau. A more radical theory of government was advanced by the erratic and emotional genius, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). His mother having died at his birth Rousseau never had a happy home life. As a boy he was apprenticed to a notary, and later to an engraver from whom he ran away, spending the rest of his life wandering from one city to another, trying various occupations—servant, tutor, music teacher. Always unsuccessful, always in poverty, always in poor health, he became despondent, and at times insane. His unsettled life is reflected in his books which show many inconsistencies. Still greater inconsistency exists between the high standards of conduct formulated in his writings and his own mode of life.

Culver Service

Rousseau (1712-1778)

The statue at Geneva, where Rousseau was born and spent his boyhood.

Rousseau confessed frankly that he often did bad things yet he knew that he wanted to do good. He saw all about him men in the same situation, men who were by nature good, men with high ideals, but who did evil. He felt, therefore, that there was so much evil in the world, so much cruelty, injustice, and poverty, not because of man's nature but because of man's environment. "All is good as it leaves the hands of the Author of all things; yet everything degenerates in the hands of man." The world could be changed only by changing man's environment, by having better social and economic conditions, better governments. By his writings Rousseau tried to show how existing conditions could be improved.

Rousseau's plan for changing political conditions was given in his *Social Contract* in which he accepted Locke's idea of natural rights and elaborated upon it. Primitive men, said Rousseau, were free and equal by nature but they were not equal in physical strength or intellect. To prevent the strong from taking advantage of the weak, all men entered into an agreement, a social contract, by which they undertook to set up a government so that their natural equality might have the sanction of law and become legal equality. The contract was not between the government and the people as earlier writers had said, but between the people themselves. Governments were the creatures of all the people. Men were still free although bound by law, since it was law which men freely accepted for themselves. The significance of the *Social Contract* lay in the fact that it made popular the idea that in any government the people were sovereign, that governments and officials were the servants of the people, that they could be freely changed when they no longer satisfied the people. "The will of the people is always right and tends toward the public good."

But what guarantee is there that the will of the people shall always be for the public good, that the majority shall always know what is best? Obviously men will know what is best for them only if they are well educated. So Rousseau, like all believers in democracy, insisted upon the importance of education, and in a book entitled *Émile* he described a form of education which, he declared, would preserve man's natural goodness. In *Émile* he insisted that education should not be a pouring-in process of forcing the child to learn facts of which he had no understanding, but a natural and gradual development of the child's powers. The child must learn to discipline himself by seeing the consequences of his own acts.

Although some of Rousseau's premises have been disproved and much of his philosophy attacked, there are few men in history whose ideas have had greater influence. His theory of the sovereignty of the people completely overshadowed that of the divine right of kings and was the direct inspiration for the radical leaders of the French Revolution. His ideas on education have contributed much to modern educational theory.

F. The new economics. 1. MERCANTILISM. While Voltaire and his fellow philosophers were attacking the government and the church, another group was attacking the economic doctrines and practices of the time. In medieval Europe trade and manufacture had been closely regulated and protected by the guilds. National states came into existence at the same time that the guilds were finding it impossible to control the growing foreign trade. Merchants therefore turned to the national governments for the protection which the guilds could no longer give. This practice of each government closely regulating and controlling all trade and industry, so that the wealth of the nation might grow at the expense of other nations, was called mercantilism.

2. ADAM SMITH AND THE "LAISSEZ FAIRE" THEORY. In 1776, the year of the American Declaration of Independence, Adam Smith, a professor in the University of Glasgow, published his *Wealth of Nations,* which has been called the declaration of independence of industry. Like other writers who were emphasizing the importance of natural laws in various fields, Smith declared that the production of wealth was governed by natural laws. The most important of these "natural" economic laws was that competition between individuals would result in the greatest production of wealth. The state should not interfere to fix standards of quality or prices; competition between producers would ensure quality, competition between buyers and sellers would ensure a fair price. The state should allow free competition to take its course and should adopt a policy of *laissez faire*—let things alone. Smith demanded not only freedom of competition and free and unrestricted trade within each country, but also freedom of trade between nations. It was unwise, he maintained, as well as wasteful, to stimulate the production of goods artificially in one country when they could be produced more cheaply elsewhere. Let each country produce those goods best suited to its soil, climate, or natural resources.

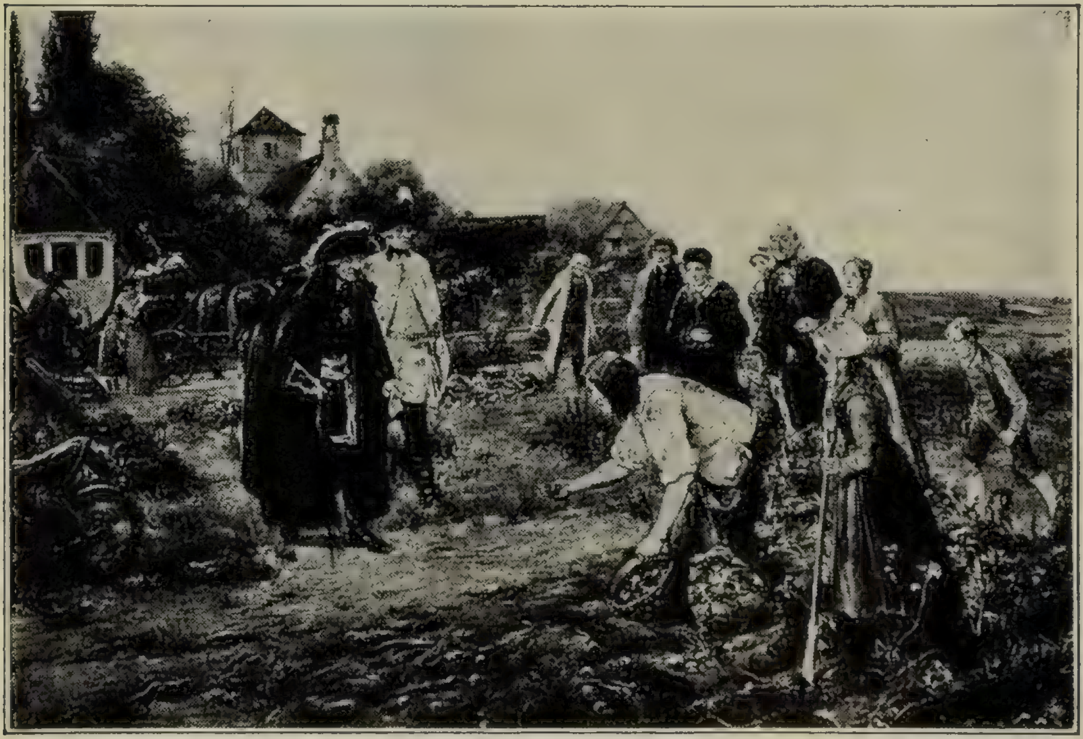
Smith's *laissez faire* doctrines met with enthusiastic approval, since they suited the interests of groups which were growing in power at the time they were published. Trade was developing rapidly and merchants were anxious to be free from tariffs and other guild and mercantilist restrictions. The Industrial Revolution was bringing factories into existence, and factory owners welcomed *laissez faire* since it allowed them to do as they pleased, especially to employ their workers for long hours and at low wages. (See also page 260.)

III. The Enlightened Despots

Many of the rulers of eighteenth-century Europe were interested in the work of the scientists and philosophers; a few of them made half-hearted attempts to put their ideas into practice. These rulers are called the benevolent or enlightened despots. They were enlightened in that they knew the works of the philosophers, they were benevolent in that they wanted to improve the condition of their subjects, but above all they were despots for they were unwilling to do anything which would limit their own power.

The most famous exponents of enlightened despotism were Catherine of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Joseph II of Austria. Catherine was in correspondence with Voltaire and Diderot and was delighted to describe in letters to them her plans of reform, most of which ended with being merely plans. Frederick II of Prussia was a trifle more sincere. He took the business of government seriously and boasted that he was the first servant of the state. He drained marshes and built canals; he encouraged immigration in order to increase the productivity of his country and to secure more soldiers for Prussia. He inaugurated legal reforms which tended to lessen the laws' delay and to establish a single uniform system for Prussia. He founded elementary schools and encouraged science and literature. He did not abolish serfdom, nor did he do anything which would lessen his absolute control of the government.

The most sincere of the benevolent despots, but the least successful, was Joseph II of Austria. He freed the serfs in certain parts of his kingdom, he introduced a simple and uniform system of laws. Although he was a Catholic he confiscated church property and used it for schools. He appointed bishops without approval of the pope, declared marriage a civil contract, and tolerated all religions. He was the most ambitious of the reforming princes; yet his work failed. Nobles and the clergy were against him, and he died a disappointed man, requesting as an epitaph—"Here lies the man who with the best of intentions never succeeded in anything."



From the painting by Warthmüller. Culver Service

FREDERICK THE GREAT

Frederick was much interested in his kingdom and traveled over it constantly, always stopping to inspect whatever interested him. He was known as "the omnipresent king" as he was apt to descend on any peasant's farm at any time.

While enlightened despotism benefited some countries by promoting prosperity, extending religious toleration, and encouraging science and education, it was no solution for the fundamental evils of the Old Régime. At best it depended on the whim of the ruler; what he gave he, or his successors, might as easily take away. While his fellow rulers were playing with enlightened despotism, Louis XV of France was squandering money in dissipation and plunging his country ever deeper into debt. Finally, however, the people of France took matters into their own hands and started a movement which had more far-reaching effects than anything the enlightened despots had dreamed of.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. From the facts given in this chapter give arguments in favor of freedom of speech and press.

2. Newton is quoted as having said, "If I have seen farther than Descartes it is because I have stood on the shoulders of giants." Explain.

3. What is meant by natural science? What are the natural sciences? What other kinds of science are there?

4. Explain the statement that "the science of the Middle Ages was based on authority." Is authority a sound basis for science? Why?

5. Discuss the statement, "The social sciences, such as history and economics, are not really sciences."

6. "The humanists and the scientists of the sixteenth century started a conflict which is still going on." Explain why there was a conflict between humanists and scientists. What similar conflict is still going on?

7. Distinguish between natural rights as described by Locke and legal rights. What rights were the colonists appealing to in the Declaration of Independence?

8. How do you account for the fact that most of the "philosophers" at this time were Frenchmen rather than Englishmen? Rather than Germans?

9. To what extent does the fact that Rousseau failed to practice what he preached destroy the value of his work?

10. Is the reasoning by which Adam Smith arrived at his conclusions sound? Why?

11. In what ways, if any, is benevolent despotism superior to

democracy as a type of government? Why do most people prefer democracy?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Development of Sciences

- Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 414-419
- Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 96-133
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 172-179
- Van Loon, Chap. 60
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. I, pp. 103-108
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 497-506
- Packard, *The Commercial Revolution,* pp. 72-102

The "Philosophers"

- Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 419-426
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 179-200
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. I, pp. 109-124; Vol. V, pp. 527-530
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 506-555

Enlightened Despotism

- Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 440-490
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 220-225
- Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 189-195
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 346-356
- Brunn, *The Enlightened Despots*

CHAPTER VII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

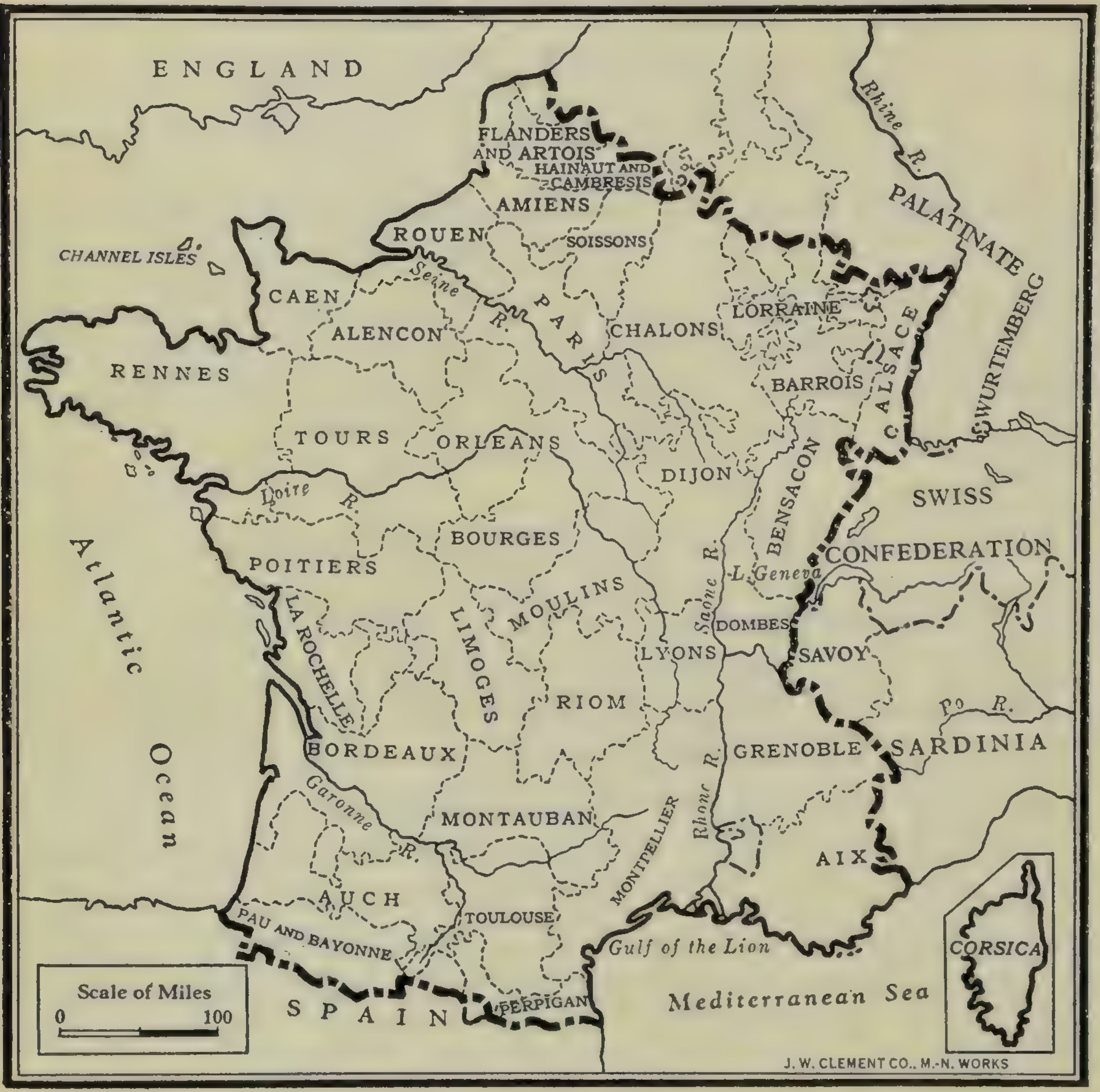
THE French Revolution marks a definite break with the Old Régime and the beginning of many modern ideas. It had important direct results on France and even more important indirect results both on France and on the rest of the world. The events of the Revolution make a fascinating story, but we are concerned mainly with its causes and its results.

I. CAUSES: FUNDAMENTAL AND IMMEDIATE

Why was there a French Revolution? Briefly, because new conditions demanded new institutions. We have already learned of the abuses of the Old Régime in France—the arbitrary power of the king, the special privileges of the nobility and clergy, the burdensome restrictions on trade and industry, the lack of uniformity in the laws and taxes of the various provinces, the hard lot of the tax-burdened peasants. These conditions were resented most keenly by the bourgeoisie—the merchants, traders, ship owners, bankers, capitalists, lawyers, and physicians—whom changing conditions were making ever more numerous and more wealthy. The bourgeoisie were producing the wealth of the country but were virtually excluded from any voice in the government and from high social position. It was the bourgeoisie who were best fitted to realize the inequalities in living conditions and opportunity under the Old Régime and best able to oppose them. The hard-working peasants and artisans were ready to listen to any leaders who promised to better their conditions.

A. Why did the Revolution start in France? Since the peasants of France were relatively better off than the serfs of Austria and Spain it is natural to ask why the Revolution started in France.

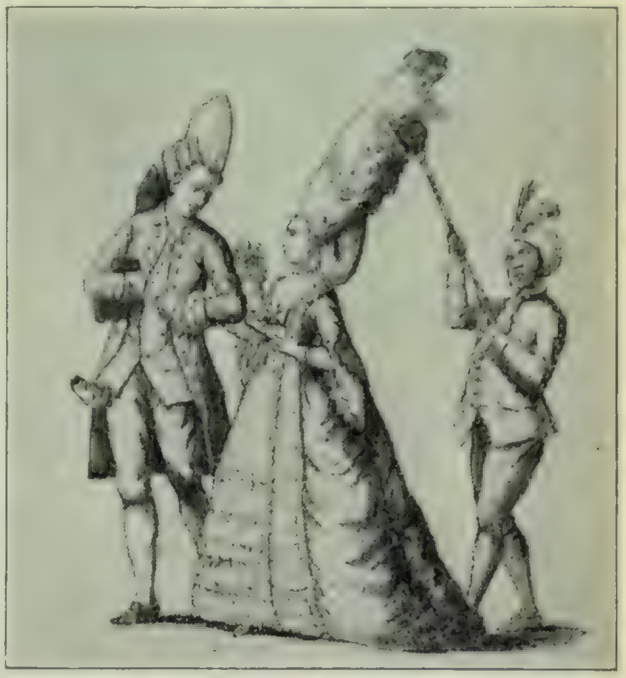
Probably the best answer is: The French were more prosperous, the French middle class was larger and more powerful; to them the Old Régime was more irksome. It was in France that the most bitter attack on the Old Régime was made by Voltaire, Rousseau, and others; no other country had such able leaders or so large an educated class to appreciate the significance of this attack. Then,


ENGLAND
FLANDERS AND ARTOIS
HAINAUT AND CAMBRESIS
AMIENS
Rhine R.
PALATINATE
WURTEMBERG
ROUEN
SOISSONS
CHANNEL ISLES
CAEN
Seine R.
PARIS
CHALONS
LORRAINE
ALSACE
ALENCON
RENNES
BARROIS
TOURS
ORLEANS
DIJON
BENSACON
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Loire R.
BOURGES
Saone R.
L. Geneva
Atlantic Ocean
POITIERS
MOULINS
DOMBES
LA ROCHELLE
LIMOGES
LYONS
SAVOY
RIOM
Po R.
BORDEAUX
GRENOBLE
SARDINIA
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
MONTAUBAN
MONTPELLIER
AIX
AUCH
TOULOUSE
PAU AND BAYONNE
Gulf of the Lion
CORSICA
Scale of Miles
0
100
SPAIN
PERPIGAN
Mediterranean Sea
J. W. CLEMENT CO., M.-N. WORKS

France in 1789 Showing the Intendancies

France was divided into thirty-two intendancies whose boundaries in most cases coincided with those of the old provinces. In each there was an intendant appointed by the king to collect the taxes and carry out the king's orders. The intendants played an important part in maintaining the king's absolute power.

too, no other court was so brilliant or so extravagant as that at Versailles; nowhere else was the contrast between the privileged and unprivileged so striking. The French monarchy had become weak and inefficient and had lost prestige because of its costly and unsuccessful wars. The success of the American Revolution, which the French had aided, had some influence on French opinion largely due to the popularity of Franklin, the emissary of the new republic of the United States of America. Finally there developed in France the immediate occasion for revolt—the government was bankrupt.



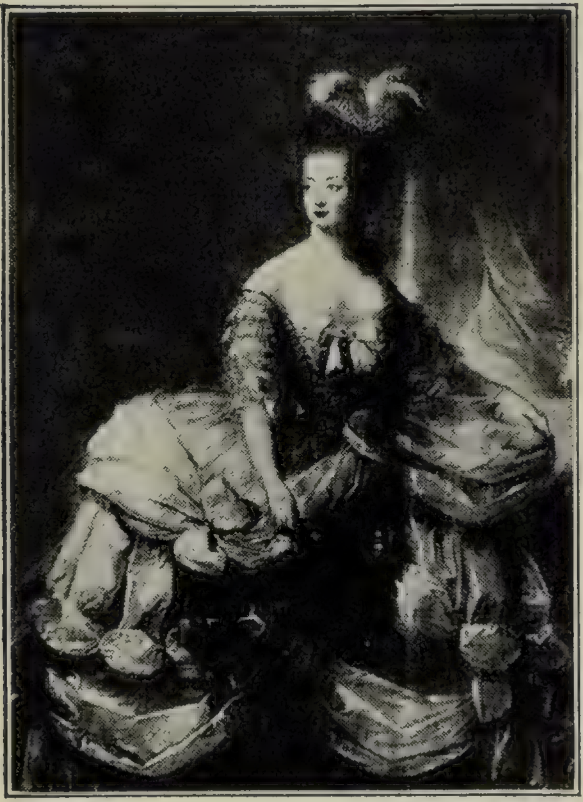
From a contemporary cartoon

COSTUMES OF THE 1780'S

Ladies' coiffures were so elaborate that they became ridiculous and were popular material for cartoonists of the time. The extravagant headdress of this court lady is so heavy that she needs a page to hold it up.

B. How did the monarchy contribute to the Revolution? Louis XIV's expensive wars and extravagant court were responsible for the beginning of France's huge debt, which had been increased by the further extravagance of Louis XV. Louis XVI, who became king in 1774 at the age of twenty, meant well but had little inclination or capacity for the job of being king. He would have preferred to have been allowed to tinker with locks in his shop, for he possessed considerable skill as a locksmith. In appearance he was heavy and ungainly, lacking all the courtly graces associated with royalty. His greatest handicap was his weak and vacillating will, his inability to adopt a policy and stick to it. He really desired to serve his people, but he had too many counselors, good and bad; he listened to them all and tried to follow everyone's advice, even when his advisers disagreed. He was further handicapped by being intensely in love with his extravagant, willful, and capricious wife, Marie

Antoinette, the daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria. She was unpopular in France from the first for the people frowned upon the marriage which was to cement an alliance with a former enemy, Austria. Marie Antoinette was willful, haughty, indiscreet, intolerant. She became the center of the court party, bent upon maintaining its old glories and brilliance. She wielded an enormous influence over her weak husband and could induce him to abandon policies or dismiss ministers that interfered with her pleasure. While Louis XVI and his wife did not cause the Revolution, it is not unlikely that a stronger king could have avoided it, or at least made it less upsetting to the country and less disastrous to himself.

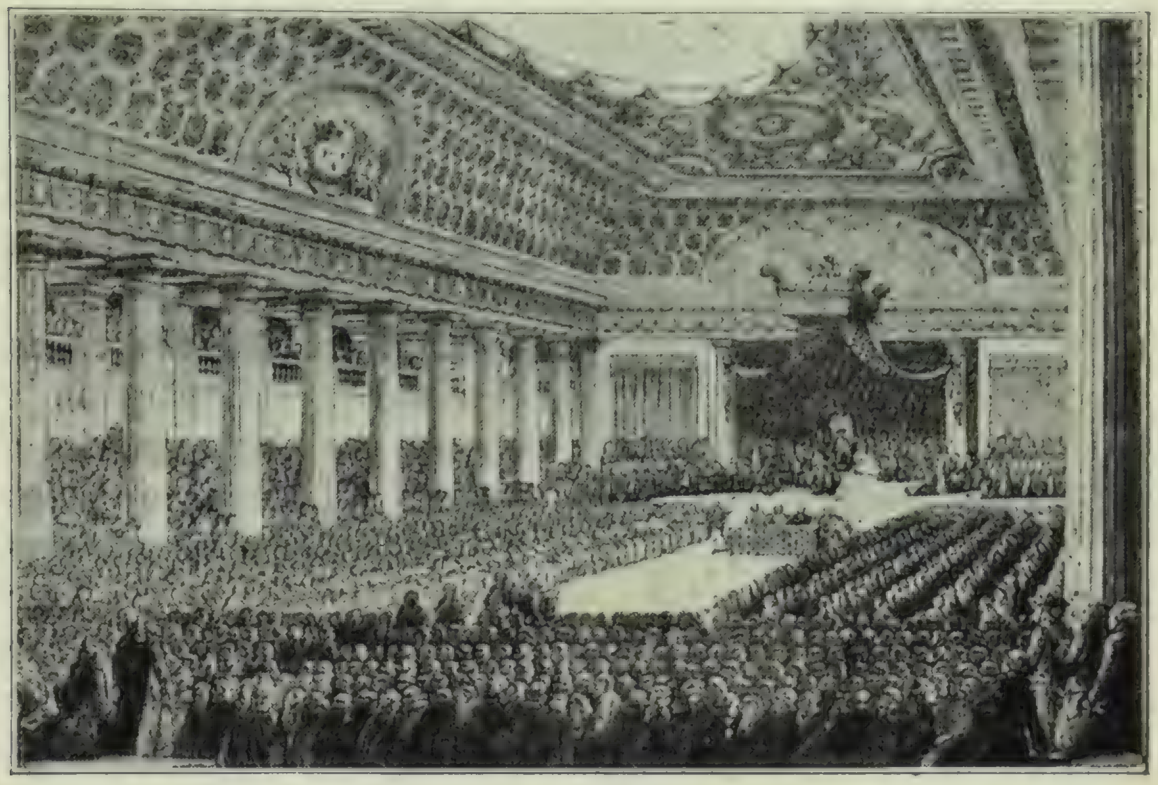


Culver Service

MARIE ANTOINETTE

II. THE ESTATES GENERAL (1789)

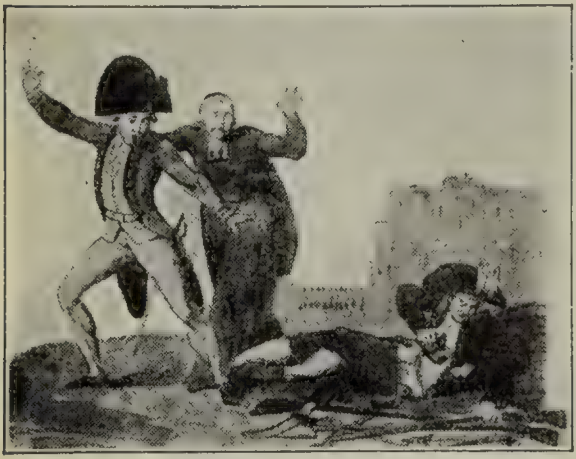
A. Why was the Estates General summoned? Louis XVI started his reign auspiciously by appointing Turgot, the famous economist, as minister of finance. Turgot cut down expenses, abolished restrictions on trade, and started various other reforms; but when he tried to tax the nobles and clergy, the court party started intrigues which led to his dismissal and the abolition of his reforms. Other finance ministers tried to make ends meet without decreasing expenditures or increasing taxes, but finally the king was forced to issue an edict for new taxes. It was necessary for all decrees and edicts to be registered by the *parlements*, the superior courts. The *parlement* of Paris refused to register the edict, declaring that new taxes must be voted by the Estates General. A bad harvest and a severe winter had put the people in an ugly humor, so finally the king gave way and summoned the Estates General to meet in May, 1789.



Opening of the Estates General, 1789

B. What was the Estates General? The Estates General had not met since 1614, and in 1788 few people knew what it was or how it was chosen. It was an assembly of representatives of the three orders or estates—Clergy, Nobility, and Third Estate. The Third Estate included everyone not in the first two. Taxpayers in each district had the right to vote for a representative of their estate from their district. Each estate customarily had three hundred representatives. The representatives of each estate met and deliberated separately; the consent of two of the three was necessary for any action. The Clergy and Nobility, the two privileged estates, thus had a two to one advantage over the Third Estate.

From the time that the Estates General was summoned until it met a general discussion was carried on throughout France in regard to its organization and powers. Numerous pamphlets criticized the old method of organization and demanded that the three orders should meet together and vote as one body. As a concession, it was agreed that the Third Estate should have six hundred representatives while the other two had three hundred each. Increasing the number of representatives of the Third Estate did not, however, do away with the essentially undemocratic method of voting, since each estate was to vote as an independent unit whose majority vote would count as one out of three.



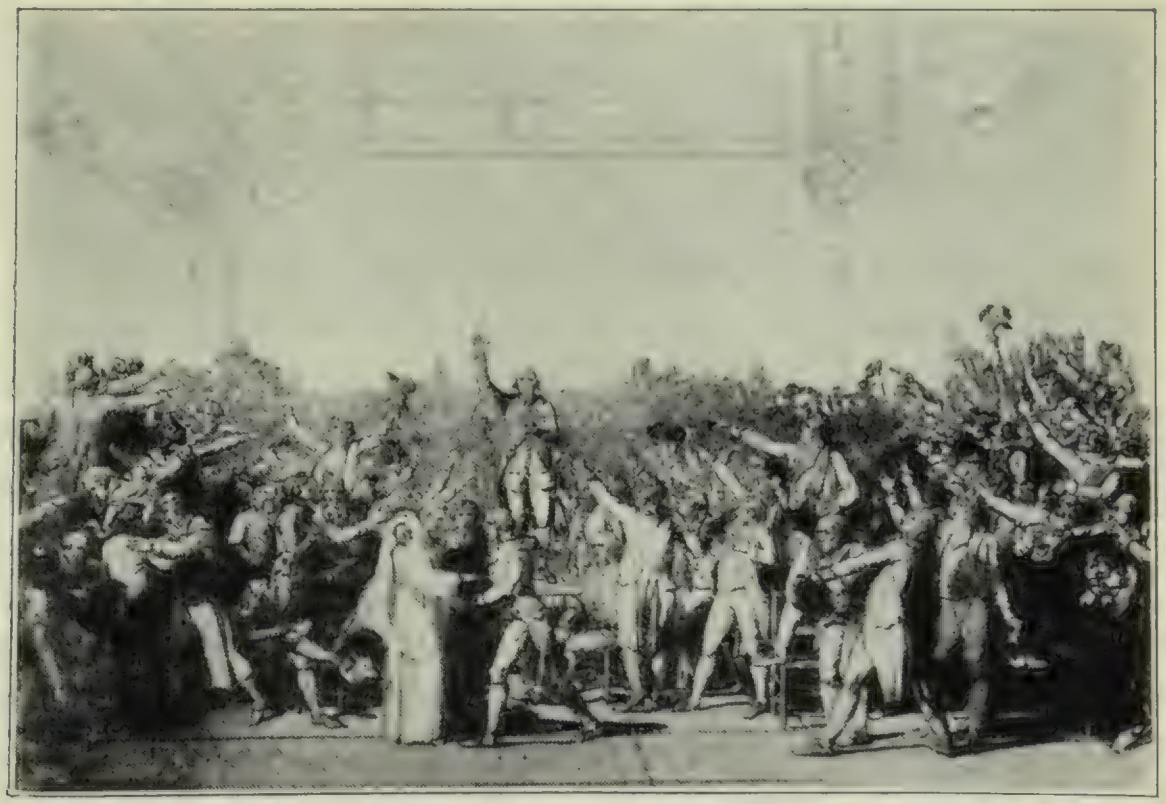
From a contemporary cartoon

The Awakening of the Third Estate

The Third Estate is depicted as awakening from his long slumber, casting off his chains, and terrifying the other two Estates.

C. What did the *cahiers* demand? Following an old custom the king requested the various districts to prepare *cahiers*, or lists of grievances, to be submitted to the Estates General. In the thousands that were prepared there was almost unanimous agreement that current evils were due to the arbitrary character of the government. A written constitution was demanded, but there was no desire expressed to get rid of the king. Further requests were that imprisonment without trial cease, that the feudal dues collected by the lords from the peasants be abolished, that the Estates General meet regularly, that it alone have the power to vote taxes, and that a declaration of rights be drafted.

D. How the Estates General became the National Assembly. In the elections to the Estates General all whose names appeared on the tax lists were allowed to vote—the members of each order voting for their own representatives. The Estates General met May 5, 1789, and immediately the deputies of the Third Estate condemned the old method of organization and refused to meet as a separate order. They invited the representatives of the First and Second Estates to join them to make up a national assembly in which the vote should be by head and not by order. After days of discussion the nobles and clergy rejected the invitation. Despite this adverse vote the Third Estate refused to organize as such and finally declared itself the National Assembly. Three days later the representatives of the Third Estate found their usual meeting place closed to them on the ground that it was undergoing repairs. Indignant at the thought that the king was trying to prevent their meeting, the deputies went to a near-by building, used as a tennis court, and took the famous "Tennis Court Oath" that they would not disband until France had a constitution. Several of the clergy and a few of the nobles joined them and finally the king gave way and ordered all the representatives of the other Estates to join those of the Third Estate in a National Assembly in which each man had one vote. The Third Estate had triumphed; for the first time in the history of France the unprivileged classes had successfully defied the king who claimed to rule by divine right; the first struggle of the Revolution had been won.



From the painting by David

THE TENNIS COURT OATH

III. The National Assembly (1789-1791)

A. Factors influencing the work of the National Assembly.

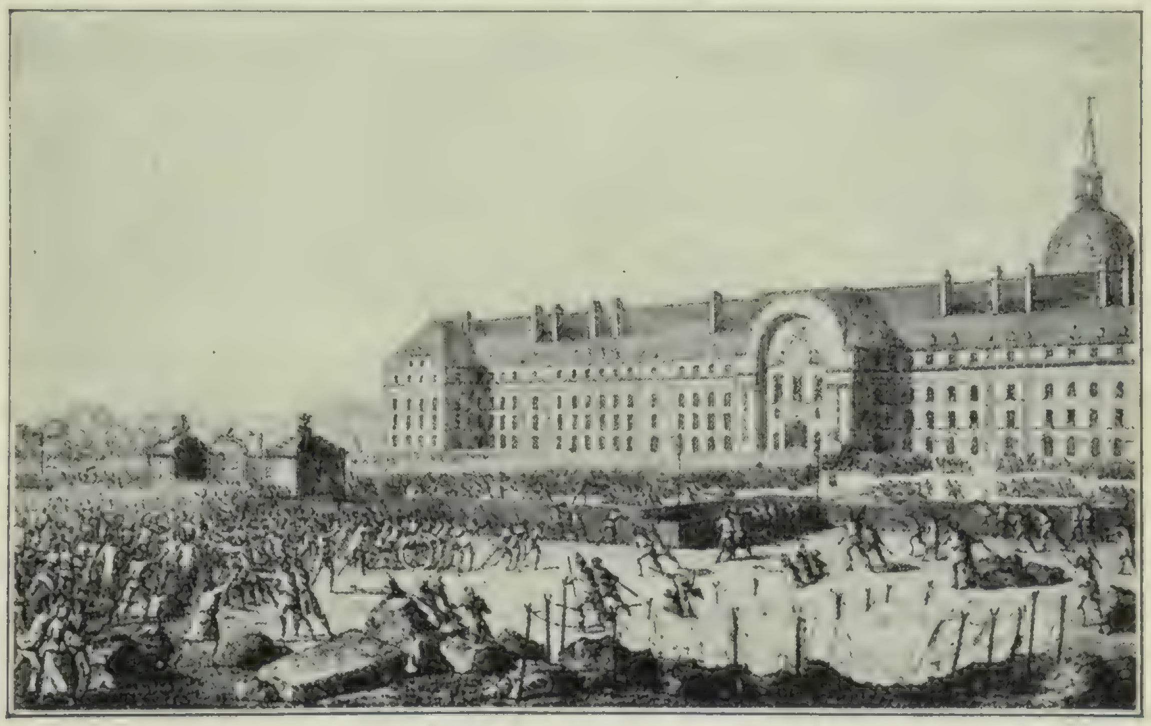
1. The bourgeoisie. The National Assembly remained in session for two years and two months, from July, 1789, to September, 1791. Half of the representatives in the National Assembly were from the Third Estate, and enough of the more liberal nobles and clergy voted with them to insure their majority. This meant that the bourgeoisie controlled the Assembly, since the peasants and artisans who had the vote usually chose for their candidates middle-class merchants and lawyers, rather than men from their own class. These middle-class representatives were anxious to make real reforms in government and in social conditions, but they did not want any interference with the rights of private property.

2. The émigrés. Many of the nobility and higher clergy were unwilling to have any changes at all and, both within the Assembly and outside, the court party tried to obstruct the progress of the Revolution. Some of the nobles, led by the Count of Artois, one of the king's brothers, fled to neighboring countries. They became known as *émigrés*. From the borders of France they plotted against the Revolution, gaining the ready support of the rulers of the other European nations who were only too anxious to check the Revolution before it spread to their own territories. These *émigrés* plotted with the nobles who remained in France and were responsible for much of the trouble that developed later.

3. The Parisian populace. Besides the extremist party of nobles and clergy and the moderate bourgeoisie, a third group played an important part in the drama that was transforming France. This group is often referred to scornfully as "the mob." It consisted mainly of the working men of the cities, led by a few radical journalists and lawyers. It attracted to itself the unemployed, the idlers, and the vicious who wanted excitement and a chance to riot and loot. This group was strongest in Paris, but other cities and some country districts had their "mobs." The bourgeoisie used the activities of the mob to frighten the nobles into granting reforms, but they

feared its power and had no intention of granting its demands for universal suffrage and a more equitable division of property.

4. THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE. The National Assembly had no sooner begun its deliberations at Versailles than the people of Paris became alarmed by rumors that the troops which the king had summoned to Versailles were to break up the Assembly. Scarcity of food and high prices made it easy for radical orators to stir up the mob. Rioting broke out and the Bastille, a famous fortress used as a prison, was captured. Bastille Day, July 14, is still celebrated as the great national holiday of France. The fall of the Bastille was not important in itself, but the Bastille stood in the minds of the people as a symbol of the Old Régime. Its downfall came to be regarded as a symbol of the triumph of the people over privilege.



From a contemporary French print. Culver Service

THE SEIZURE OF ARMS AT LES INVALIDES, JULY 14, 1789
From here the people marched to the Bastille.

Rioting in Paris was the signal for similar outbreaks in other cities. The country districts caught the fever. Many of the châteaux of the nobles were pillaged and burned; noble families, together with judges, tax collectors, and other royal officials, had to flee for their lives. Legal documents recording feudal rights and privileges were destroyed; courts of justice closed; government activity ceased. Confusion reigned, but the people had destroyed the Old Régime.

5. The establishment of the Paris Commune. Fear of the mob led the Parisian business men to take control of the city government. They established the Commune, a city council whose members were elected by the taxpayers instead of being appointed by the king. To prevent rioting and destruction of property, the Commune organized a national guard commanded by the popular noble, Lafayette. Similar changes took place in other cities. The king's officials were dismissed and the governments taken over by the people, or rather by the bourgeoisie.

6. The removal of the government to Paris. In October, 1789, the Parisian mob again intervened to change the course of the Revolution. Hard times in Paris and stories of feasting and revelry among the army officers and hangers-on at the court at Versailles, led a mob of several thousand, mostly women recruited from the slums of Paris, to march to Versailles and attack the royal palace. Lafayette and the National Guard, unable to stop them, followed after. Arriving at Versailles they surrounded the royal palace, shrieking and cursing. Thanks to Lafayette's popularity and his coolness, a serious outbreak was averted but, during the night, a small group broke into the palace in search of the queen. She escaped injury but several of her attendants were killed. The next morning Lafayette addressed the tired crowd; the king and queen and the royal children at the right moment appeared in the balcony wearing the tricolor of the Revolution. "They are with the Revolution," thought the mob, but to be sure of it for the future, the crowd took them back to Paris, shouting lustily on the way, "We have the baker and the baker's wife and the baker's little boy—now we will have the bread." The royal family took up its residence in Paris in the Palace of the Tuileries. The National Assembly followed the royal family to Paris. Both the king and the Assembly were under the eye and the influence of the Parisian populace.

B. Reforms of the National Assembly. Since the work of the National Assembly includes most of the permanent results of the Revolution, it deserves our careful attention. We will discuss it under the following heads, ignoring the strictly chronological order of events: (1) the abolition of abuses, (2) the Declaration of the Rights of Man, (3) the reorganization of local government, (4) financial measures, (5) laws concerning the church, (6) the constitution.

1. The abolition of abuses. On the night of August 4, the committee appointed to investigate the riots in city and country that followed the storming of the Bastille made its report to the National Assembly. This was the prelude to one of the most famous and spectacular all-night sessions ever held by a legislative body. One of the nobles moved that the Assembly proclaim the principle of equality in taxation. It was the signal for a long series of motions and decrees. Noble after noble, frightened by the popular uprising, arose to surrender his feudal rights and privileges. Bishops and archbishops vied with the nobles. The principle of equality was proclaimed. Guilds, serfdom, feudal dues, church tithes, tolls, and pensions were abolished. Distinctions between Noble, Clergy, and Third Estate were swept away; special privileges of cities and provinces were overthrown. In the decrees, votes, and proclamations of the night of August 4th, the Old Régime was destroyed. But we should not suppose that the mere passing of laws would entirely end the system. It took years of practical application before the various laws and decrees were fully carried into effect.

2. The Declaration of the Rights of Man. After accomplishing so much toward the destruction of the old order, the National Assembly proceeded to formulate its philosophy in the Declaration of the Rights of Man—one of the great charters of human liberty. In drafting this document the Assembly followed to a considerable extent the principles that had already been stated in the American Declaration of Independence. The first article of the French document, "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights," has its parallel in the American Declaration in the statement that "all men are created equal."

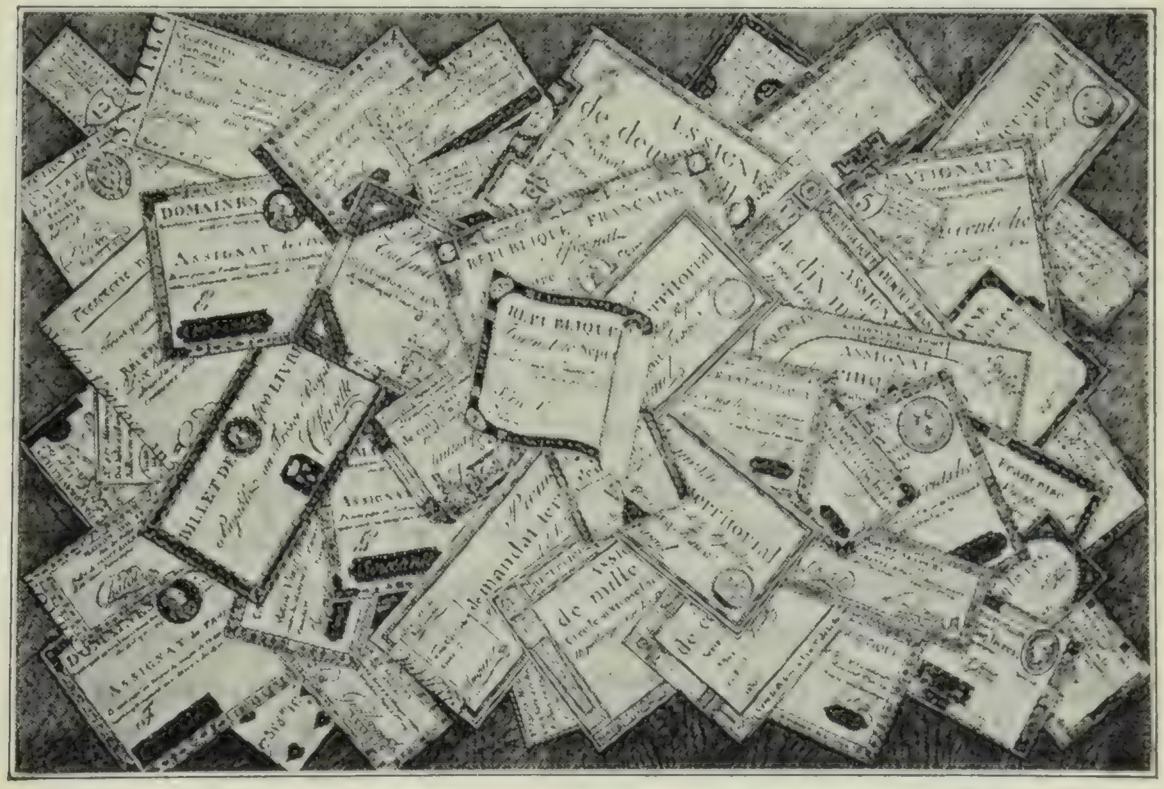
The Declaration aimed directly at the abuses of the Old Régime. "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally or through his representative in its formation. No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned, except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views. Every citizen may speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law."

It should be understood that the various provisions of the Declaration were not laws but rather statements of ideals. These ideals, however, have for the most part become axioms of democratic government. It is difficult to overestimate their far-reaching influence. It was no idle boast of the Assembly that they had established for all humanity a declaration which would serve as an everlasting war cry against oppression.

3. The reorganization of local government. We have seen that one of the evils of the Old Régime was the varying systems of law and administration that lingered on from early times in the many provinces which had been welded together to make a united France. We have also seen that in July, 1789, the people in the cities and provinces took the government into their own hands, abolishing the old discriminations. It was part of the task of the National Assembly to give permanency to the hasty actions of the indignant citizens. The old provinces were abolished and in their stead were created eighty-three districts or departments, approximately uniform in size and population and named after some mountain or river. The departments were subdivided into districts and communes. The executive officials in the departments and communes and also the judges were to be elected by the people. The laws were made uniform. This internal reorganization of France was one of the permanent achievements of the Revolution.

4. Financial measures. The main reason for calling the Estates General was to adjust the finances of a bankrupt kingdom. Some of the more general financial reforms we have already mentioned, such as the abolition of exemption from taxation, and the abolition of the old feudal dues and church tithes. But since the country was bankrupt and the people were refusing to pay taxes to the king's officials,

the immediate problem of raising revenue confronted the National Assembly. The Assembly decided on the momentous step of seizing the lands belonging to the church, about one-fifth of the soil of France. This action produced many important results. In the first place, the church lands as well as the lands of the emigrant nobles were sold to the French peasants. The peasants were glad of the opportunity to acquire land, and France gradually became a nation of peasant proprietors of small farms. This is one of the most significant and far-reaching economic changes brought about during the Revolution. Even today, when the Industrial Revolution has worked a tremendous transformation in economic life, the French peasant remains a thrifty, industrious property owner, quite different from the masses of propertyless factory workers and agricultural laborers in other European countries. France has remained largely an agricultural country, practically self-sufficient. Its exports, for the most part, consist of luxuries rather than necessities.



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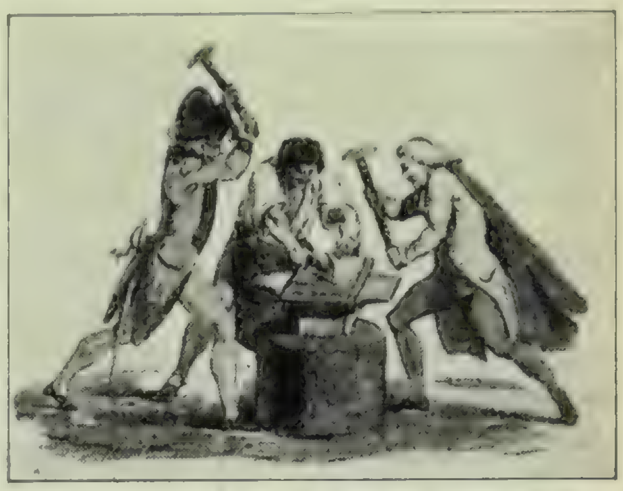
ASSIGNATS

By 1796 the *assignats* had so depreciated that their purchasing power was only one three-hundredths of their face value.

In the second place, the National Assembly used the church lands as security for the paper money, called *assignats,* that was issued. At first the issue of *assignats* was carefully restricted, but as the Revolution went on, the lure of the printing press as an easy means of getting money was too much for the revolutionary leaders. The face value of the *assignats* soon far exceeded the value of the land confiscated. For the time being the confiscation of church lands and the issuing of *assignats* saved the situation, but ultimately, as was inevitable, money became cheap, prices soared, and gold and silver disappeared from circulation. In time the government, finding itself bankrupt and in pretty much the same condition as in 1789, was forced to repudiate a large part of the paper money.

5. LAWS CONCERNING THE CHURCH. (*a*) *The confiscation of church lands.* The confiscation of church lands inaugurated a policy of church reform which finally led to extremes and alienated the support of a large number of both clergy and laymen. When we recall that the clergy constituted a privileged class that was exempt from taxes, enjoyed high offices, collected tithes, and owned a large part of the soil of France, and when we recall that the philosophers had made the church the object of their most vehement criticism, and further that some of the higher clergy were plotting with the *émigrés* against the Revolution, we can easily appreciate the reasons for the National Assembly's attack upon the church. On the famous night of August 4 church tithes were abolished by law and the church forbidden to send any money payments to the pope. In the succeeding months the National Assembly seized the church lands and, as partial compensation therefor, decreed that henceforth the clergy would be paid by the state. It reduced the number of bishoprics or dioceses to eighty-three to conform to the number of new departments. It abolished the religious orders, forbade the taking of monastic vows, and released from the observance of their vows all members of monasteries and religious orders. It proclaimed absolute religious toleration and finally, in the summer of 1790, drafted and promulgated the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

(*b*) *The Civil Constitution of the Clergy.* This Civil Constitution of the Clergy made the church a state body, subordinate to the civil power and practically independent of the pope. Church officials, from parish priest up, were to be elected by a vote of the people, every citizen having a vote whether he were Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or infidel. In short, a national church under the control of the civil authority was established. All the clergy were required to take an oath to support the Civil Constitution. Although many would have been better off under the scale of state salaries that would have been paid them, only 4 per cent of the higher clergy submitted to the new law and less than a third of the seventy thousand parish priests. The nonjuring clergy, as those who refused to take the oath were called, became bitter opponents of the revolutionary government. Large numbers of the people venerated the clergy and stood by them. Louis XVI, forced to approve the Civil Constitution, horrified by what he regarded as sacrilege, became convinced that it was his duty to end the Revolution and began to pursue a bolder and more definite policy of opposition. As a result of its harsh treatment at the hands of the Revolution, the Catholic Church in the next century became bitterly suspicious of all reforms and in France became identified with monarchy and extreme conservatism.



From a contemporary cartoon

"STRIKE WHILE IT'S HOT"

A cartoon showing the Three Estates forging away at the new constitution.

6. THE MAKING OF A CONSTITUTION. The *cahiers* (lists of grievances) had almost unanimously expressed the opinion that little could be done toward reforming finances until France had a written constitution, and the National Assembly devoted a large part of its time to drafting the document. The constitution as finally adopted provided for a monarchy with the king's power definitely limited.

The king was deprived of all control over the army and the church. He was given what is called a suspensive veto—that is, a bill vetoed by the king could still become a law if passed by three successive legislatures. The legislature was composed of only one chamber, the Legislative Assembly, for whose members only those citizens who paid taxes equivalent to three days' wages were entitled to vote. This property qualification excluded from the suffrage and from the right to hold office about one-half of the citizens. It was, of course, in keeping with the practice then followed in England and America where universal suffrage had not as yet been introduced. This provision, so glaringly inconsistent with the Declaration of the Rights of Man—which said that every citizen had a right to take part in the making of the laws—shows the power of the bourgeoisie and their distrust of the masses.

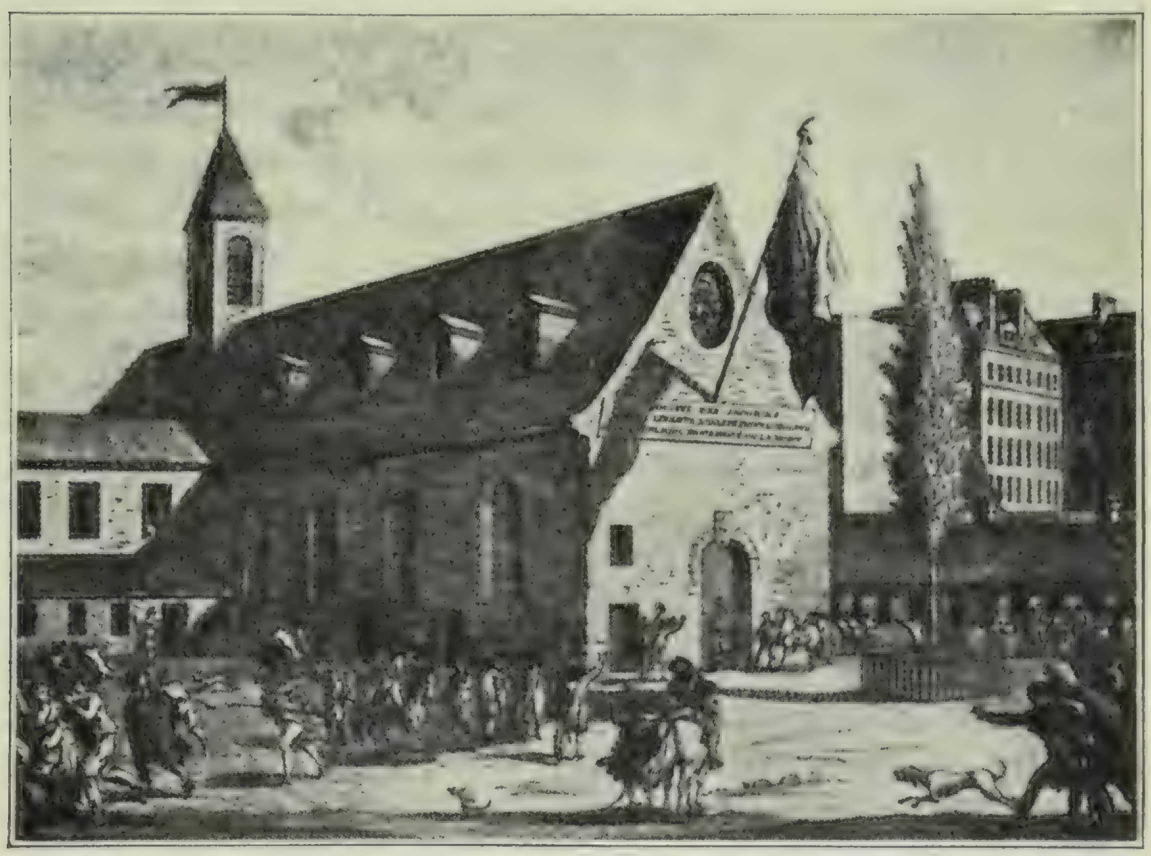
The constructive work of the Revolution was practically completed by the National Assembly. In two years a new France had been created—abuses abolished, the church brought under control of the state, local governments reorganized, the king's power limited. It was soon found, however, that the mere passage of laws and the statement of lofty principles could not bring about permanent changes so long as large elements in the population did not approve of them. In less than a year the new constitution proved unworkable and the Legislative Assembly was displaced by the Convention, elected to draft a constitution that would make France a republic.

IV. The Convention (1792-1795). France Becomes a Republic

A. Groups and leaders in the National Convention. The bourgeoisie were well satisfied with the Revolution and well they might be. They were freed from guild and other restrictions on trade; interior customs lines had been abolished; they were free from the burden of unequal taxation; under the new constitution, with suffrage restricted to men of property, they controlled the government. Many of the peasants also were satisfied with what had been accomplished. Feudal dues and the *corvée* (a tax paid in labor) had been abolished; many of them had been able to buy confiscated church lands and thus become independent farm owners.

There were two groups, however, who were dissatisfied with the

Revolution and ready to cause trouble. One, the emigrant nobles and the nonjuring clergy, thought that the Revolution had gone too far. The other, the workingmen of the cities—particularly of Paris—thought that the Revolution had not gone far enough. This last class had gained nothing; and yet, by storming the Bastille, by the march of the women to Versailles, and by aiding the bourgeoisie to get control of the local governments, they had saved the Assembly from early defeat. Directly they had practically no voice in the government, but indirectly they played an important part, and their importance increased as the Revolution went on.



From a contemporary Dutch engraving

HALL OF THE JACOBIN CLUB, PARIS, 1794

The sign over the door reads, "Society of the Jacobins. Unity, Liberty, Equality, Indivisibility of the Republic, or Death."

The power of the workers was largely due to the ability of some of their leaders, especially of three—Marat, Danton, and Robespierre—all of them well-educated members of middle-class families. The chief instrument of the radicals in forming and controlling public opinion was the Jacobin Club, named from the confiscated Jacobin monastery where it met. Affiliated clubs were formed in the provinces, the mother club in Paris being the center for the spreading of radical ideas throughout France. The term "Jacobin" became synonymous with "radical" much as "Bolshevik" is today.

B. Foreign invasion. In their attempt to overthrow the king and establish a more democratic government the radicals were aided by the actions of Louis XVI. Early in the summer of 1791 the king and queen had tried to flee from France and join the *émigrés,* but had been captured and brought back. This convinced the people that the king was at heart opposed to the changes that had been made. It was the activities of the *émigrés,* however, that brought matters to a head. Infuriated by a law of the Legislative Assembly which declared them traitors and their property confiscated, they persuaded the kings of Prussia and Austria to issue a proclamation that they intended to take steps to protect the interests of the king of France. In reply the Legislative Assembly, in April, 1792, forced the king to declare war on Austria. The people rightly believed that the failure of the French troops in the first campaigns was due to the betrayal of the plans of campaign to Austria by the queen, Marie Antoinette, who, as we have noted, was Austrian by birth. On top of this the king vetoed two popular laws and dismissed the ministry. Rioting broke out and a mob invaded the royal palace. The Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Prussian army that was moving toward France, threatened dire punishment if any harm befell the royal family. The reply to this was a second attack on the palace, the suspension of the king by the Legislative Assembly, and the summoning of a national convention to draft a republican constitution.

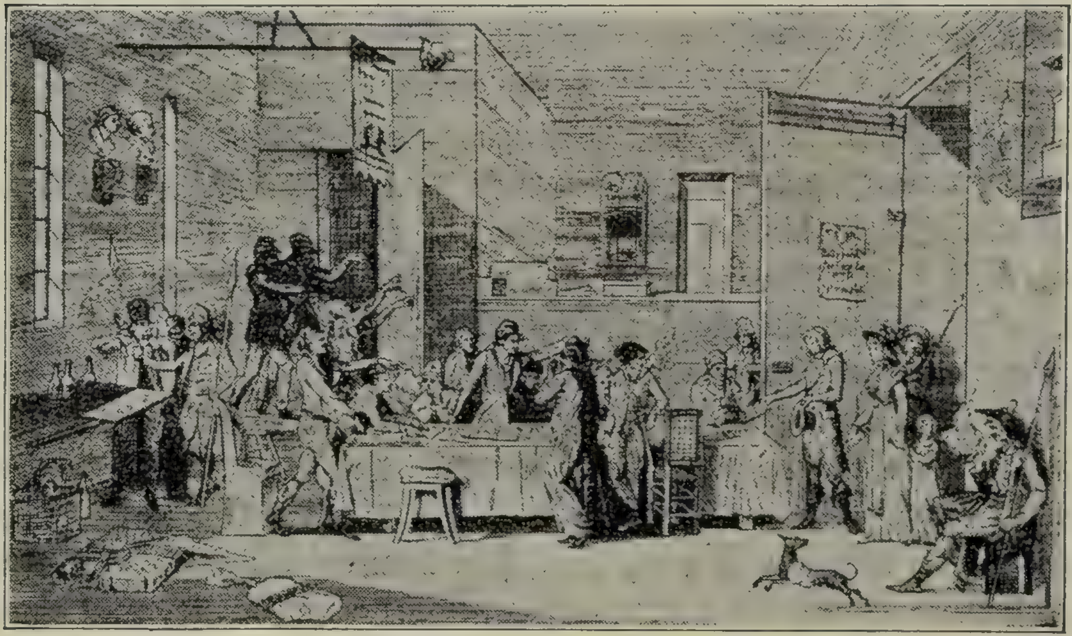
The Convention met in September, 1792, and proclaimed France a republic. It then proceeded to try the king for having conspired against the nation. He was found guilty and executed in January, 1793. Marie Antoinette met a similar fate the following October.

C. The growth of national feeling. While the Convention was debating the fate of the king, the French armies were winning successes in the foreign war which was being waged against Prussia and Austria because they had sided with the *émigrés* and tried to stop the Revolution. While these successes were partly due to the fact that Austria and Prussia (together with Russia) were absorbed by a quarrel over the partition of Poland (see page 23), they would have been impossible without the genius of their general, Dumouriez, or the spirit with which the raw volunteers fought. The Legislative Assembly had declared that the "French nation only takes up arms for the maintenance of its liberty and independence. Who will arrange themselves under its banners and consecrate their efforts to the defense of liberty?" The French people, singing Rouget de Lisle's *Marseillaise,* the most stirring of all marching songs, rallied to the call, not to conquer territory but to defend their country and spread "liberty, equality, and fraternity." It was the first example in history of the common people of a whole nation united in a common cause by national feeling. The war became a crusade. It was the chief agency by which the ideas of the Revolution were spread throughout Europe.

The Convention, emboldened by the success of its armies, in a proclamation to the peoples of Europe declared: "We have conquered our liberty and we shall maintain it. We offer to bring this inestimable blessing to you. . . . The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or treat with a prince and the privileged classes."

The boldness of this proclamation, coupled with the execution of the king, and evidence of the strength of the French army, involved the Convention in serious dangers. Great Britain, Spain, Holland, and Sardinia entered the war on the side of Austria and Prussia, against revolutionary France. The monarchs of Europe were frightened by the French successes, and were impressed by the feeling that if the Old Régime were to be preserved in their own countries it must be restored in France.

Not only was the Convention harassed by the increase in the number of its foreign foes but it also had to contend with revolt at home, particularly in the province of La Vendée, where there had long been criticism of the Revolution's attitude toward the Catholic Church. Famine and high prices helped spread the insurrection throughout the provinces of France. Lafayette had turned against the Revolution before the proclamation of the republic, and now Dumouriez, disgusted with the turn of events, went over to the enemy. The Convention was itself divided into factions. Faced by all these difficulties the Convention resolved upon a policy of terrorizing its opponents as a means of keeping itself in power and preserving what the Revolution had accomplished.



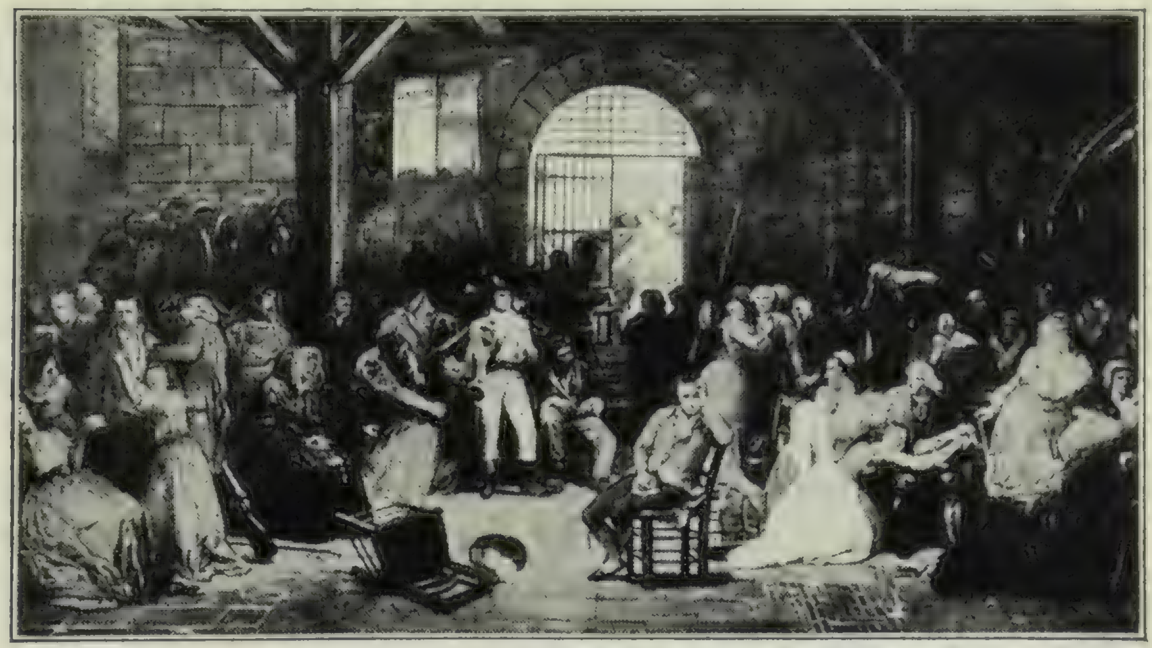
From a contemporary German drawing. Culver Service

A MEETING OF A REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE UNDER THE TERROR

D. The Reign of Terror. 1. THE REASONS FOR THE TERROR. The Reign of Terror is the phrase applied to the policy of executing all those who opposed the Convention or who were even suspected of lack of sympathy with its actions. It should not be confused with the Revolution itself—that is, with the changes in government and social and economic institutions that had already taken place, nor with the rioting and violence of irresponsible mobs. It was a definite policy adopted by the radical majority of the Convention, not to satisfy their thirst for blood, but to preserve some semblance of law and order. It was in part a state of military law which the government claimed was made necessary by the foreign invasion.

2. WHAT THE TERROR ACCOMPLISHED. The Convention entrusted the sole executive authority to the Committee of Public Safety,

composed first of nine, later of twelve, men. Among its leading members were Danton, Robespierre, and Carnot. It was dictatorial, it acted secretly; it had charge of everything—the army, foreign affairs, local administration. It had agents and spies everywhere. It was assisted by the Committee of General Security, whose duty it was to maintain law and order by arresting suspects, and by the Revolutionary Tribunal, a supposed court of justice, whose duty it was to try the prisoners. The Revolutionary Tribunal acted as it was expected to—quickly and with little regard for justice and mercy. At times as many as twenty, thirty, or fifty prisoners were tried simultaneously and condemned to the guillotine. Property was confiscated, heavy fines imposed, thousands were imprisoned, and thirteen thousand, so it was estimated, were guillotined. The Terror was not confined to Paris but was everywhere throughout France. Peasants as well as nobles were victims.



From the painting by G. L. Muller. Culver Service

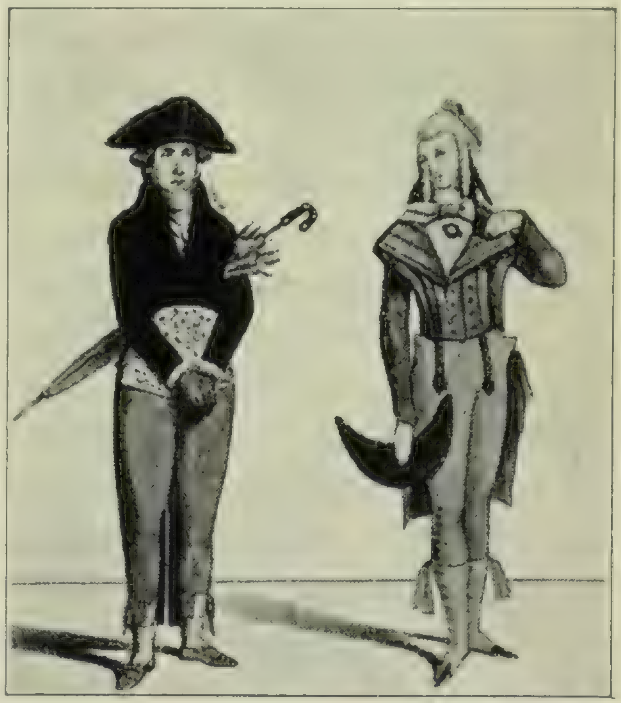
SUMMONING THE LAST VICTIMS OF THE TERROR, 1794

By means of the Terror the Committee of Public Safety made the republican government supreme at home and victorious abroad. In Carnot, a member of the committee, France found an able army officer whose success against the enemy was so decisive that his first title, "Organizer of Defense," was changed to "Organizer of

Victory." Troops were conscripted; the French people, men and women, were called to fight or work. France was a nation in arms, championing the cause of revolution. Radical deputies of the Convention were sent as "deputies on mission" to spread the principles of the Revolution, to watch the actions of the troops and generals, and report to the Convention. Their report was final. Failure on the part of the generals meant the guillotine. The revolutionary generals drove the enemy from France, reoccupied the Austrian Netherlands and the territory up to the Rhine, and forced their enemies, with the exception of Great Britain, Austria, and Sardinia, to sue for peace. At home domestic insurrection was suppressed, quiet was restored, but misery and famine still lingered.

3. THE END OF THE TERROR. With France victorious and the foreign invaders repulsed, the necessity which seemed to justify the Terror no longer existed. There began to develop a demand for a cessation of its horrors. As so often happens when a group obtains such absolute power, the Jacobin leaders started quarreling among themselves. A group of fanatics, led by Robespierre, finally got control and for three terrible months, April to June, 1794, wholesale executions of all those less extreme than themselves took place. Reaction followed and in July, 1794, Robespierre, along with his fellow extremists, was sent to the guillotine. The National Convention, coming gradually under the influence of the moderate bourgeoisie, closed the Jacobin Club, set free the prisoners, restored the expelled members to their seats in the Convention, and started drafting a new constitution. Various efforts to gain control, sometimes by reactionary monarchists and sometimes by the city workers, were made during the period of the White Terror, as this period of reaction is called—but without success. The people were sick of the Terror.

E. Reforms of the Convention. 1. PERMANENT CHANGES. During the turbulent years from 1792 to 1795 the Convention put through many reforms which had a lasting value. A thorough system of universal popular education was worked out, and although it was not put into effect for some time, it is the basis for the present educational system of France. The Convention established a Normal School, a Polytechnic School, the Institute of France, and a National Library. It adopted the famous metric system—a convenient and uniform system of weights and measures based upon the decimal system which is now used by scientists everywhere except in English-speaking countries where the old and cumbersome system of feet, yards, quarts, and pounds still holds sway. The humanitarian impulse of the Revolution is illustrated by the abolition of slavery in the colonies and the abolition of imprisonment for debt. The churches were again opened for religious worship and liberty of worship was established. The Convention passed a series of decrees of an economic character that had far-reaching effects. It confiscated the large estates of the *émigrés,* and sold them on easy terms to the poor peasants in parcels of two or three acres. It made a beginning of the codification of French law, a task which was brought to completion by Napoleon. Two important legal reforms became imbedded in the French legal system: one, allowing women to obtain property on the same terms as men; the other, the fundamental law of inheritance, which prohibited a person from willing all his property to one child to the exclusion of the others.



Culver Service

SANS-CULOTTES, 1800

2. TEMPORARY MEASURES. In addition to these solid achievements, the Convention attempted a series of reforms that had no lasting value but illustrate the temper of the Revolution. In their zeal for democracy all titles were abolished and the polite form of address "Monsieur" was supplanted by the title of "Citizen." Citizenship was generously conferred upon leading men in other countries—Washington was among those so honored. Even the dress was changed; silk stockings and knee breeches (*culottes*) gave way to the long trousers worn by the

workingmen, and the supporters of the Revolution were referred to as *Sans-culottes*. A new calendar was devised, which divided a year into twelve months of three weeks each, with ten days in the week, the tenth day being designated as a day of rest. The names of the months were changed to indicate the various seasons—Vintage month, Flower month, Harvest month, etc. Lastly, the Convention drafted a constitution. The suffrage was restricted to those taxpayers who had resided for at least a year in one place. The legislature consisted of two houses, one preparing and the other enacting the laws. The executive power was entrusted to a Board of Directors, consisting of five men, elected not by the people but by the legislature. This is known as the Constitution of the Year III and the government established is referred to as the Directory.

V. The Directory (1795-1799)

The Directory found itself beset with difficulties. Business was poor; there was much unemployment; the currency was depreciated; government revenues did not equal expenditures. There were numerous plots and intrigues against the government both by royalists and by the Parisian workingmen. The people were tired of idealists and allowed the government to fall into the hands of self-seeking politicians. Corruption and inefficiency were everywhere prevalent. The Directory maintained itself in power only because it held the support of the army and it soon found itself displaced by one of the army's commanders, Napoleon Bonaparte. The career of Napoleon is really a part of the revolutionary period, but before taking it up we will pause to consider the real significance of the Revolution.

VI. Significance of the Revolution

A. Changes in France. The French Revolution was one of the most exciting dramas that has ever taken place on the world stage. Its importance for students of history lies not, however, in its drama, but in the ways it has affected our life of today. We have just seen some of the concrete changes it brought about in France. Politically, it changed France from an absolute monarchy to a limited monarchy, and then to a republic. The monarchy was later restored for a time, but absolutism never was. It also did away with the confusion of different laws and taxes in different parts of France and established a uniform system of local government. Economically, the most important change was that in land holding. In place of large estates owned by the nobility or the church, small farms owned by those who worked them became the rule. The abolition of interior customs lines and of old restrictions on trade and manufacture were other important economic changes. Socially, the Revolution brought about the abolition of privileged classes. The nobles and clergy lost their privileges; all men were equal before the law.

B. New ideas given to the world. More important even than the concrete changes mentioned in the last paragraph were the new ideas that the Revolution brought into existence. For, after all, it is ideas which make progress possible. Certain events are important because they bring new ideas into the foreground and force their discussion. We are living today in a period of ferment of new ideas, brought about by the great economic changes of the past century and precipitated by the World War. On every side we hear and read discussions and arguments about the depression, Bolshevism, Fascism, disarmament, the League of Nations. The French Revolution brought about a similar ferment of ideas. One hundred and fifty years ago landlords and merchants, lawyers and laborers, editors and statesmen heatedly debated the questions of democracy and popular sovereignty, class privileges and social distinctions. Nor was the discussion confined to France; it went on everywhere throughout Europe and the new republic of the United States.

1. CONTEMPORARY OPINION OF THE REVOLUTION. (*a*) *In England.* The Revolution was at first welcomed with rejoicings. In England, the poet Wordsworth could sing of it—

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven . . .

and Charles James Fox exclaimed upon hearing of the fall of the Bastille that it was the greatest and best event that had ever happened. Conservatives, however, were alarmed, and the execution of the king, the Terror, and the attack upon the church turned many against the Revolution so that the general effect in England was to leave an impression of horror at the mere thought of revolution and to delay reform for a generation.

(*b*) *In Germany.* For the most part the situation was similar in the other countries of Europe. In many German cities liberty poles were erected and celebrations held in honor of the storming of the Bastille. Later, as a result of the Reign of Terror, there was a reaction toward extreme conservatism and a dread of change. The great philosopher, Kant, remained a friend of the Revolution, and published in 1798 an essay in which he contended that "the misdeeds of the Jacobins were nothing to those of the tyrants of past times, and that the Revolution, though outwardly a failure, would in the long run prove a blessing to mankind." Schiller was made a citizen of France, but the later horrors of the Revolution turned him into an antagonist; Goethe, Germany's greatest poet, wrote in praise of social and political revolt.

(*c*) *In the United States.* In the new country across the Atlantic, which the French had helped in its war for independence, public opinion was divided upon the merits of the Revolution. The followers of Hamilton regretted French interference with stability and order, while the Republicans, following the lead of Jefferson, welcomed the Revolution. Jefferson even declared that a revolution every twenty years or so was a good and wholesome thing. When the French became involved in war, Washington issued a neutrality proclamation. But the ardent Republicans thought that America ought to fight on the side of liberty and do something to repay the French for their valuable help in the American Revolution. The question as to the attitude to be taken toward France was one of the most vital party issues for more than a decade.

2. THE PRINCIPLES OF "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY." Enough has been said to indicate that the influence of the French Revolution was widespread; that it left an indelible imprint far beyond the borders of France. The principles of the Revolution were the basis for the political issues of major importance in all of Europe and

America for the next hundred years. What were these principles? The French summed them up in the slogan, "Liberty, equality, fraternity." Just what did they mean to the people of the time? What have they come to mean since?

Liberty, equality, fraternity are not definite terms. There were many bitter debates in the various legislative bodies of the revolutionary period as to their meaning and as to what was necessary to put them into effect. In general, as interpreted by the bourgeoisie who were in control of France, "liberty" meant the end of the absolute power of the king, freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom of religion, free speech, free press, freedom from the monopolies of the guilds and from trade restrictions. In other countries the demand for liberty was summed up in the demand for a written constitution and for the right of the people to vote for members of the legislature.

"Equality" meant the abolition of privileged classes—equality before the law, a uniform system of law for all persons and all places in the country. Although there were a few, criticized as "anarchists" and "levelers," bold enough to point out that legal equality without economic equality was an empty phrase, equality as interpreted by the bourgeois lawmakers did not mean economic equality, and only in a limited sense, equality of opportunity.

"Fraternity" meant that all the citizens of France should consider themselves united in a common brotherhood to uphold the ideals, traditions, and institutions of France. It also looked forward to the union of all members of the human race against despots. The foreign war turned the revolutionary ardor of the French into an intense national patriotism. We have seen that national spirit was an outgrowth of the feudal idea of loyalty to the lord and have seen how, with the rise of national states, it was changed to the idea of loyalty to the sovereign. The "fraternity" of the French Revolution was the same national spirit, changed from loyalty to the king to loyalty to the nation as a whole.

These words—liberty, equality, fraternity—are still words to conjure with. To the conservative, "liberty" means the right to be let alone, to control without interference his person and property. He is not free if the government can confiscate his property or control his business activities. To the radical, "liberty" means the right to do or say what he pleases. Who can define liberty? Is absolute liberty possible under any organized government? "Equality" too has many different shades of meaning. We can trace to the principle of equality the humanitarian movement for the abolition of slavery and the beginnings of the agitation for a universal state system of education. The great extremes of wealth and poverty brought in by the Industrial Revolution have made clearer the need for economic equality if there is to be any real equality of opportunity or even legal equality. The principle of "fraternity" has had results both good and evil, as we shall see in the section on nationalism. Love of country has stimulated men to do their best. Friendly rivalry between nations has raised standards everywhere. But when love of country has become, as it too often has, contempt for or hatred of other countries it has been an unmixed evil. If the principle of fraternity implies the obligation of loyalty to one's country and brotherly coöperation with one's countrymen, why cannot the same principle be pushed beyond the borders of one's country? Why are all men not brothers as well as those who happen to reside within the boundaries of one nation?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Distinguish between a fundamental and an immediate cause. Which of the causes of the French Revolution were fundamental and which immediate?

2. Why had the Estates General fallen into disuse at the same time that the English Parliament was growing in power?

3. There is a tradition that Marie Antoinette, on hearing a mob demanding bread, asked, "Why don't they eat cake?" Assuming this to be true, what does it show of Marie Antoinette's fitness to be queen of France?

4. "The Declaration of the Rights of Man did not establish a single right." Explain.

5. What were the good and the bad consequences of transferring the National Assembly from Versailles to Paris?

6. Who was responsible for the Reign of Terror?

7. "A policy of terrorization is a sign of weakness, not of strength." Discuss this statement in relation to the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution.

8. "The king himself was responsible for the end of the monarchy." Explain.

9. Explain the following terms: conservative, reactionary, liberal, radical. Classify the various groups in France at the close of the National Assembly under these heads.

10. Explain the reaction of the other countries of Europe to the Revolution.

11. The French Revolution is often called a "bourgeois" revolution. Explain.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

General

VAN LOON, Chap. 52
LOWELL, E. J., *Eve of the French Revolution*
GOTTSCHALK, *The Era of the French Revolution,* 1715-1815
MATHEWS, *The French Revolution*
MADELIN, *The French Revolution*
GERSHOY, *The French Revolution*

Causes

ROBINSON, Vol. II, pp. 195-218
HAYES, Vol. I, pp. 464-479
ROBINSON and BEARD, Vol. I, pp. 225-252
HAYES, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 577-601

The National Assembly

ROBINSON, Vol. II, pp. 225-237
HAYES, Vol. I, pp. 479-486
ROBINSON and BEARD, Vol. I, pp. 256-278

The Reign of Terror

ROBINSON, Vol. II, pp. 256-269
HAYES, Vol. I, pp. 500-517

ROBINSON and BEARD, Vol. I, pp. 295-309
HAYES, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 627-640

Significance

HAYES, Vol. I, pp. 517-523
SCHAPIRO, pp. 7-10
HAYES, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 645-646, 697-717

CHAPTER VIII

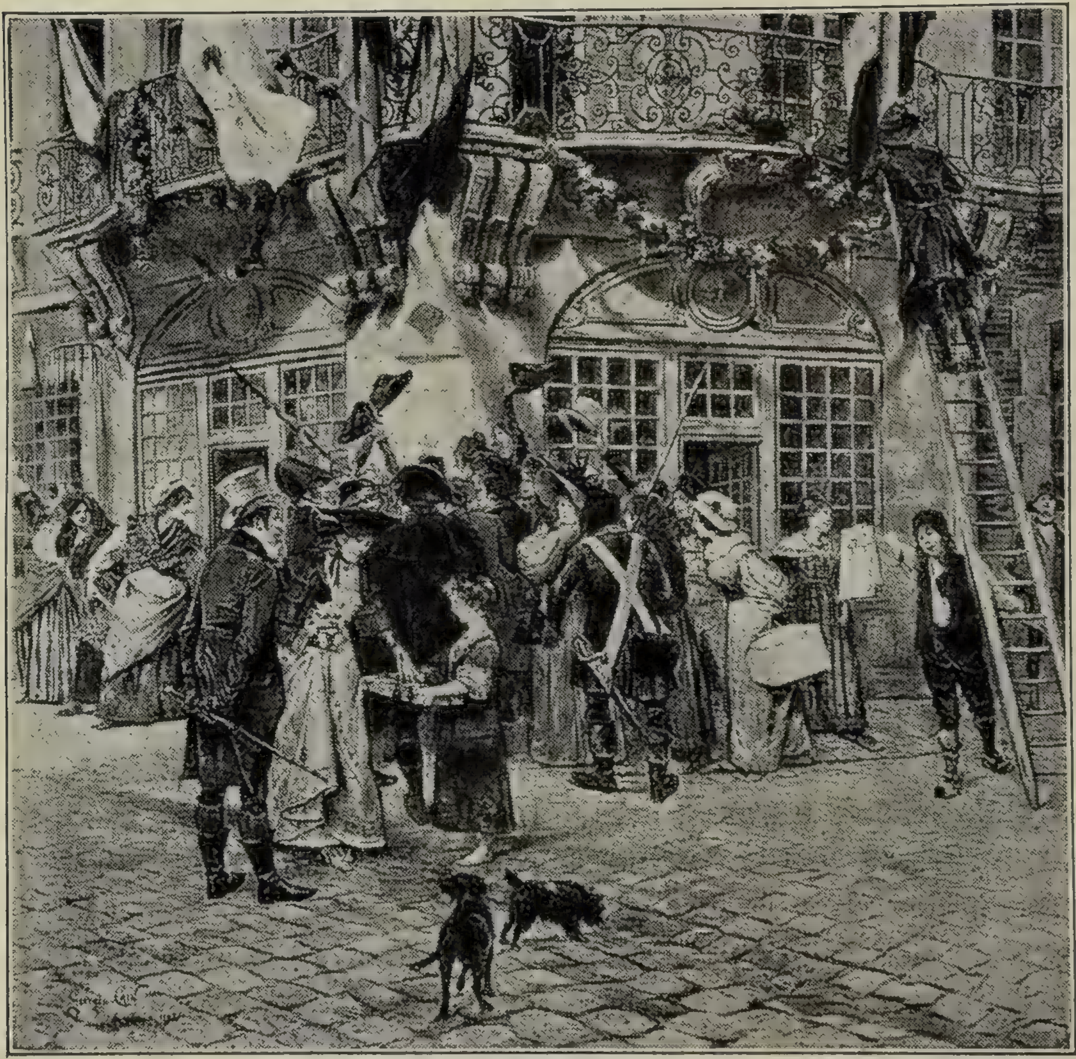
NAPOLEON

From 1799 to 1814 Napoleon Bonaparte dominated the affairs of western Europe. His varied abilities, his many-sided character, his rapid rise from obscurity to power, and his equally rapid fall make the story of his career one of the most fascinating in history. We shall spend little time on Napoleon's military exploits, but shall outline briefly the main steps in his rise to power and in his downfall, describe the permanent reforms he made in France, and try to form an estimate of his real significance in history.

I. Napoleon's Rise to Power

A. Early life. Napoleon was twenty years old when the French Revolution began, thirty years old when he became First Consul in 1799, and but forty-five when he was exiled to St. Helena. His career is that of a young man. Just before his birth in 1769, Corsica, an island in the Mediterranean which was his birthplace, had been purchased by France from the Italian state of Genoa. He was, therefore, a French citizen, but during his early life at least, his love for Corsica outranked his love for France. His father, a lawyer with a small income and eight children, was glad to secure a scholarship for his son at the French military school at Brienne. At school Napoleon felt keenly the contrast between his own poverty and the wealth of many of his classmates and became imbued with the determination to show his superiority by great deeds.

After completing the course at Brienne, Napoleon received a commission as second lieutenant in the French artillery. He served in this subordinate position during the exciting days of the Revolution and first attracted attention by his defense of the Convention against the Paris mob in 1795. In 1796 he married Josephine Beauharnais, the charming widow of a general who had been executed during the Terror. Josephine was a favorite in the fast social set of the leaders of the Directory and her influence was of great value in advancing the interests of her young husband.



From the painting by Georges Cain. Culver Service

VICTORY IN ITALY!

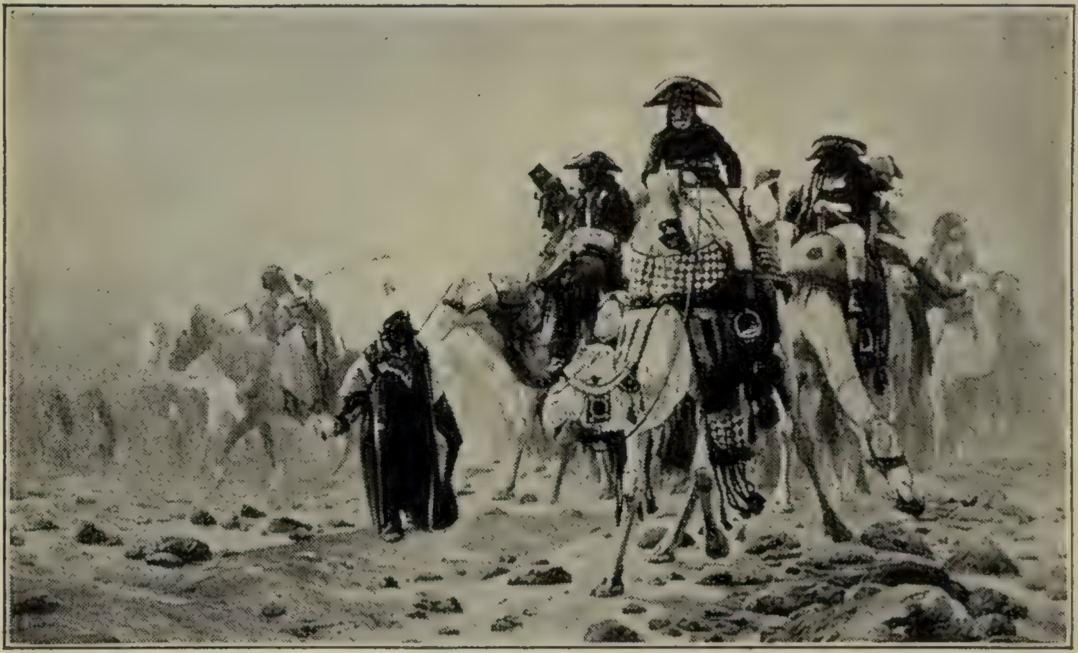
Paris in 1797 gave all its attention to the exploits of the young Bonaparte. The Italian bulletins were received with enthusiasm and discussed on street corners and in drawing-rooms.

B. The first Italian campaign. In 1795 the Convention had made peace with all of France's enemies except England, Austria, and Sardinia. (The Kingdom of Sardinia included the island of Sardinia and Piedmont in northern Italy, the two having been united in 1718.) In 1796 the Directory, convinced that it had a fair chance to crush the Austrians and Sardinians, adopted a plan of sending three armies against them. At first the French armies met with poor success. Napoleon, who had established himself in the good graces of the Directory, drew up a plan of campaign for the French army in Italy. It was submitted to the Commander of the army, who replied that "the man who formed it had better come to carry it out." Thus it was that in the early months of 1796 Napoleon was appointed to command the army of Italy. His plans, brilliantly conceived, were brilliantly executed. Rapid marches, bold use of artillery, and surprise attacks helped Napoleon to win astonishing victories. In an incredibly short time both Sardinia and Austria were forced to sign humiliating terms of peace.

Napoleon was the idol of the army. The soldiers had moved slowly; they had been defeated; they now won battles in swift succession. They had been poorly paid and half-starved; they were now well-fed and cared for. To the people of France, Napoleon was the popular hero. He continually dreamt of the future. "What I have done so far is nothing. I am but at the beginning of the course I am to run. Do you imagine that I have triumphed in Italy to advance the lawyers of the Directory?" But upon his return to Paris, he concluded that "the pear was not yet ripe." His keen observation taught him that the Directory was losing strength, that its poor administration of affairs would soon merit popular disapproval. Meanwhile, he could not remain idle; he could not allow his newly won fame and glory to decline, he must keep the popular love for himself warm by new exploits and new successes.

C. The Egyptian expedition. By this time England alone remained in the field against France. Napoleon announced to the Directory a bold plan for embarrassing England. His plan was to attack and conquer Egypt which, he argued, was the weak spot in England's commercial system. Egypt lay along the route to India, and he believed that India was the treasure house of England's riches and the cause of her greatness. Cut off communications with India by seizing Egypt, he argued, and the backbone of England's naval and commercial strength would be broken.

In 1798 Napoleon set sail on his Egyptian expedition. He eluded the English fleet under Nelson and arrived in Egypt. In the Battle of the Pyramids Napoleon was successful, but in August of 1798 the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Admiral Nelson. Napoleon was thus cut off from his communication with France. The sea power of England ruined his Egyptian plans, as it was ultimately to ruin Napoleon himself.

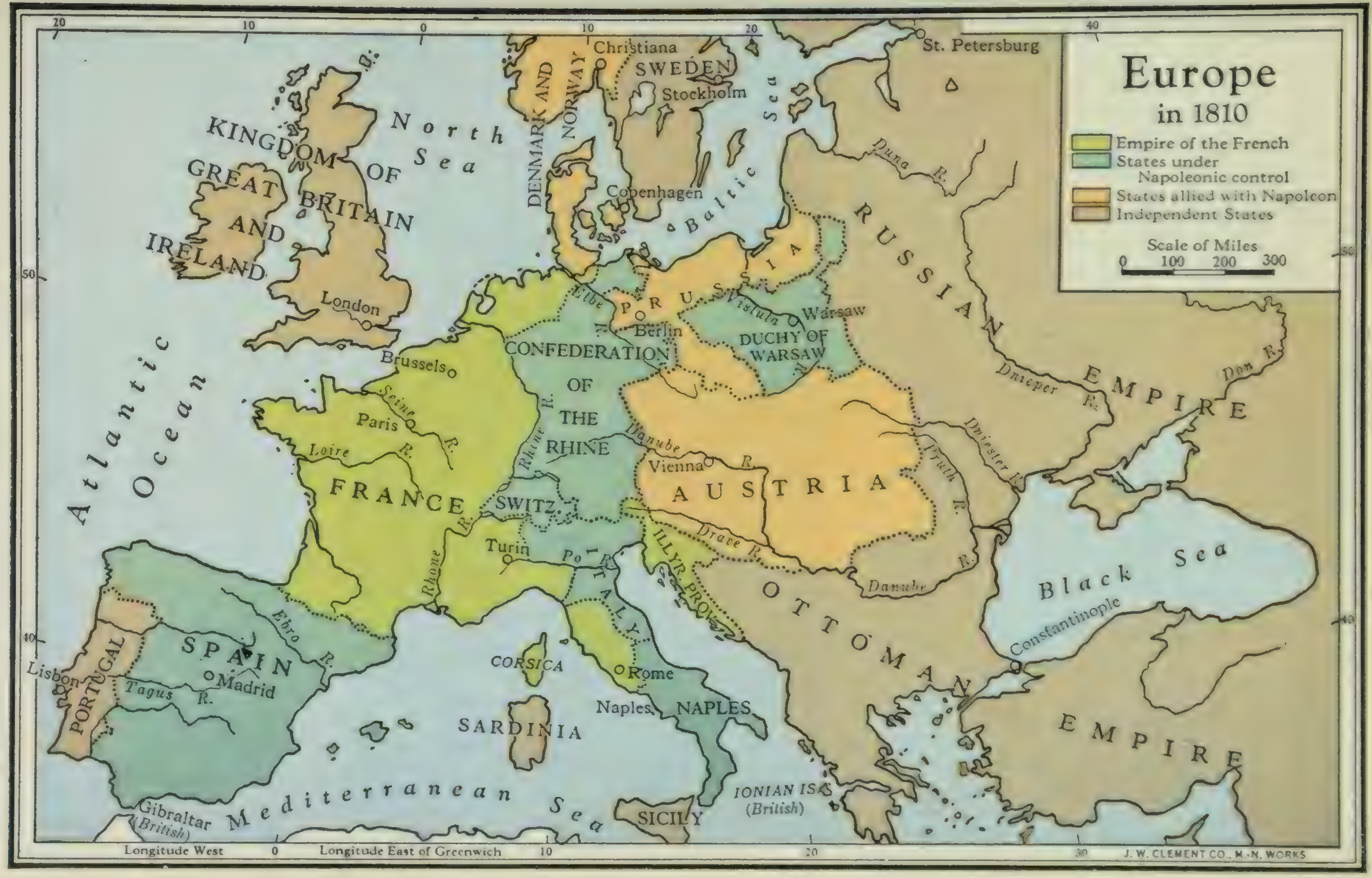


From the painting by Gérôme. Culver Service

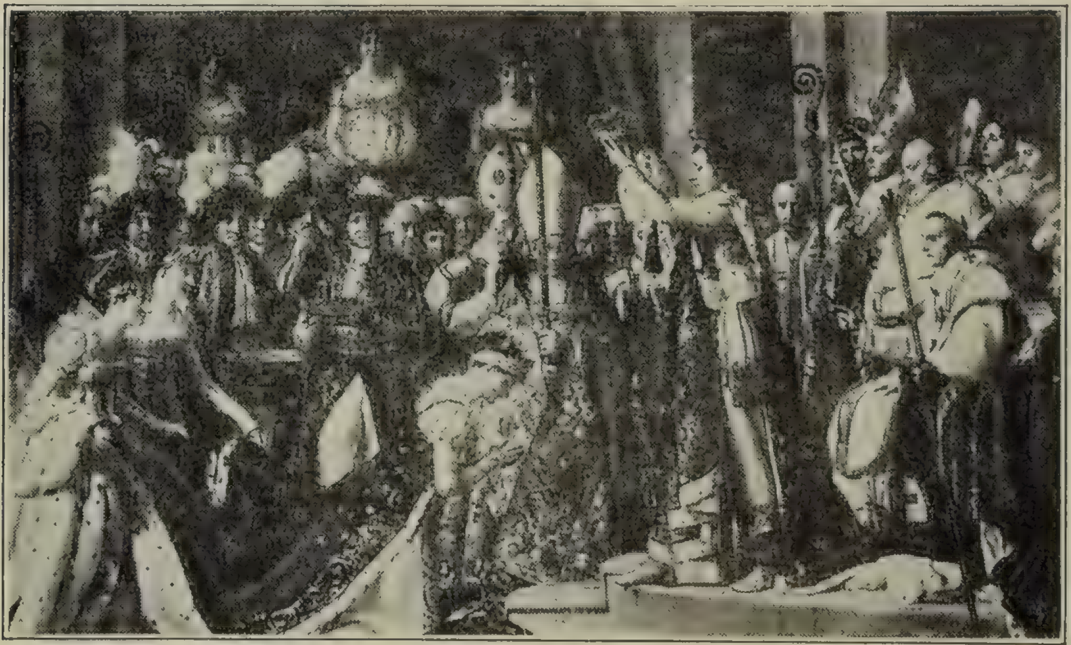
General Bonaparte in Egypt

While Napoleon was endeavoring to prevent his Egyptian campaign from ending in complete disaster, news from France caused him to change his plans. England had induced Austria and Russia to join her in the war against France. French armies were driven out of Italy and Germany. France herself was threatened with invasion. The country was bankrupt. The Directory was unpopular. Napoleon felt that his hour had come. Taking with him a few of his generals, he deserted the army of Egypt and after a series of thrilling adventures managed to reach France.

D. The Coup d'État of November, 1799. The pear was ripe. Napoleon plotted with a few politicians, and on November 9, 1799, with the aid of soldiers drove those who opposed him out of the legislative body. Those who remained voted to depose the Direc-


Europe
in 1810
Empire of the French
States under Napoleonic control
States allied with Napoleon
Independent States
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
London
North Sea
Atlantic Ocean
DENMARK AND NORWAY
Christiana
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
St. Petersburg
Duna R.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Don R.
Pruth R.
PRUSSIA
Elbe
Berlin
Vistula
Warsaw
DUCHY OF WARSAW
Brussels
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Rhine R.
Danube
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Drave R.
Seine R.
Paris
Loire R.
FRANCE
Rhone R.
SWITZ.
Turin
Po R.
ITALY
ILLYR. PROV.
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Danube R.
Black Sea
Constantinople
SPAIN
Ebro R.
Madrid
Tagus R.
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Naples
NAPLES
IONIAN IS. (British)
SICILY
Gibraltar (British)
Mediterranean Sea
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
40
Longitude West
Longitude East of Greenwich
J. W. CLEMENT CO., M.-N. WORKS

tory and place the government in the hands of three men—Napoleon and two others. This illegal seizure of power is called a *coup d'état* (literally, "a stroke of state"). As part of Napoleon's plan to persuade the people that a republic still existed, the three were called "Consuls" in imitation of the Consuls of the Roman republic. A complicated constitution, drafted under Napoleon's direction and adopted by an overwhelming vote of the people, made a pretense of giving the people a voice in the government, but in reality Napoleon as First Consul had absolute power. The Consulate, as the new government was called, lasted until 1804 when Napoleon, feeling strong enough to discard the pretense of a republic, took the title of Emperor of the French.



From the painting by David

THE CORONATION OF JOSEPHINE BY NAPOLEON

Instead of kneeling before the pope to be crowned Napoleon took the crown from the pope's hands, crowned himself, and then crowned Josephine. Why did he thus avoid being crowned by the pope?

II. NAPOLEON IN POWER

Established as Consul, Napoleon immediately had to turn his attention to the foreign war. Again he crushed Austria. The treaty of peace was followed by the general Peace of Amiens in 1802. It was in this brief year of peace that Napoleon made many of the internal reforms which will be described later. The peace could not last, for the nations feared Napoleon's ambitions; they feared the revolutionary ideas which his armies were spreading. England especially was alarmed at the threat to her trade. In 1803 England persuaded Russia, Austria, and Sardinia to join her in a third attempt to crush Napoleon. In another brilliant campaign Napoleon captured Vienna, defeated the combined Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz, and then, at Jena, completely crushed Prussia which had finally been persuaded to join the coalition. After a second defeat of the Russians at Friedland, Czar Alexander sued for peace and made a treaty of alliance with Napoleon.

A. Reorganization of the Germanies. The defeat of Austria and Prussia, the two most influential of the German states, had important effects on the later history of Germany. It was Napoleon's policy to weaken these two powerful states, at the same time increasing the power of the weaker German states, such as Saxony, Bavaria, and Baden, which were friendly to him. From part of Prussia's territory Napoleon formed the Kingdom of Westphalia and put his brother Jerome on the throne. The territory which Prussia had seized from Poland was made into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and given to Napoleon's friend, the king of Saxony, to rule. These and other humiliating terms that were forced on Prussia aroused her national spirit and led to important reforms. (See page 381.)

Austria had already been defeated three times by Napoleon and was to suffer another defeat at Wagram in 1809. Each time she was forced to give up territory. In 1806 Napoleon informed the Austrian emperor, who was also emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (see pages 23-26), that he would no longer recognize the Holy Roman Empire. The emperor accordingly gave up his title, bringing the long history of this shadowy empire to a close.

In the various treaties many of the small German states had been added to France or to the larger states dependent on France. In 1806 Napoleon formed the Confederation of the Rhine, which ultimately included all the German states except Prussia and Austria, with himself as "Protector."

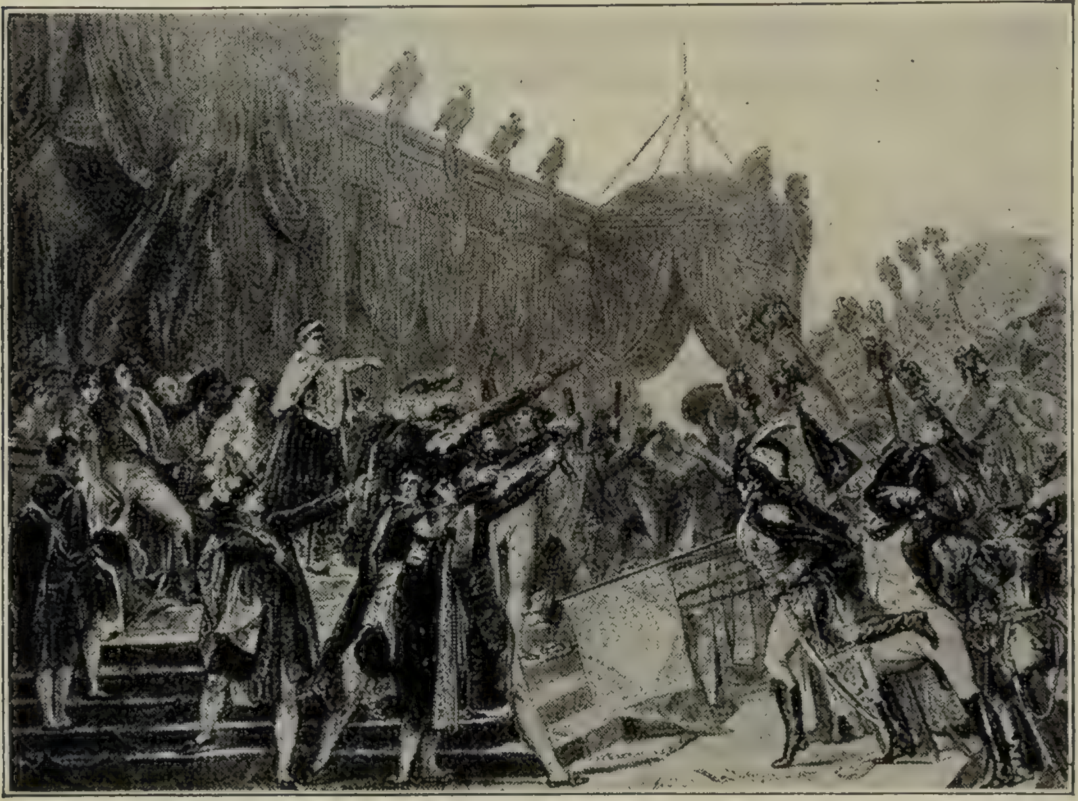
After the fourth defeat of Austria in 1809 Napoleon arranged to divorce Josephine and to marry Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Austrian emperor. In spite of his real affection for Josephine, Napoleon wished the prestige which he hoped a marriage with the proud Hapsburg family would bring, and he wanted an heir. A year after his second marriage a son was born to him, on whom he bestowed the pompous title of "King of Rome."

B. The height of Napoleon's power. About 1810 Napoleon's power was at its height. The map on page 159 shows his control of the Continent at this time. The boundaries of France had been expanded to include the Netherlands, the northwestern part of Italy, the Papal States, and the Illyrian provinces on the Adriatic coast. Over this area Napoleon was direct and absolute master. He was also "Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine and King of Italy"—a kingdom created by him in northern Italy in which his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, was Viceroy. His brother-in-law, Murat, was king of Naples and his brother, Joseph, king of Spain, where Napoleon had placed him after forcing the abdication of the weak Bourbon king and his heir. The king of Denmark, who also ruled Norway, was a secret ally. Prussia and Austria were weakened and humbled. The czar of Russia was his ally. England remained his bitter and undefeated enemy.

Lack of naval power was not only the reason for Napoleon's inability to cope with England but it was also partly the reason for the failure of another of his dreams—that of a great colonial empire. In 1800 Napoleon had induced Spain to cede back to France the vast Louisiana Territory in America which France had ceded to Spain in 1763. After an attempt to get possession of the island of Haiti, foiled by a revolt of the natives under the remarkable leader Toussaint L'Ouverture and the interference of the British fleet, Napoleon abandoned his plans for colonial expansion in America and sold Louisiana to the United States.

C. The Continental System. Although England induced other nations to war against Napoleon, the Napoleonic wars were fundamentally a struggle for supremacy between England and France, and it was primarily an economic and commercial struggle. England had deprived France of a large part of her colonial empire in the eighteenth century. England had become mistress of the seas and sought to maintain the advantage in trade and commerce which such control assured her. The Industrial Revolution, already well under way in England, gave England the great advantage of producing goods cheaply by machinery and also rapidly increased her wealth. She first entered the war with France in 1793; her aristocratic ruling class was frightened by the Revolution. As the war dragged on, as Napoleon achieved the mastery of Europe, Englishmen felt that their commercial and trading enterprises on the continent of Europe were threatened. The French bourgeoisie, on the other hand, from whom Napoleon derived his chief support, regarded the crushing of England as essential to the development of their prosperity. Napoleon early recognized England as his most implacable foe, but, try as he might, he could not weaken her control of the sea. We have seen that at the Battle of the Nile the British fleet was victorious, and at Trafalgar in 1805 Admiral Nelson destroyed the combined French and Spanish fleets, thereby winning undying fame for himself and establishing beyond question England's supremacy on the sea.

By establishing the so-called Continental System, Napoleon attempted to strike at England by cutting off her markets on the Continent. The Continent can get along without England; the Continent can be economically self-sufficient; but the English need the Continent for their prosperity, thought Napoleon. England had declared a blockade of the French coast from Brest to the mouth of the Elbe River. (By a blockade is meant the closing by a belligerent of a port or ports to commerce.) Napoleon replied with the Berlin decree of 1806, declaring a blockade of the British Isles, making all commerce with England illegal, and announcing that Englishmen found in territory controlled by him would be seized as prisoners of war and their property confiscated. Napoleon did not have the fleet to maintain an effective blockade of the British Isles. It was a "paper blockade." It gave him, however, an excuse to seize what ships he could on the ground that they were blockade runners. England countered with a similar paper blockade of all ports controlled by Napoleon, but added that neutral vessels might enter these ports if they first touched at a British port and paid a fee. Napoleon, in the Milan decree, declared that any vessel that touched at a British port would be seized.



From the painting by David. Culver Service

Napoleon Presents the Imperial Eagles to His Army

The Continental System undoubtedly hurt England, but it was a double-edged weapon which hurt France as well. If England lost her trade with the Continent, the Continent lost the goods which English ships brought them. The other countries of Europe wanted the cloth, the sugar, the coffee, the tea, the machinery which England or her colonies had to sell. To produce them or to transport them in their own ships meant a complete readjustment of the economic structure which could not be undertaken without great difficulties. The Continental System led to the establishment of some chemical industries and the stimulation of the beet sugar industry. It also led to the use of substitutes, such as oleomargarine. Such measures, however, did not solve the problem. Smuggling was common. The people suffered hardships and groaned with discontent. This discontent fanned the fires of revolt and was in no small measure the reason for Napoleon's downfall. The trade war between England and Napoleon brought anxious days to neutral states and particularly to America. The United States finally became involved in a war with England (the War of 1812) which dragged on after Napoleon had been defeated.

D. Napoleon's downfall. 1. HIS CHARACTER. In the short space of ten years, Napoleon had risen from the position of an obscure second lieutenant to become the ruler of the greatest and richest empire that had existed since the days of the Romans. But even more rapid than his rise was his fall. Why? The fundamental reasons for his downfall were, first, his own all-consuming ambition. He was not content to be first among the great, he must be the only great. His unscrupulous treatment of friend and foe alike, when they stood in the way of his ambition, left him few friends on whom he could rely. When the empire that Napoleon had built began to crumble, applying Napoleon's own principle everyone looked out for himself.

2. NATIONALISM. A second fundamental cause of his downfall was the rising tide of nationalism. The French Revolution had swept away class distinctions and local inequalities and differences. France became really unified in spirit and in law. France became "a nation in arms." Foreign war and the glories of Napoleon's victories added to the national spirit. The French Revolution proclaimed the doctrine of popular sovereignty which implies the right of peoples to have governments of their own choosing. Revolutionary armies and Napoleon's own soldiers carried these ideas all over Europe. While many peoples welcomed Napoleon as a liberator, they resented the fact that he began to treat them as subject peoples. Nationalism inspired the Spaniards, Italians, and Germans with the same fiery enthusiasm that it did the French. They resented Napoleon's interference with their national aspirations when he sent strangers to rule over them. Napoleon could bully or cajole kings and princes but he could not permanently persuade people

imbued with nationalism to accept his relatives and friends as their rulers.

3. Revolt in Portugal. The immediate causes of his downfall were the sea power of England and the discontent caused by the Continental System. Portugal refused to close her ports to English goods. Napoleon invaded Portugal, proclaimed the Continental System in effect, and drove the Portuguese royal family to seek refuge in Brazil. In 1808 England sent an army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, later famous as the Duke of Wellington, to the aid of Portugal. This army Napoleon was never able to drive out. There it remained a thorn in his side, protecting the Portuguese in their defiance of the Continental System and continually encouraging revolt among the Spanish people.

4. The Russian campaign. Napoleon's first great defeat came with his attempt to coerce Russia. Czar Alexander was dissatisfied with the agreements he had made with Napoleon and especially with the effects of the Continental System. He broke with Napoleon and resumed trade relations with England. Napoleon, despite the warnings of his advisers, felt that there was nothing to do but crush Russia. Collecting an army of six hundred thousand—French, Germans, Poles, Italians, Danes—he invaded Russia in the summer of 1812.

The Russian army refused to risk a decisive battle but retreated, harrying the flanks of the invading army and destroying all supplies as it went. Napoleon pushed doggedly on and finally reached Moscow. But this did not mean victory. The government had fled; Napoleon was miles from his base of supplies; food was running short; a terrible fire broke out which destroyed the city. Russia's vast distances, wind and snow, cold and sleet, had accomplished what the combined armies of Europe could not. Napoleon was forced to undertake one of the most disastrous retreats in history. Blinding snowstorms, swollen streams, abandoned baggage, exhausted soldiers, weary marches through the desolate and plundered country, annoying attacks by the Russian forces in the rear, marked the slow but complete destruction of the "grand army." A mere remnant of his army reached Prussia in safety. A half million soldiers had been sacrificed for nothing.

5. LEIPZIG AND WATERLOO. The hour for Napoleon's enemies had come. Russia, Prussia, England, and Sweden made an alliance and were shortly joined by Austria. The war of liberation began. Napoleon with accustomed vigor hastily recruited a new army. On October 16, 1813, the great Battle of Leipzig, the "Battle of the Nations," began. It raged for three days. Napoleon was beaten and was forced to retreat across the Rhine. At bay, attacked by victorious armies crowding upon him from the East and with Wellington's army coming northward from the Spanish Peninsula, Napoleon did some of the most brilliant fighting of his whole career. But the odds were too great. The allies bound themselves not to make separate peace agreements until Napoleon was overthrown. Paris surrendered in March, 1814; in April, Napoleon abdicated. He was allowed to rule over the small island of Elba situated in the Mediterranean near his native Corsica.

Twenty-two years before, foreign nations had endeavored to intervene in French affairs. They had at last succeeded. Louis XVI's brother was placed upon the throne of France as Louis XVIII—with the pretense that the Bourbon family had never ceased to rule, Louis XVI's son, who had died in 1795, being counted as Louis XVII. When it came to a division of the spoils, however, the allies fell to quarreling among themselves.

Napoleon, learning of their dissensions and of the unpopularity of the restored Bourbons, decided on one last desperate gamble for the stakes of empire. Evading the British patrol that guarded his little island, he landed at Cannes with one thousand men on March 1, 1815, and began the famous "hundred days." His march from Cannes to Paris was a triumph. Generals sent to capture him deserted to his side. Marshal Ney, who had so brilliantly covered his retreat from Moscow, joined him. Louis XVIII fled. Napoleon issued a stirring proclamation to the French people, awakening old memories and promising to restore the heritage of 1789. Soldiers rallied to his standard; he soon had an army of two hundred thousand men. In the face of their old and common danger, the allies forgot their quarrels. Wellington and Blücher were soon in the field against him. Napoleon decided to use his old strategy—separate his enemies and defeat them singly. Moving to the Belgian frontier by forced marches, he placed himself between the English and the Prussians. He sent one army to look after the forces of Blücher, while he himself marched on to face Wellington at Waterloo. On June 18 the two armies met; the fighting was desperate. Napoleon's old guard fought gloriously. It seemed that the battle might end without any definite decision, but in the late afternoon Blücher arrived with reënforcements, turned the tide, and made Waterloo ever memorable as Napoleon's last battle. Napoleon abdicated a second time in favor of his son and threw himself upon the mercy of the British. He was taken to the rocky island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic. Here, closely guarded by British troops, publicly proclaimed an "enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world," for the next six years he lived, a broken and dejected figure. He devoted his time to dreaming about past glories, dictating his memoirs, picturing himself as "the son of the Revolution" fighting for liberty, equality, fraternity for the oppressed peoples of Europe. He died May 5, 1821, at the age of fifty-one.

Publishers' Photo Service

L'Hôtel des Invalides, Paris

Napoleon often expressed the desire to be buried in Paris. After his death his body was brought from St. Helena and entombed under the dome of the church of Les Invalides, now a famous hospital for aged and wounded soldiers. The inscription on the tomb reads, "I wish my ashes to repose by the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people I have loved so well."

III. The Permanent Reforms of Napoleon

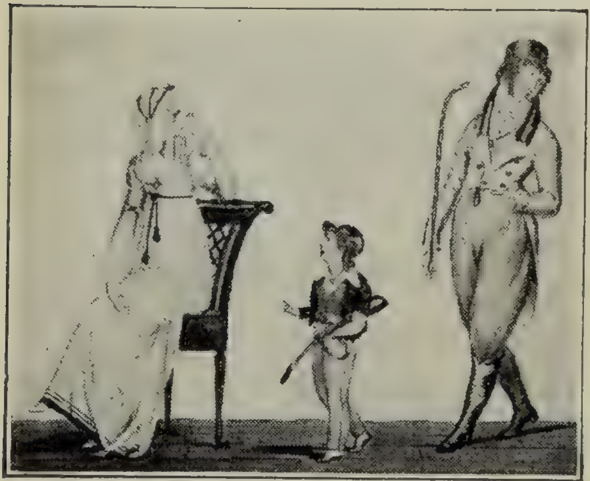
Napoleon was undoubtedly a military genius. Men are still thrilled at the thought of him, the Napoleon of victory against tremendous odds, "the man of destiny." But his peace-time works have had a far more lasting influence than his brilliant victories on the field of battle. In his reforms, he preserved much that the Revolution had accomplished; in several of them he merely carried to completion what the Revolution had begun. We will consider them under the following heads: centralization of government, financial reforms, the settlement with the church, legal reforms, educational changes, public improvements.

A. Centralization of government. The National Assembly had divided France into departments and provided for assemblies, whose members were elected by the people, to control local affairs. Napoleon took power away from these elective bodies and appointed prefects and subprefects, all responsible to himself, to administer the government in their place. The prefects chose the heads of the smaller districts. Napoleon also appointed judges, mayors of the larger towns, and the police heads of the cities. This internal reorganization which insured for Napoleon a prompt and direct execution of his will has endured. France is today probably the best example of a centralized state in which all governmental matters—local, provincial, and departmental in character though they may be—are directed and controlled by the central national authority.

B. Financial reforms. We have learned that bankruptcy was the cause of dissatisfaction with the Directory in 1798 just as it had been the immediate occasion for the downfall of the absolute monarchy. Napoleon put France on a sound financial basis. He levied heavy tributes upon those whom he conquered; he practiced rigid economy; he vigorously enforced the collection of taxes; he levied protective tariffs; he established a sinking fund to pay off the national debt. His greatest financial achievement was the organization of the Bank of France. It became the banking institution of the government and was the depository for national funds.

It had the right to issue paper currency and, in the course of time, other banks which had the right of issue were absorbed. Throughout the century it remained one of the soundest of financial institutions and still endures as one of Napoleon's great achievements.

C. The settlement with the church. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the confiscation of church lands had alienated the support of the clergy and large numbers of the French people from the Revolution. In order to win back the support of these influential groups, Napoleon made a treaty, or concordat, with the pope. This was renewed by later governments and regulated the relations of church and state in France for a century. Napoleon was not influenced by any religious motives in making this treaty. As he once said, "I was a Mohammedan in Egypt; I am a Catholic in France." He used the church as he used everything else, to further his own ends. The Concordat of 1801 provided that the church lands which had not been sold should be returned to the clergy, but that those who had bought confiscated church property should retain it; that bishops be nominated by the government and appointed by the pope; that the bishops should appoint the priests; that all salaries be paid by the government. The Catholic religion was recognized as the "religion of the great majority of the French people," but the privileges of the clergy were not restored. Religious freedom was established and the government granted financial aid to Protestants and Jews as well as to Catholics.



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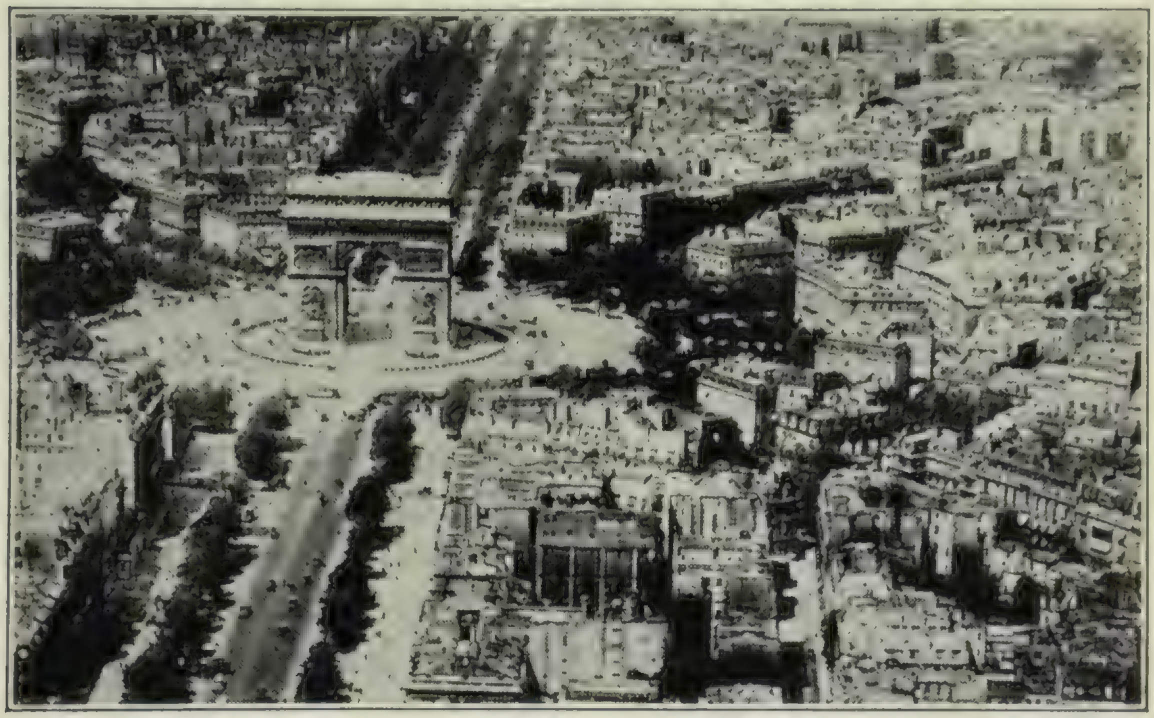
FRENCH FASHIONS OF 1801

Clothes of this type were worn by the upper class. Note the relative simplicity of the Empire style of dress as compared with the elaborate prerevolutionary costume shown on pages 66, 67, and 96.

D. Legal reforms. Napoleon, through committees of able lawyers, carried to completion the work of codifying the laws that had been inaugurated during the Convention. ("Codifying the laws" means making a brief, systematic digest of the laws.) In after years, Napoleon looked back upon the *Code Napoléon* as his greatest achievement. It embodied in law many of the ideas of the Revolution. It provided for the doctrine of civil and religious equality, freedom from arbitrary arrest, trial by jury, and the abolition of serfdom. The code was simple and uniform, applying to all of France, doing away with the cumbersome legal inconsistencies that had been one of the evils of the Old Régime. It is still the basis of French law and of the law of most of the countries on the Continent and also of the state of Louisiana.



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THE PLACE DE L'ETOILE, PARIS

The famous Arch of Triumph was built by Napoleon to commemorate his victories of 1805 and 1806. From it radiate many fine boulevards constructed both by Napoleon and by later governments.

E. Educational reforms. Napoleon's changes in the educational system were designed to centralize control in his own hands rather than to extend education. In his time, education was still conducted mainly by private organizations, chiefly the Catholic Church. Napoleon established the University of France, which was not a university in the usual sense of the term, but a body of government officials who controlled all education from elementary school through college by licensing schools, fixing curricula, setting standards, giving examinations, controlling teachers. (The University of the State of New York, controlled by the Board of Regents, is a similar body.)

The real purpose of the control of the schools was to glorify the empire and particularly the emperor. Despite prizes, awards, and other stimulants, original art and literature did not flourish. Although the schools established by Napoleon were not especially good ones, his educational reforms are in a sense revolutionary, for they marked the beginning of a system of state-controlled public schools, they limited the control of the church over all education and helped prepare the way for the time when the influence of the church over the schools would disappear.

F. Public improvements. Napoleon endeavored to win over the bourgeoisie by instituting a series of internal improvements. The splendid highway system of modern France owes its origin to this movement. Millions of francs were spent in the repair of old roads and the construction of new ones. Marshes were drained, waterways were made navigable, and a network of canals was planned as a help to commerce within France. In addition to these public improvements of a practical character, he undertook to rebuild and beautify the state palaces. He aimed to make Paris the metropolis of Europe. Parks and boulevards were laid out. The Louvre was completed and housed the works of art which Napoleon had seized in his campaigns.

Napoleon's reforms were not confined to France. A large part of his influence is due to the fact that he carried revolutionary ideas to the countries which he conquered. Everywhere the Napoleonic Code with its progressive principles was put into effect, serfdom and relics of feudalism were abolished, interior customs lines and old restrictions on trade and manufacture wiped out, the privileges of nobility and clergy limited. Although most of these reforms were abolished in the period of reaction that followed Napoleon's downfall, their influence was lasting, their abolition causing discontent which bore fruit in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

IV. Napoleon's Place in History

Napoleon claimed to be a son of the Revolution and to a large extent he was. The Revolution made possible his rapid rise; he could never have held high rank in the army so long as the nobility held a monopoly of all high offices. The desire of the people, especially of the commercial classes, for a strong leader to establish peace and preserve order after the confusion of revolution, helps to explain the lack of any serious opposition to his seizure of power. Furthermore, to the people of France he was the savior of the Revolution, the incomparable genius who had prevented the despots of Prussia and Austria from crushing their liberties.

Many of these liberties, however, he himself crushed. He was quite ready to use revolutionary principles to further his own ends, but he had little sympathy with them. We have seen how he defied the spirit of nationalism by placing his favorites on half the thrones of Europe. For liberty he had even less respect. He was a despot, an "enlightened" despot perhaps, but still a despot. The people had no voice in the government. Freedom of speech and press were abolished, since they might lead to criticism of himself. All books and newspapers were censored, criticism was ruthlessly suppressed, thousands were imprisoned because they were suspected of opposition.

The practical value of the other ideal of the Revolution, equality, Napoleon saw proved in his own career. Under his rule all men were equal before the law. There were no exemptions from taxes, no special privileges. The highest positions in the empire were open to anyone who could prove his worth. There was truly "a marshal's baton in every drummer boy's knapsack"—many of his greatest generals being men of humble birth who had risen from the ranks. Napoleon created a new nobility, but it was to a large extent a nobility based on ability, and while it received many favors from the emperor it never held the privileged position of the nobility of the Old Régime. The Legion of Honor which he established for the purpose of honoring conspicuous services to the state in war, diplomacy, literature, or art, still exists. Even in our own times membership in the Legion is considered the highest honor that can be given to a Frenchman or that France can bestow on a foreigner.

About no character in history has there been wider difference of opinion than about Napoleon. Some have not hesitated to call him the greatest soldier and statesman of all time. He had an incredible capacity for work, a passion for order, and remarkable skill as an administrator. He was a good judge of men and had the ability to inspire them to do their best. He was a clever politician with an actor's sense of doing the right thing at the right time. On the other hand he was vain, self-centered, ruthless, unscrupulous, over-ambitious. That morality had nothing to do with "such a man as I am," he firmly believed. H. G. Wells says, "He was, as few men are or dare to be, a scoundrel, bright and complete," and characterizes his career as the "raid of an intolerable egotist across the disordered beginnings of a new time."

Was he a great man? Before we can answer this question, we must decide what constitutes greatness. Perhaps the best answer has been given by one of his own countrymen: "He was as great as a man can be without virtue." What effect has Napoleon had on history? On the credit side must be placed the fact that he made secure the chief gains of the Revolution to France and helped to communicate them to Europe and the rest of the world. On the debit side must be placed the fair lands devastated and the thousands of men slaughtered as a sacrifice to his belief in his personal destiny.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. To what extent was Napoleon's success due to the time in which he lived? To his ability? To his lack of scruple?

2. Explain the overwhelming majority by which the people approved of Napoleon's *coup d'état* of 1799.

3. Discuss the statement that the struggle between Napoleon and England was primarily an economic one.

4. Compare the effects on the United States of England's struggle with Napoleon and those of England's struggle with Germany, 1914-1917.

5. Napoleon claimed to be the savior of the French Revolution. To what extent is this true?

6. What effects of Napoleon's reforms still remain in France?

7. Some authors claim that Napoleon had an "inferiority complex"—that is, that many of his actions were the result of his feeling that he was an upstart usurper and must show the world that he and his family were the equals of any reigning family in Europe. What basis for this belief can you find in his career?

8. What, in your opinion, constitutes a great man? Does Napoleon measure up to your standards of greatness?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

General

In addition to those books mentioned in connection with the French Revolution, the following biographies of Napoleon will be found useful:

Tarbell, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*
Johnston, *Napoleon*
Fisher, *Napoleon*
Ludwig, *Napoleon, The Man of Destiny*

The Continental System

Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 546-550
Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 334-337, 341-344, 351-356
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 298-303

Reforms

Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 527-532, 541-542
Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 341-351
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 280-290
Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 651-660

Significance

Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 573-576
Van Loon, Chap. 53
Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 696-717

CHAPTER IX

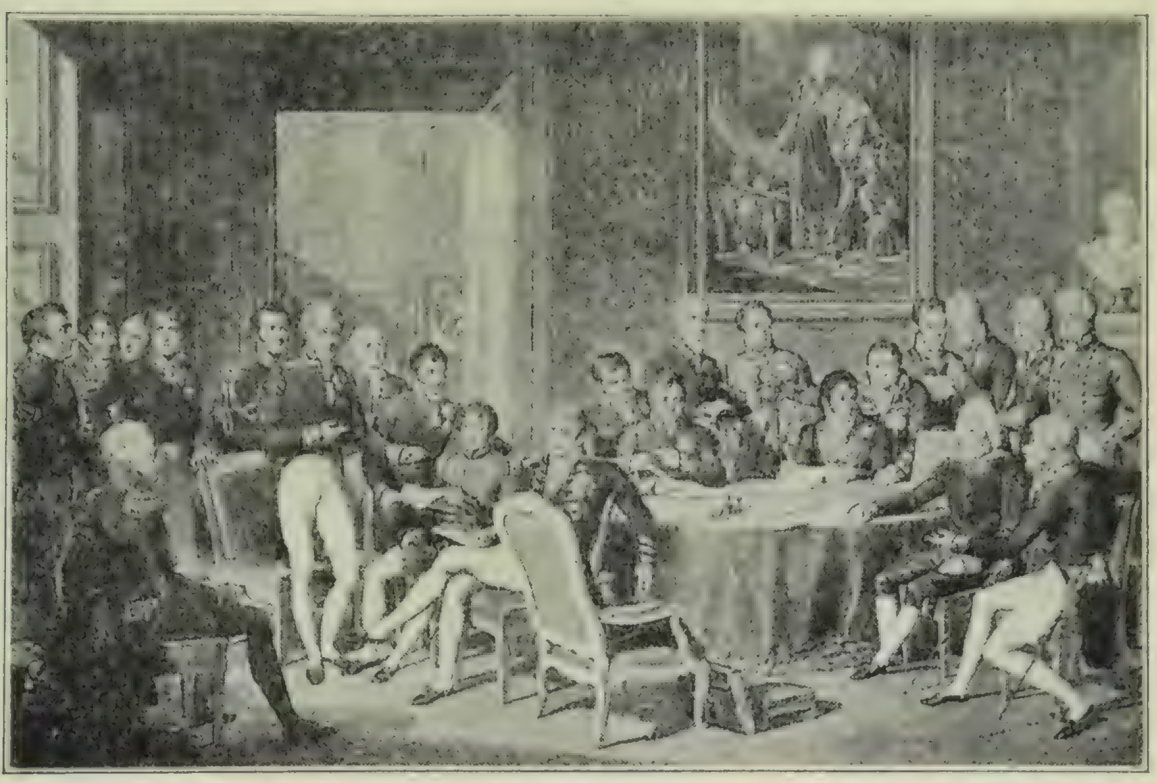
THE PERIOD OF REACTION

The French Revolution worked a transformation in the ideas of the ruling classes of Europe as well as in those of the bourgeoisie. We must remember that the rulers of Europe fought Napoleon not because he was a tyrant, but because he upset the balance of power and because he was a revolutionary, or at least because his armies were spreading revolutionary ideas which the ruling classes feared and hated. The victory over Napoleon was a victory for those who desired to go back to the way of life that had existed before the French Revolution. These reactionaries wished to wipe out not only the changes that had been made but the ideas on which those changes had been based.

I. The Congress of Vienna

That the overthrow of Napoleon was a victory for conservatism was clearly shown by the Congress of Vienna—the assemblage of dignitaries which met in September, 1814, to straighten out the tangle in which Napoleon had enmeshed Europe. Six monarchs, a host of princes, dukes, counts and lesser nobles, and the ablest chancellors and ministers were there to represent the conservative ideas of the ruling classes; there was no one to represent progressive ideas. The single possible exception, among the leaders at least, was Czar Alexander I of Russia. Alexander was genuinely religious, had an honest hatred of war, and a sincere desire to help his subjects; but he had little executive ability to carry out his plans and was easily discouraged.

A. Metternich. The leader of the reactionary forces at Vienna was Prince Metternich of Austria. Born of a wealthy noble family, well educated, with a thorough knowledge of European affairs gained by service as Austrian ambassador in several European capitals, Metternich, in 1809, had become chief minister and practical ruler of Austria, a position which he held until 1848. Handsome, able, suave, and cultured, he was by nature and training a conservative through and through. He had a sincere distrust of democracy and consequently devoted his energies to the cause of conservatism. He dominated the Congress of Vienna and the affairs of Europe for the next generation so thoroughly that this period is often called the Age of Metternich.



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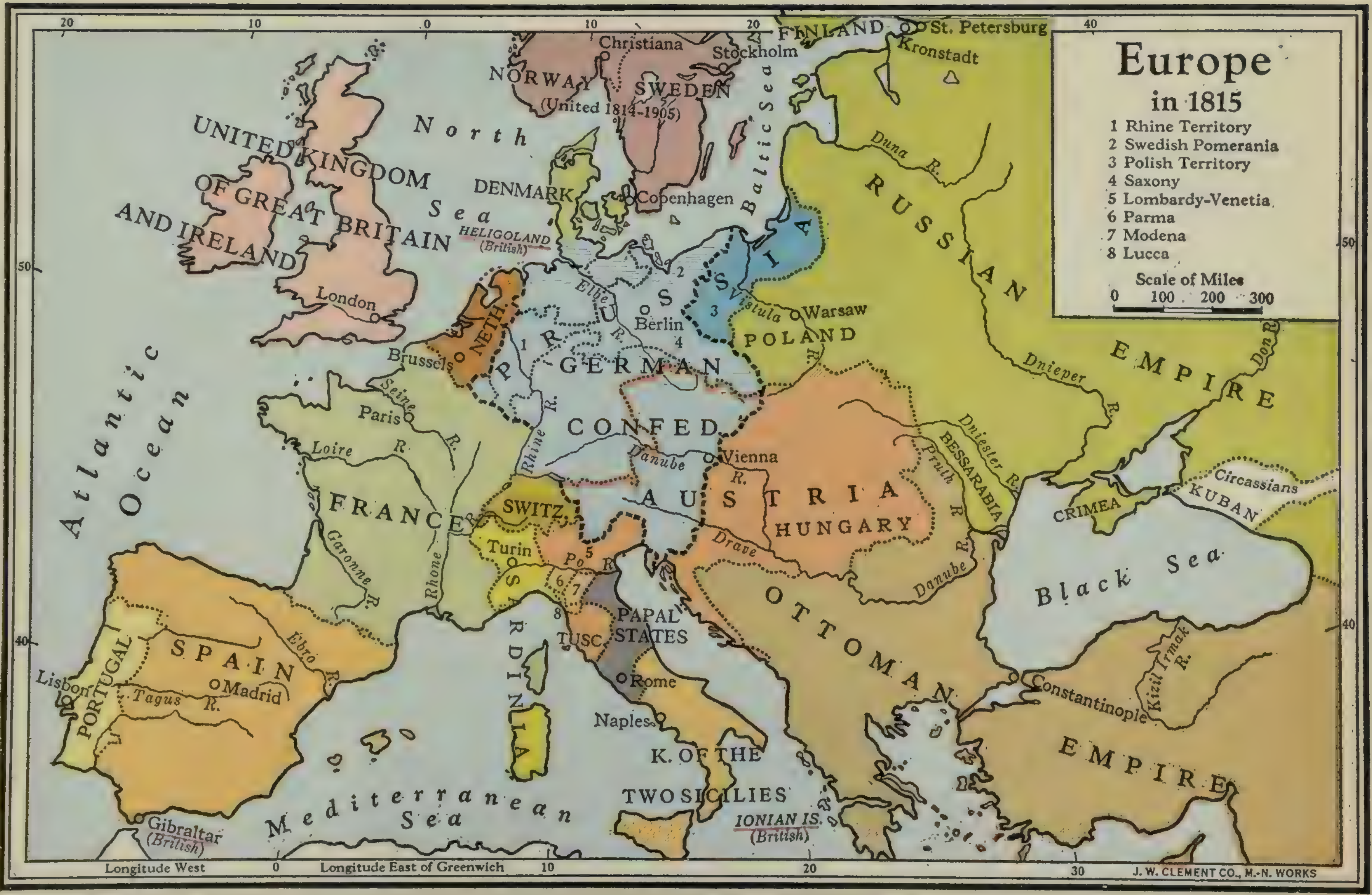
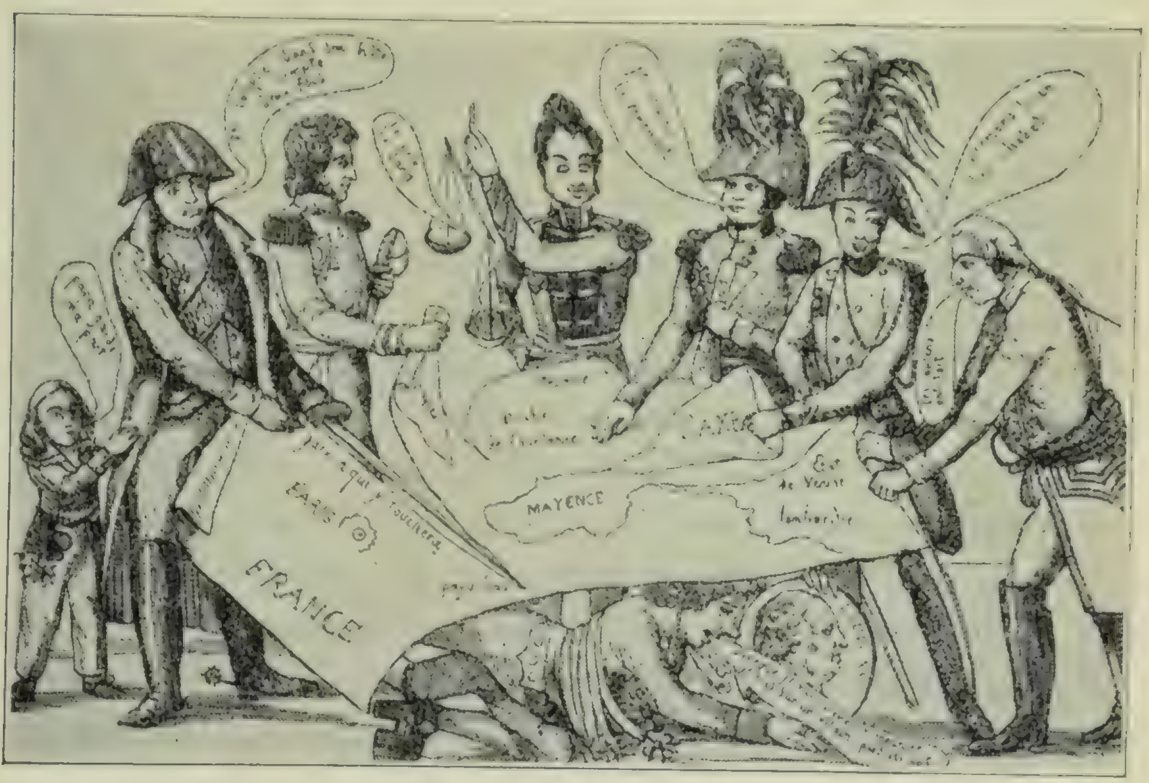
THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Talleyrand is sitting in front of the table at the right. Metternich is standing in the center of the group at the left.

B. Legitimacy and compensation. England, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, having been the strongest nations in the alliance against Napoleon, naturally expected to divide the spoils among themselves. As each wanted the lion's share, however, agreement was difficult. Talleyrand, the crafty minister of Louis XVIII, took advantage of this discord and, by playing one nation against the other, prevented


Europe
in 1815
1 Rhine Territory
2 Swedish Pomerania
3 Polish Territory
4 Saxony
5 Lombardy-Venetia
6 Parma
7 Modena
8 Lucca
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
FINLAND
St. Petersburg
Kronstadt
Christiana
Stockholm
NORWAY
SWEDEN
(United 1814-1905)
North Sea
Baltic Sea
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
London
DENMARK
Copenhagen
HELIGOLAND (British)
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Duna R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Dniester R.
BESSARABIA
Pruth R.
CRIMEA
Circassians
KUBAN
Black Sea
PRUSSIA
Elbe R.
Berlin
Vistula R.
Warsaw
POLAND
NETH.
Brussels
GERMAN CONFED.
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Vienna
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Drave
Danube R.
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Kizil Irmak R.
Atlantic Ocean
FRANCE
Paris
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Rhone
SWITZ.
Turin
Po R.
SARDINIA
TUSC.
PAPAL STATES
Rome
Naples
K. OF THE TWO SICILIES
IONIAN IS. (British)
SPAIN
Madrid
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Gibraltar (British)
Mediterranean Sea
Longitude West
Longitude East of Greenwich
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
40
J. W. CLEMENT CO., M.-N. WORKS

much of the disadvantage that would have come to France had there been harmony among his victorious rivals. He put forward the principle of legitimacy—that is, the restoration of the legitimate rulers—and Metternich, seeing in this a means of accomplishing his reactionary purposes, welcomed the idea. Legitimacy became the guiding principle of the Congress, only in so far, however, as it suited the great powers; when some minor prince wished to be restored to his domains the principle of "compensations"—that is, giving the victorious powers land to repay them for their losses in the war—superseded legitimacy.



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A Contemporary Cartoon of the Congress of Vienna

The powers are represented as cutting up the map of Europe to suit themselves.

C. Territorial Changes. With legitimacy and compensation as its avowed principles and national selfishness and fear of revolution as its underlying motives, the main settlements of the Congress of Vienna were as follows: France was reduced to approximately her boundaries of 1789, was compelled to restore to their former owners many of the works of art which Napoleon had carried off, was forced to pay an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs, and was required to submit for five years to an occupation of her chief fortresses by allied troops. Austria regained most of the territory taken from her by Napoleon but lost the Netherlands (Belgium) which were given to Holland to make up the United Kingdom of the Netherlands under the house of Orange. As compensation for the loss of the Netherlands, Austria was given the rich Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Members of the Hapsburg family were placed on the thrones of the central Italian states. Prussia was given back some of her Polish provinces and in addition two-fifths of Saxony, as well as valuable territory on the Rhine, and Swedish Pomerania on the Baltic. Russia was allowed to retain Finland and Bessarabia and also received the largest part of what had formerly been Poland, the czar, however, agreeing to govern Poland as a separate kingdom with a constitution.

In the course of the wars against Napoleon, England had seized islands and territories of France and her allies all over the globe, including Malta in the Mediterranean, Heligoland in the North Sea, Trinidad and part of Honduras in the Caribbean, the important Dutch colonies of Ceylon, South Africa, and part of Guiana. She kept them all. Sweden, as compensation for the loss of Finland and Pomerania, received Norway from Denmark. The Bourbon kings of The Two Sicilies and of Spain were restored, as was the king of Sardinia-Piedmont, who was given the Republic of Genoa. The Papal States were restored to the pope. Switzerland was given its former boundaries and its neutrality was guaranteed.

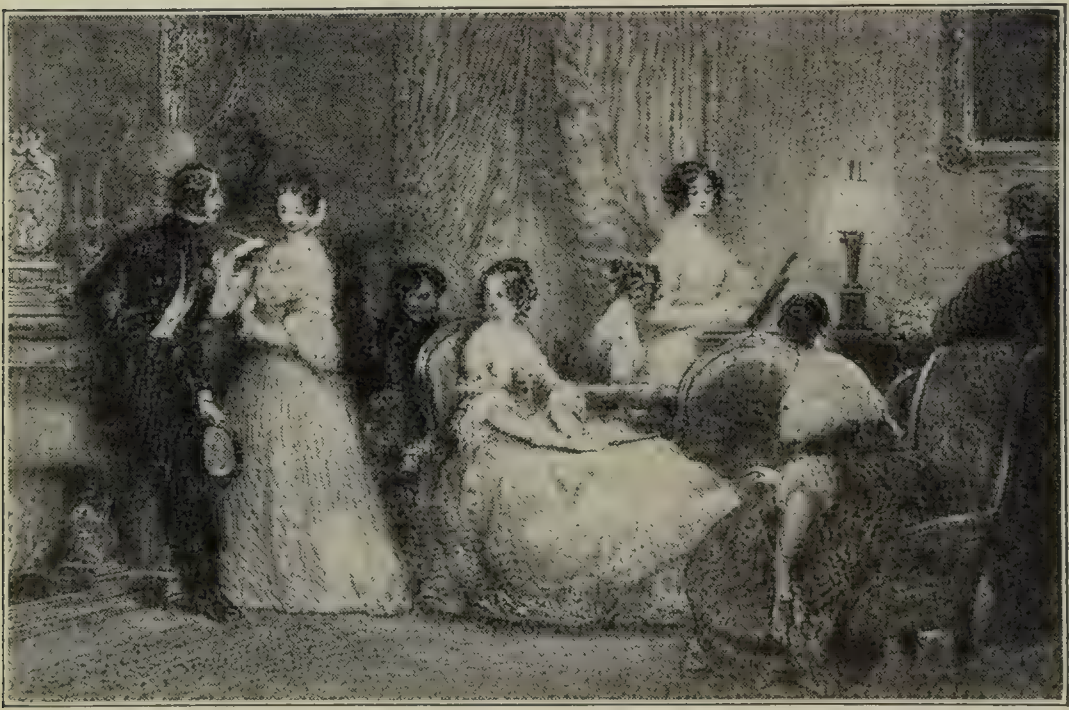
Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine was, of course, abolished, but the Holy Roman Empire was not restored, nor were the more than two hundred little states that he had consolidated. Instead, a German Confederation of thirty-eight states, including Austria but not her non-German possessions, was created. Weak as this Confederation was, it was a step toward German unification. In the Italian peninsula the pope, the king of The Two Sicilies, and the king of Piedmont were restored to their former possessions; Venetia and Lombardy were given outright to Austria, and Hapsburg rulers were put in control of several small states. Italy remained, even more than Germany, a geographic expression.

II. Reactionaries in Power

The ruling classes whose representatives controlled the Congress of Vienna believed that they had permanently stamped out the revolutionary ideas which they feared and hated. A survey of conditions in Europe in the years immediately following the Congress would seem to show that they had. Everywhere reaction was apparent. It is true that the economic changes in France and other territories controlled by Napoleon had become more or less permanent. The peasants continued to own their small farms, serfdom and the feudal rights of the landlords were not restored, nor were the old restrictions on trade. But serfdom and a privileged nobility and clergy still existed throughout Russia, in most of the Austrian dominions, and in large parts of the Germanies. In most of the Italian states and in Spain the landlords had won back many of their rights with the restoration. Politically, the restored monarchs regained many of their former absolute powers. With a few exceptions the king's will was law; he appointed ministers, levied taxes, and issued decrees untroubled by parliaments. There were traces of liberalism in England and France, but even in these countries reactionaries were in control.

A. England. As we have already seen, the landlords who controlled the English Parliament ruled the country. Frightened by the French Revolution they used the excesses of the revolutionaries as an excuse for blocking all reforms. Industry, already disorganized by the introduction of new machinery, was further upset by the attempt of thousands of soldiers, discharged after the defeat of Napoleon, to find employment. Wages were low, hours of labor long, unemployment common. When the workers protested against bad conditions, laws were passed limiting free speech, free press, and free assembly, which had come to be considered fundamental rights of all Englishmen.

B. France. The restored Bourbon government in France retained Napoleon's legal system, the Concordat with the pope, and the Bank of France. The charter issued by Louis XVIII provided for a two-house legislature, without whose consent no laws could be passed. The king appointed ministers responsible to himself. Freedom of religion, speech, and press were guaranteed. Louis XVIII did not grant this charter because he believed in it, but because he realized that times had changed. The bourgeoisie were strong and becoming stronger; they would have bitterly opposed any complete return to the Old Régime. Louis wanted to rule and was willing to sacrifice his desires to expediency.



From the painting by Eugene Lami

THE SOIRÉE
A Parisian party, about 1830.

Although the majority of the people of France supported Louis in his moderate policy, there was a party, the Ultra-Royalists, which was constantly plotting to give back the power of government to the privileged classes. In 1820 this extremely conservative group obtained control of the legislature and immediately abolished many of the guarantees that had been won through the Revolution. They established a strict censorship of the press, gave complete control of education to the Catholic clergy, and modified the electoral law by giving double suffrage to those who paid direct taxes of 1,000 francs annually. Louis XVIII made some attempt to restrain this group but, upon his death in 1824, his brother, the Count of Artois, leader of the Ultra-Royalists, became king as Charles X. Under him steps were immediately taken to restore to the nobility and clergy their former privileges. An indemnity of one billion francs was granted to nobles whose estates were confiscated during the Revolution. Reaction in France seemed complete.

C. Central Europe. Reactionary as England and France were, they were liberal in contrast with the rest of Europe. Austria with her dominions, which included Hungary, Bohemia, and parts of Poland and Italy, was indeed a land of the Old Régime. The king ruled through ministers responsible to himself alone without constitution or parliament. The Catholic clergy was exempt from taxes and military service and had a practical monopoly of education. The nobles were exempt from certain taxes, had a monopoly of all the lucrative offices both civil and military, and collected taxes and various feudal dues from the peasants. No newspaper, pamphlet, or book might be published, sold, or brought into the country without the approval of a government official. No public meeting might be held without the approval of the government or without officials being present to see what was done. The curriculum of all schools and universities was rigidly prescribed and supervised. No person might enter or leave the country without permission. In order to enforce these regulations Metternich established an elaborate system of spies and secret police who went everywhere and reported what was going on.

Metternich was not content with protecting Austria from new ideas but was determined to establish his "system" all over Europe He played on the fears of the ruling classes, magnifying unimportant events into great crises, and picturing the slightest reform as a step toward revolution. One of the first rulers to come under his influence was the well-meaning but weak-willed Czar Alexander of Russia. Alexander tried sincerely for a time to introduce progressive ideas in the government of his vast domains. He confirmed the independent constitution of Finland, gave Poland a liberal constitution, abolished corporal punishment for the upper classes in Russia, and established a few civil liberties. He appointed liberal ministers and was planning the granting of a constitution and the abolition of serfdom. A few radicals in Russia, however, made extreme demands; plots for revolution were discovered; Kotzebue, a Russian agent, was murdered by a German radical. The czar, easily discouraged, was led by Metternich to believe that his mild measures of reform were responsible for these troubles. As a result he soon forswore all liberalism and abolished all plans for reform. Upon his death in 1825 he was succeeded by his brother, Nicholas, who needed none of Metternich's persuasion to keep Russia one of the most reactionary governments in the world.

Since Austria was the most powerful state in the German Confederation, Metternich had great influence in the diet—a body made up of the representatives of the rulers of the states who were members of the Confederation. One article of the constitution of the Confederation provided that "a representative form of government shall be adopted in the federative states," but except for a few of the southern states which had come under French influence, Metternich was easily able to persuade the rulers to ignore this provision. The liberal spirit in the German states was kept alive by various student organizations. To prevent the schools and universities from becoming centers of liberal propaganda, Metternich persuaded the diet to pass a set of resolutions, the "Carlsbad Decrees," establishing a censorship of all teaching, newspapers, books, and pamphlets, and suppressing the strongest of the student organizations.

D. The Holy and Quadruple Alliances. At the Congress of Vienna Czar Alexander persuaded the kings of Austria and Prussia to unite with him in the Holy Alliance, promising to rule their countries according to Christian principles. Although practically all the rulers of Europe later joined this alliance, it never accomplished anything nor, so far as can be seen, had any effect on the policies of any of the rulers who signed it. It is often confused, however, with another alliance made at the same time—the Quadruple Alliance. This was formed by Metternich between Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England (later France was admitted) to prevent the possibility that "revolutionary principles might again convulse France and endanger the peace of other countries." Since the members of the Alliance were the powers which had chiefly benefited by the Vienna settlement, they naturally wished to maintain it, and this was the main purpose of the Alliance. Since the main threat against the settlements was revolution, the main function of the Alliance was to prevent revolutions or suppress them once they had broken out. Under Metternich's leadership this Quadruple Alliance played a large part in suppressing liberal movements during the next fifteen years.

1. INTERVENTION IN SPAIN. The first country to disturb the Vienna settlement was Spain, where the rule of Napoleon's brother, Joseph, had never been popular. In 1812 a group of middle-class liberals set up a provisional government and adopted a liberal constitution. The Bourbon king, Ferdinand VII, whom the allies had restored to the Spanish throne, was a thorough-going reactionary. He had all of Metternich's hatred for liberalism with none of his ability or tact. Accordingly, with the support of the nobility and clergy, he abolished the constitution and reëstablished the Old Régime—absolute monarchy, special privileges for nobility and clergy, censorship. Although he tried to stamp out the liberal movement by execution, exile, and imprisonment, he was not entirely successful, and when the disorganized state of the finances made the army's pay irregular, the soldiers were ready to join in a revolt. Uprisings occurred in different parts of Spain early in 1820 and Ferdinand appealed to the reactionary great powers for help.

The Quadruple Alliance was much concerned with the Spanish revolution, considering steps to be taken at various Congresses, as its meetings were called. Troubles in Italy, however, prevented any action until 1822, when France offered to send an army into Spain. The reactionary party, then in control in France, saw in this an opportunity to do a favor for a Bourbon relative of the French king, and at the same time to reëstablish France in the good graces of the great powers. Her offer was enthusiastically accepted, England alone objecting, and a French army marched into Spain early in 1823. The liberal government was overthrown, the constitution abolished, and after executing hundreds of liberals and exiling and imprisoning many others, Ferdinand ruled as an absolute monarch until his death in 1833.

2. Intervention in Italy. Even before the French army invaded Spain a precedent for intervention by members of the Quadruple Alliance in the affairs of other nations had been established by the Austrians in Italy. Metternich and his colleagues at Vienna thought that they had made Italy safe for reaction by establishing relatives of the Austrian Emperor on the thrones of the small states of Central Italy, and equally conservative monarchs in Naples and Sardinia. Italy, however, through the long occupation by Napoleonic troops and rule of Napoleon's puppet princes, had come more under revolutionary influences than any other country of Europe outside of France itself. Although the middle class in Italy was weak, activities were carried on to arouse the people against the government, mainly by former officers and officials in Napoleonic armies and governments who had lost their positions when the old governments were restored. Since they had no way of carrying on legal opposition to the government, they formed secret societies and preached and planned revolution. The strongest of these societies was the *Carbonari,* named from the charcoal burners of Calabria. This society grew until it had branches all over Italy and was a chief means of keeping the revolutionary spirit alive.

When the news of the Spanish revolution of 1820 came to Italy, a revolution broke out in Naples and the king asked the Quadruple Alliance for help. An Austrian army was sent, which easily put down the revolt. A similar revolution in Piedmont was also put down by Austrian troops.

III. Liberalism Revives to Challenge Reaction

In 1823 reaction seemed to be still in complete control. Conservatives were in power in France and England; Metternich was supreme in Austria; his influence prevailed in Russia and in the states of Germany; his Quadruple Alliance had suppressed liberal outbreaks in Spain and Italy. Well might the reactionaries believe that they had overthrown revolutionary ideas. It is difficult, however, to kill ideas by force. The ideas of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—were still alive. Censorship and repression might drive them into hiding but they could not stamp them out.

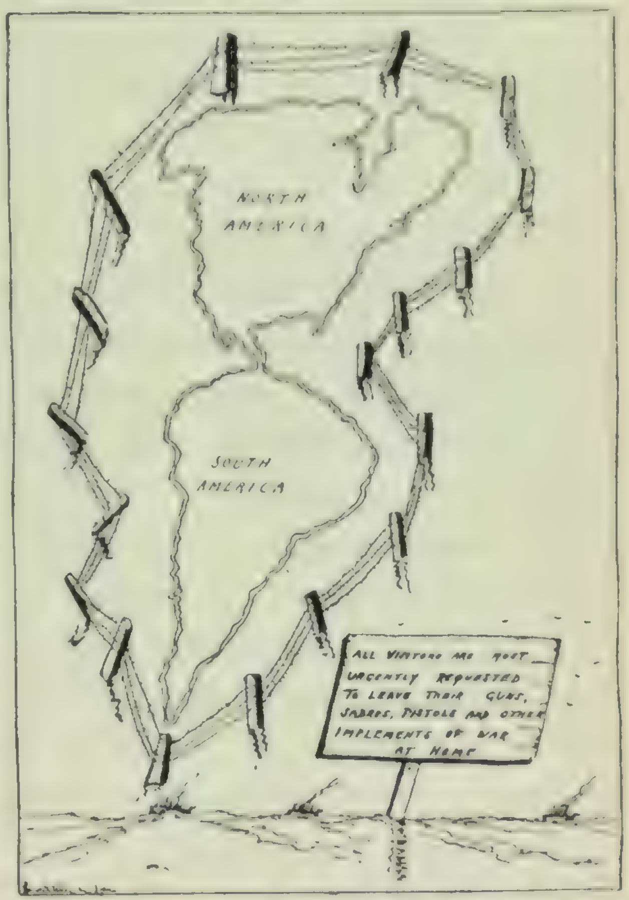
A. Workers reënforce the liberal demands of the bourgeoisie. In the next section we shall take up the Industrial Revolution and its far-reaching effects, but we may at this point note briefly its influence on the struggle between liberalism and reaction. The middle class had been the most active opponents of the Old Régime and the main beneficiaries of the Revolution. The expansion of trade and the growth of factories rapidly increased the numbers and the power of the middle class, who more and more came to see that the spirit of reaction was hostile to their interests. Moreover, the Industrial Revolution brought forth another powerful aid for liberal ideas—the working class. From the early years of the eighteenth century on, we find the workers demanding a place for themselves in the new scheme of things, not merely by aiding the bourgeoisie in their demand for reforms, but by actually forcing the bourgeoisie to give an ever-widening meaning to liberty, equality, and fraternity.

To the bourgeoisie liberty had meant in general the absence of autocratic government, the right of men of property to vote for representatives in parliament. Equality meant legal equality, the same law for the noble and the merchant, the priest and the layman. The workers began to assert that they, too, must have a voice in the government; universal suffrage replaced suffrage for taxpayers only. The workers began to declare that equality before the law was useless unless there was some degree of economic equality and equality of opportunity. Demands for free public schools and for laws to protect the workers mingled with demands for the abolition of the privileges of the clergy and nobility. The workers listened to declarations that all men of a great brotherhood, took it seriously, and themselves began to take pride in their country and feel that they were an essential part of it.

B. The Monroe Doctrine. 1. THE REVOLT OF SPAIN'S COLONIES. The conflict of interests between the commercial classes and the reactionary ruling classes first became clear when the Quadruple Alliance began to consider means of restoring Spain's authority in her American colonies. At the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars, Spain still had a vast empire consisting of Mexico, Central America, all of South America (except Brazil), Cuba, Porto Rico, and other small islands in the West Indies. Spain learned nothing from the American Revolution but continued to deny her colonies any self-government and to enforce the old mercantilist policy of allowing the colonies to trade only with the mother country. She had not been able to enforce this policy strictly for generations, an illegal trade being carried on between the colonies and other countries, particularly England; but she still drew a rich revenue from her trade with the colonies.

During the period when Napoleon's brother was on the throne of Spain, most of the colonies refused to recognize Joseph and traded more and more with other countries, particularly with England and the United States. This freedom to trade where they pleased was possible for the colonies since the Spanish navy was too weak to enforce her trade laws. England was mistress of the seas. When the Congress of Vienna restored Ferdinand, the former Spanish king, he attempted to reinstate the old colonial system, forbidding all trade except with Spain herself. The colonies revolted, until the movement had spread through South America and into Central America and Mexico. Mexico declared her independence in 1821.

For economic, sentimental, and nationalistic reasons, the United States was deeply interested in the revolutions in the Spanish colonies. The merchants had built up a small but profitable trade with the colonies during the Napoleonic and revolutionary periods and saw an opportunity to expand it indefinitely if the colonies remained independent. Popular sentiment was with the revolutionists, for the people remembered that they themselves had but recently won their independence from a European power. Above all was the feeling of both the government and the people that the United States would be more secure if it had as neighbors to the south independent republics rather than colonies of an imperialistic and reactionary great power. This feeling was strengthened when news came of the activity of the Quadruple Alliance in putting down revolution in Europe. The fear was logical that the next step would be to attempt to restore the revolted colonies in America to Spain, a fear which was confirmed by France's invitations in 1823 to Prussia, Russia, and Austria to confer on the relation of Spain and her revolted colonies.


NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
ALL VISITORS ARE MOST URGENTLY REQUESTED TO LEAVE THEIR GUNS, SABRES, PISTOLS AND OTHER IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AT HOME

Hendrik Willem van Loon

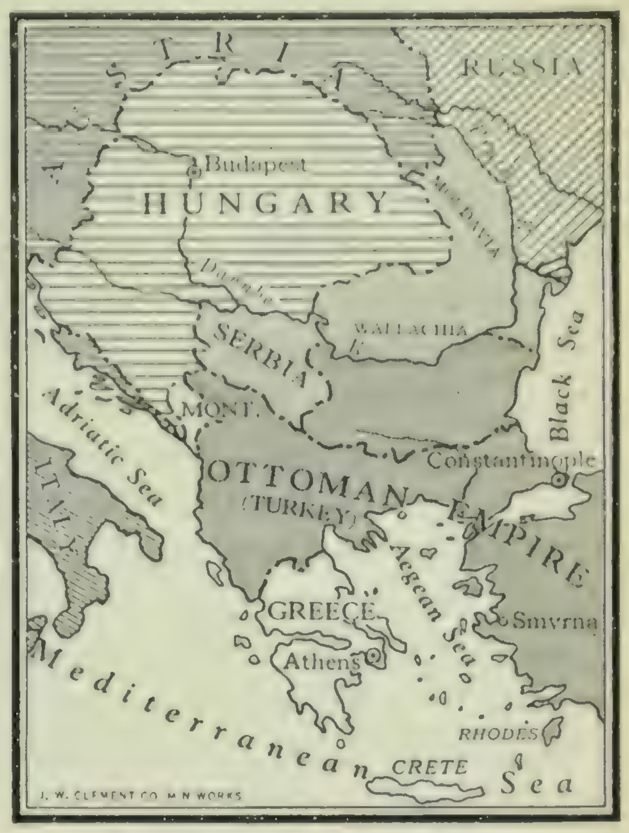
THE MONROE DOCTRINE

2. THE MONROE DOCTRINE ISSUED. The United States recognized the independence of Mexico, Colombia, Chili, and Argentina in 1822. The attitude of the Quadruple Alliance made it evident that some further action was necessary. President Monroe, in his regular message to Congress, December 2, 1823, issued what has since become famous as the Monroe Doctrine. In brief, this doctrine stated that the United States had not and would not intervene in purely European affairs, nor between a European country and her existing colonies in the Western Hemisphere; but where such colonies had declared and maintained their independence the United States would view any attempt to interfere with them as an unfriendly act.

The Monroe Doctrine was not an entirely new policy for the United States. It was essentially the same policy of non-interference in European affairs that had been followed by Washington and Jefferson. This was the first time, however, that it had received so definite a statement. Although never officially recognized by European powers, it has prevented the extension of their system to the Western continent and, largely modified by time and circumstances, is still an important part of American foreign policy.

3. England supports the Monroe Doctrine. The real reason for the success of the Monroe Doctrine, as well as for that of the revolutions in Spanish America, was the attitude of England. England was mistress of the seas and, without the help of her navy, any attempt by European nations to conquer the revolting colonies was foredoomed to failure. Within England there was a conflict of interests between the merchants, who wanted to trade with Latin America, and the conservatives, who feared all revolution. In 1822 George Canning, a representative of the younger and more liberal group of Conservatives who were coming into power, became the English foreign secretary. To him the furthering of England's economic interests was much more important than maintaining the Quadruple Alliance. Accordingly he informed France in October, 1823, of England's provisional recognition of the Latin-American states and encouraged the United States to issue the Monroe Doctrine in December of the same year. In 1825 England formally recognized the more important states and the break with the Quadruple Alliance was complete. The real importance of England's defection lay in the fact that thereby the Alliance was deprived of the only navy worthy of the name in existence at that time.

C. The independence of Greece. Another serious blow to Metternich's system was the success of the Greeks in gaining their independence. Greece, long misgoverned by Turkey, revolted in 1821. The Greeks counted upon the assistance of Russia, since the two countries had the same religion and Russia had long wanted to get a foothold in the Balkans. At first, however, yielding to Metternich, Russia refused to help, so the long indecisive struggle between Greece and Turkey dragged on. The cruelty of the Turks strengthened the sympathy for Greece, which was already strong because of her ancient glories. Volunteers came from practically every country in Europe to aid the Greek cause. Even Russia felt the influence of the popular sympathy and finally intervened on behalf of the Greeks in 1826. England was unwilling to see Russia gain any advantage from an independent Greece and brought about an alliance in 1827 by which England, France, and Russia pledged themselves to assure Greek independence. With the help of an English fleet and armies supplied by France and Russia the Greeks defeated the forces of the sultan and forced him to recognize their independence in 1829. Again revolution had triumphed over reaction, and this time with the aid of reactionary Russia herself.


A U S T R I A
RUSSIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
Danube
WALLACHIA
SERBIA
MONT.
Adriatic Sea
ITALY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
(TURKEY)
Constantinople
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
GREECE
Athens
Smyrna
Mediterranean Sea
RHODES
CRETE
J. W. CLEMENT CO. M N WORKS

THE BALKANS, 1830-1879

Montenegro became an independent state in 1799, and Greece in 1829. Moldavia and Wallachia became autonomous (self-governing) territories in 1829 and united to form Rumania in 1862. Serbia became autonomous in 1830.

D. The Revolutions of 1830. Metternich's system of censorship and repression received its first check when the United States issued the Monroe Doctrine and England definitely deserted the Quadruple Alliance. It received a second blow when Greece gained its independence by revolution. It was to receive a still more serious blow with the outbreak of revolution in various parts of Europe in 1830. It was in France, mother of revolution, that the movement of 1830 started.

1. IN FRANCE. Let us recall that in 1824 Louis XVIII of France, who had retained many of the revolutionary changes and held the reactionaries in check, was succeeded by Charles X, the leader of the Ultra-Conservatives. Charles was determined to restore the Old Régime. After various acts favoring the clergy and the old nobility,

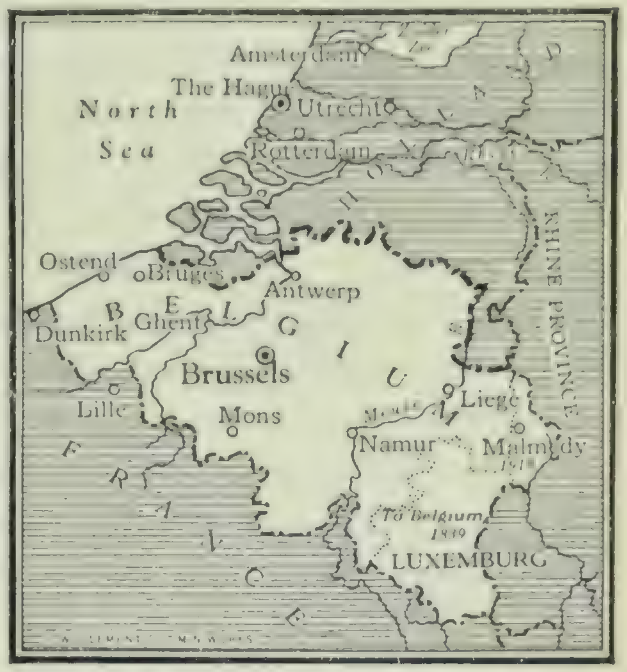
the king showed that he had no intention of respecting the constitution by issuing a series of ordinances without the approval of the legislature. These ordinances dissolved the recently elected Chamber of Deputies, put into effect a new electoral law restricting the suffrage to large landholders, and suspended the freedom of the press.

All parties united in bitter opposition to these high-handed methods. Proclamations of protest were widely circulated. Rioting began. Paving stones in the streets of Paris were torn up to form barricades. The king went off on a vacation, comforting himself with the thought that his troops could easily crush the street fighting; but the revolting mob was soon in control of Paris and the king fled to England. The provisional government selected as king a distant relative of Charles X, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orléans, who posed as a liberal and who subsequently delighted in calling himself the "citizen king." He was proclaimed "King of the French by the Grace of God and by the will of the people."

The July Revolution, as the revolution in France is called, was a triumph for the middle classes. It was not a revolution which brought great benefits to the mass of the French people except that it saved them from complete reaction and proved to the rulers of Europe that the principles of 1789 were not dead. The tricolor of the Revolution once again became the flag of the French. The new government repudiated the July ordinances, proclaimed that ministers would be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies and not to the king, restored the freedom of the press, lowered the property qualifications for suffrage, and reduced the voting age to twenty-five. Since the voting population numbered about two hundred thousand out of a total population of about thirty million, it is easy to see that in 1830 the mass of the people did not have a real voice in the government. Their day was yet to come.

2. IN ITALY AND GERMANY. The July Revolution was an effective blow at Metternich's system; the French bourgeoisie had defied the principle of legitimacy which the Congress of Vienna had supposedly established forever. To be consistent, Metternich should have summoned his cohorts of reaction, invaded France, suppressed the Revolution, and brought back the unwelcome but legitimate

Bourbon, Charles X. Louis Philippe, however, soon let it be known that it was not his intention to carry the Revolution of 1830 beyond the borders of France and so removed one of the chief reasons for outside interference in French affairs. Furthermore, the July Revolution served as a signal for revolts throughout Europe, and Metternich and his friends were too busy worrying about revolts in their own territories to intervene actively in France. In Hanover, Saxony, and other German states reformers succeeded in obtaining constitutions, or promises of reform. In Italy revolts in the Papal States and in other small states were soon suppressed. The Revolution of 1830 in Italy and Germany accomplished little, but it served to show that liberalism was not dead. In two parts of Europe other than France—Belgium and Poland—the revolutionary movement of 1830 is worthy of brief mention.



Belgium Since 1831

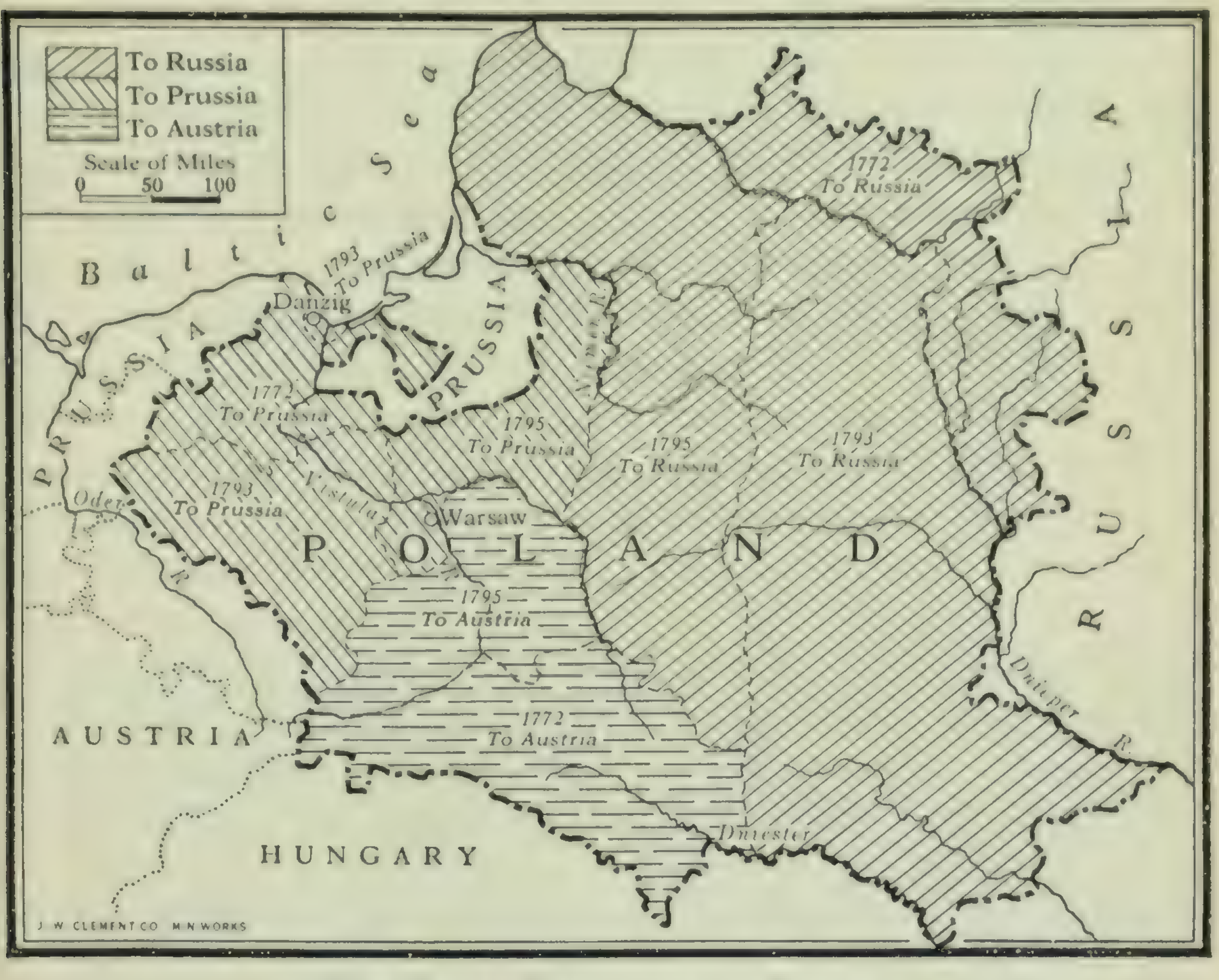
3. In Belgium. The Congress of Vienna had united Belgium to Holland, much to the disgust of a patriotic and intensely nationalistic group of Belgians. The Belgians were Catholic, largely industrial, and had a language of their own. The Dutch were Protestants and agricultural. A wise ruler might have taken note of these differences and so managed affairs as not to arouse the anger and resentment of the Belgians. But William I was not wise and tried to force Dutch laws, customs, language, and officials upon the complaining Belgians. The Belgians contended that their superior numbers—about three millions to two—entitled them to a share of the offices. Catholic Belgians were annoyed at having their educational institutions operated by Protestants. Many were alienated by laws against the freedom of the press. One great cause of complaint was the unequal amount of taxes that the Belgians had to pay. As a

result, when the news of the July Revolution in Paris reached Belgium, the French methods were imitated. Barricades were thrown up in the streets, fighting ensued, and a provisional government demanding Belgian independence was organized. The provisional government chose Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as king of an independent Belgium.

The independence of Belgium was, however, a question of international concern. England was sympathetic to Belgium's independence, for she has always been loath to see a strong Continental power possess the channel ports. Metternich, who had sent Austrian troops into Italy to quell uprisings, was too busy there to oppose it seriously, and Louis Philippe, who had just won his own throne by revolution, could not very well object to a similar situation in Belgium. An international agreement, supported principally by England and France, was reached in 1831 by which Leopold I was recognized as king of Belgium. Holland was forced to accept the arrangement by a naval blockade of her ports and the seizure of Antwerp. In 1839 Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia by treaty agreed to respect and guarantee the neutrality and independence of Belgium. It is this treaty which the German Empire, as the inheritor of Prussian obligations, violated in August, 1914, when she conveniently chose to regard it as "a scrap of paper" in order that she might send her armies through Belgian territory into France at the opening of the World War.

4. In Poland. At the Congress of Vienna Russia had acquired the Duchy of Warsaw. Czar Alexander granted the Poles a constitution which allowed a considerable degree of home rule. But the Poles were not satisfied and their agitation for national independence led Czar Nicholas, who came to the throne in 1825, to adopt repressive measures in Poland. The constitution was ignored. Soldiers were quartered in Poland. Russians were given all governmental offices. The news of the July Revolution in France encouraged the Poles to start a violent uprising. There was gallant fighting but the Poles were finally defeated by Russian troops. The czar inflicted severe punishment, banishing thousands, imprisoning and

executing hundreds. The constitution was revoked, the Polish national flag was suppressed. Poland became part of Russia, despotically ruled by the most absolute of European monarchs.


To Russia
To Prussia
To Austria
Scale of Miles
0 50 100
Baltic Sea
PRUSSIA
PRUSSIA
Danzig
1793 To Prussia
1772 To Prussia
1795 To Prussia
1793 To Prussia
Niemen R.
1772 To Russia
1795 To Russia
1793 To Russia
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Warsaw
POLAND
1795 To Austria
1772 To Austria
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Dniester
Dnieper R.
RUSSIA
J. W. CLEMENT CO. MIN. WORKS

The Three Partitions of Poland

5. Net results. The Revolution of 1830 was conspicuously successful in France and Belgium; it failed to produce like results in Poland, Italy, or the Germanies. The chief importance of the revolutionary movement of 1830 was that it served notice that neither the spirit nor the ideas of the French Revolution were crushed. While revolution was spreading on the Continent, agitation for reform was making headway in England. England avoided an open outbreak when the Liberals came into power and passed the great reform bill of 1832, an important step in England's evolution toward democracy. (See pages 420, 421.)

E. The Revolutions of 1848. In 1848 Metternich's system collapsed. The same forces, democracy and nationalism—born in the

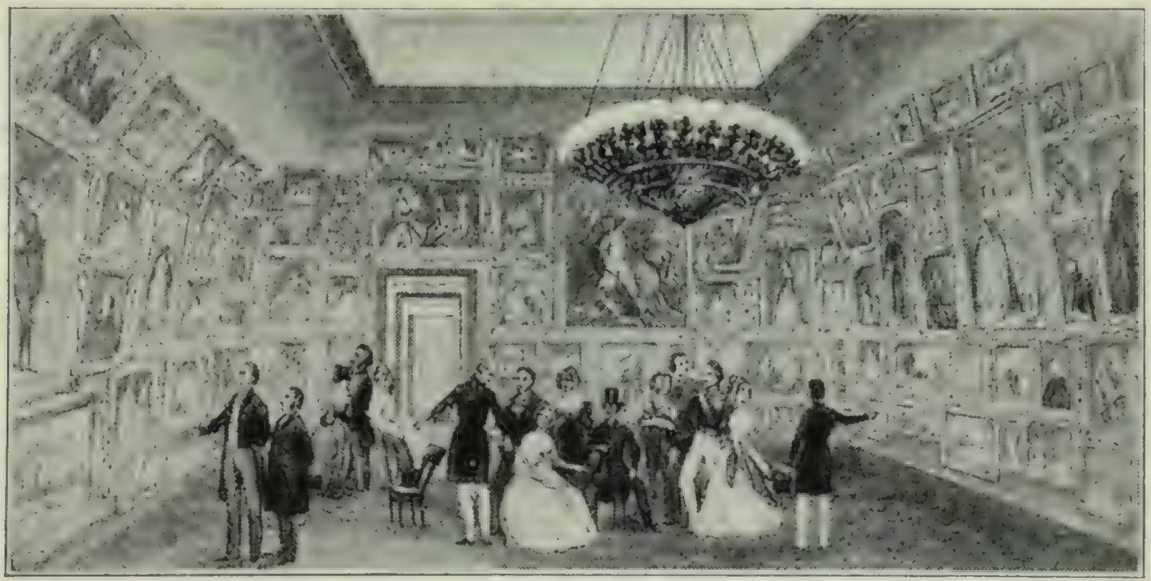
French Revolution, spread by Napoleon's armies, trampled on at the Congress of Vienna, held in check by decades of repression, now strengthened and broadened by the influence of the Industrial Revolution—broke forth again.

1. FRANCE ESTABLISHES THE SECOND REPUBLIC. It was France, again, that started the movement. The July monarchy, as Louis Philippe's government is called, the fruit of the Revolution of 1830, satisfied the hopes and aspirations of the bourgeoisie, who now enjoyed power and influence. It prevented any possibility of the restoration of the Old Régime. Natural resources were developed, railways were built, manufacturing was protected, agriculture prospered.

But the July monarchy had several classes of opponents. The clergy were annoyed at their loss of power and their exclusion from the educational system of France; they conducted an active campaign against the government. Furthermore, opposition developed among the workingmen of the cities, who were coming under the influence of socialist doctrines. They could easily claim that a government which allowed only two hundred thousand of the population to vote was scarcely democratic. Bad living and working conditions made the discontent of the workers all the more acute and dangerous. Leading the forces of discontent was a small group of ardent republicans, most of them intellectuals without property or social position. They were disappointed at the outcome of the Revolution of 1830, which had been accomplished largely through their efforts. Quite different from these liberal elements of opposition were the small group of Bourbons and Ultra-Royalists who could always be counted upon to stir up hatred and discord in the hope that somehow it would benefit them.

For a long time the clergy, the workingmen, the socialists, and the republicans waged a campaign for reform. But the government of Louis Philippe finally determined to crush liberalism. Associations that were not authorized by the government were declared illegal; strict censorship of the press was established; socialists were aimed at by a law which prohibited attacks upon private property. By such measures Louis Philippe and Guizot, his chief minister, gave warning that they would not tolerate reform. They could learn no lesson from other autocrats who had answered legitimate demands by repression.

Despite setbacks, the liberals carried on their propaganda. One of their schemes was to hold "reform" banquets in different parts of the country to work up sympathy for their cause. The government decided to prevent such a reform banquet scheduled to be held in Paris on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1848. The crowds which gathered around the banquet hall refused to be dispersed by the police. The National Guard was called out but speedily joined the mob in crying, "Down with Guizot." The king promised to dismiss Guizot, summon a new ministry, and undertake reforms. But it was too late. From behind their barricades the workingmen were shouting, "Long live the Republic." With great prudence, Louis Philippe abdicated in favor of his grandson and, as plain "Mr. Smith," started for England.



From the painting by Sargent. Culver Service

A Private Exhibition at the Royal Academy

Change in government was not the sole interest during the nineteenth century. Both in England and on the Continent interest in art flourished and many famous collections were begun.

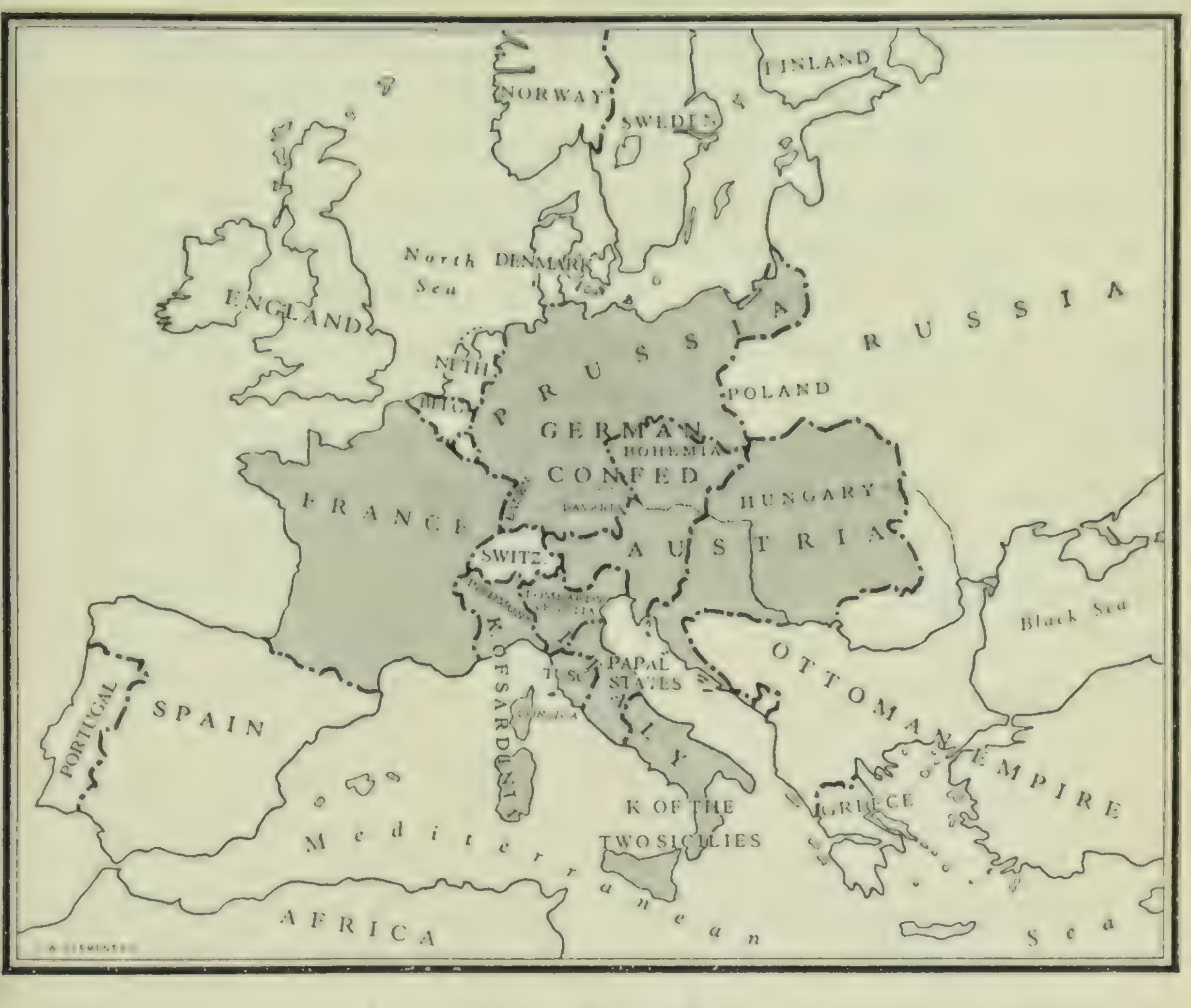
A provisional government was established and a constitution drafted which provided for a president to be elected for a four-year term by universal suffrage. Elections were held in December, and the French chose as president of the Second French Republic Louis

Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I and son of Louis Bonaparte, one-time king of Holland.

2. UPHEAVALS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. Nowhere did the news of the February Revolution produce such an upheaval as in the Austrian realms, where for nearly a third of a century Metternich had made his name synonymous with tyranny and oppression. When the news of the February Revolution came Metternich fled and the helpless emperor summoned a new ministry and promised a constitution. The Revolution was contagious. Throughout the Austrian Empire national groups drove out the imperial officials, summoned parliaments, established liberal ministries, and proclaimed democratic constitutions.

What was true of the Austrian Empire was also true of the German states and of Italy. Rioting and street fighting in Berlin forced Frederick William IV to appoint a liberal ministry, call the Prussian Diet, and agree to a constitution for Prussia. National sentiment was so strong that a convention was called to draft a constitution for a united Germany, which because of its meeting place is commonly called the Frankfort Assembly. In Italy, Venetia became a republic; in Piedmont, Tuscany, Naples, and the Papal States the rulers were forced to grant constitutions.

For the first few months the Revolution swept everything before it. Soon, however, reaction set in which was aided by dissensions among the revolutionists themselves. The mass of the people were not ready for the radical reforms which the leaders wished to establish ready made. Moreover, reformers disagreed as to whether democracy or separate national existence should come first. In short, nationalism came into conflict with democracy and the older order profited by the dissension. In Bohemia, for example, Germans and Czechs at first coöperated in overthrowing the old government and establishing a new constitution, but they soon fell to quarreling as to which race should control the government. This made it easy for the Austrian armies to capture Prague and overthrow the revolutionary government. Similar dissensions enabled the Austrians to overthrow the revolutionary government in Vienna. A Russian army aided in suppressing the revolution in Hungary. The emperor abdicated in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph, who refused to be bound by his predecessor's recognition of the new constitution.


FINLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
North Sea
DENMARK
ENGLAND
NETH.
BELG.
PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
POLAND
GERMAN CONFED.
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
HUNGARY
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
SWITZ.
LOMBARDY
PAPAL STATES
TUSC.
CORSICA
K. OF SARDINIA
ITALY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Black Sea
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
K. OF THE TWO SICILIES
GREECE
Mediterranean Sea
AFRICA

EUROPE, 1848

The shaded areas show countries in which revolutionary outbreaks occurred.

In Italy, Charles Albert, king of Piedmont, granted a liberal constitution and became the leader of those who wished to free the Italian states from the domination of Austria. Other Italian leaders, however, wished to establish an Italian republic and feared the prestige which Charles Albert was winning. When they refused to coöperate with Piedmont, the Italian armies were defeated and Austrian power restored. In Germany the rather illiberal constitution of Prussia was retained, but most of the liberal constitutions granted by the rulers of the other German states were revoked. The constitution which the Frankfort Assembly framed for a united

Germany failed of adoption because of the opposition of the kings of Austria and Prussia.

3. Results. The actual results of the Revolutions of 1848 seem meager as compared to the early promise. France overthrew an illiberal monarch and established a short-lived republic. Piedmont gained a liberal constitution. Prussia gained a written constitution, giving part of the people a voice in the government. Elsewhere reactionary governments were restored. But the power of the Quadruple Alliance was destroyed. Metternich was gone, and the backbone of the system which he established was broken. Even where the old governments were restored certain reforms remained—reforms in administration, abolition of special privileges, abolition of feudal dues and services. The radicals had learned that progress to be permanent must be gradual and be kept in step with the education of the masses. Democracy and nationalism had shown themselves to have vital force. The following years were to see them winning their way in various countries by more peaceful means.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. "No event in European history ever caused such a change in the political thought of the ruling classes of all countries as did the French Revolution. It was the first time that conscious conservatism became a ruling dogma." Explain.

2. "Repression has little value as a means of preventing change." What does Metternich's career offer as a proof of the truth or falsity of this statement?

3. What can be learned from this period as to the best means of combating criticism of existing political, social, or economic conditions?

4. What does England's attitude toward the revolutions in Latin America and the Monroe Doctrine prove as to the strength of the middle class of England?

5. Why were the powers willing to guarantee the neutrality of Switzerland and Belgium?

6. To what extent did conditions in Europe following the World War resemble those following the Napoleonic wars?

7. The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had as fundamental causes the ideas of the French Revolution of 1789. Give facts to prove or disprove this statement.

8. Did events in France from 1789 to 1815 justify Metternich's "sincere distrust of democracy"?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Congress of Vienna

- Schapiro, pp. 54-58
- Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 317-323
- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 5-14
- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 3-13
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 372-384
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 1-18
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 718-730

The Conservative Reaction

- Schapiro, pp. 61-64
- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 1-5, 28-37, 41-46, 57
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 386-387; Vol. II, pp. 20-23
- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 13-26, 31-44
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 18-46
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 731-733

The Monroe Doctrine

- Schapiro, pp. 62-63
- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 25-26
- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 29-31
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 31-45
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 46-52

Revolutions of 1830 and 1848

- Schapiro, pp. 64-66, 75-76, 190-204
- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 46-57, 116-149
- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 44-52, 144-173
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 7-16, 73-84, 95-115
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 84-108, 152-188
- Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* Vol. I, pp. 785-790
- Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 337-339, 341-349

SECTION III

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN MODERN HISTORY

Chapter X. The Industrial Revolution

Chapter XI. Some Problems Created by the Industrial Revolution

Chapter XII. Labor Problems

Chapter XIII. The Progress of Science

Chapter XIV. Some Social Developments of the Past Century

Chapter XV. The Arts in Modern Times

PREVIEW

We are living in a rapidly changing world. Greater changes have taken place in the last century than in any previous period in history; change today is going on all about us more rapidly than we realize. The main cause and the continuing cause of these changes is the Industrial Revolution. Man has invented and is still inventing machines to do his work more quickly and much better than he could do it by hand; he has discovered and is still discovering new sources of power to drive these machines.

In this section we tell the story of these inventions and their results: how they revolutionized man's method of work and his way of life; how they caused cities to grow rapidly; how they created problems between the capitalist who owns the machines and the laborer who operates them; how these machines ignore national boundaries and have made the whole world one vast workshop of mine and farm and factory, and how they have caused man to change some of his older economic, political, and social ideas; how these changes have been reflected in the arts and how the arts themselves have helped to bring on some of the changes.

Influencing the invention and improvement of machines was a remarkable progress in science which more and more is giving man control of his environment. The story of these changes is far more important than the story of wars and kings and parliaments for they are the very warp and woof of the texture of our civilization while kings and wars and parliaments are but the changing patterns.

This section deals with a period of about one hundred fifty years, from the end of the eighteenth century to the present time. The Industrial Revolution was starting in England at the time the philosophers were attacking the Old Régime; it was well under way at the time of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Spreading to the Continent in the first half of the nineteenth century, it helped to revive the revolutionary ideas which overthrew Metternich's system; it has continued with unabated force and ever increasing vigor until our own day.

CHAPTER X

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

I. WHAT IS THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION?

THE term "Industrial Revolution" is used with different meanings. In its narrower meaning it may be defined as the change from hand to machine methods of manufacturing and the consequent transfer of manufacturing from the home to the factory. This phase is sometimes called the mechanical revolution and may be said to have been completed in England about 1840 and at a later period in other countries.

In a broader sense, the term "Industrial Revolution" is used to include not only the coming of power machinery into manufacturing, industry, and commerce, but its results: the almost complete change in the economic and social life of those parts of the world where machinery and factories have been established; the ever increasing proportion of the population living in cities and engaging in manufacture; the tremendous growth of trade, both domestic and foreign; the bringing of the peoples of the world closer together by improved means of transportation; the great increase in the volume and use of capital together with increased power for its holders; the rise of a class of factory workers demanding a larger share of the profits of industry and a greater voice in the government. In this broader sense of the term, the Industrial Revolution is still going on—cities are still growing; trade and manufacture expanding; new inventions are constantly being made and new processes developed; steam as a motive power is being supplemented, if not displaced, by gasoline and electricity; single factories are being merged into gigantic combinations; allied industries are being brought more and more under the control of a relatively few powerful capitalists.

Before taking up the changes in manufacture that constitute the

Industrial Revolution, let us recall the main features of the domestic system of manufacture that prevailed in England about the middle of the eighteenth century. A capitalist or group of capitalists provided the raw materials and disposed of the finished products. The work was done by hand by workers who labored generally in their own homes with their own tools and were paid wages by the capitalist for the work done. Frequently the workers supplemented their wages by farming small plots adjacent to their cottages. In some of the countries of Continental Europe the guild system still persisted in 1750, while in others some of the trades were controlled by the guild system and some had gone over to the domestic system. (See pages 47-51.)

II. What Were the Causes of the Industrial Revolution?

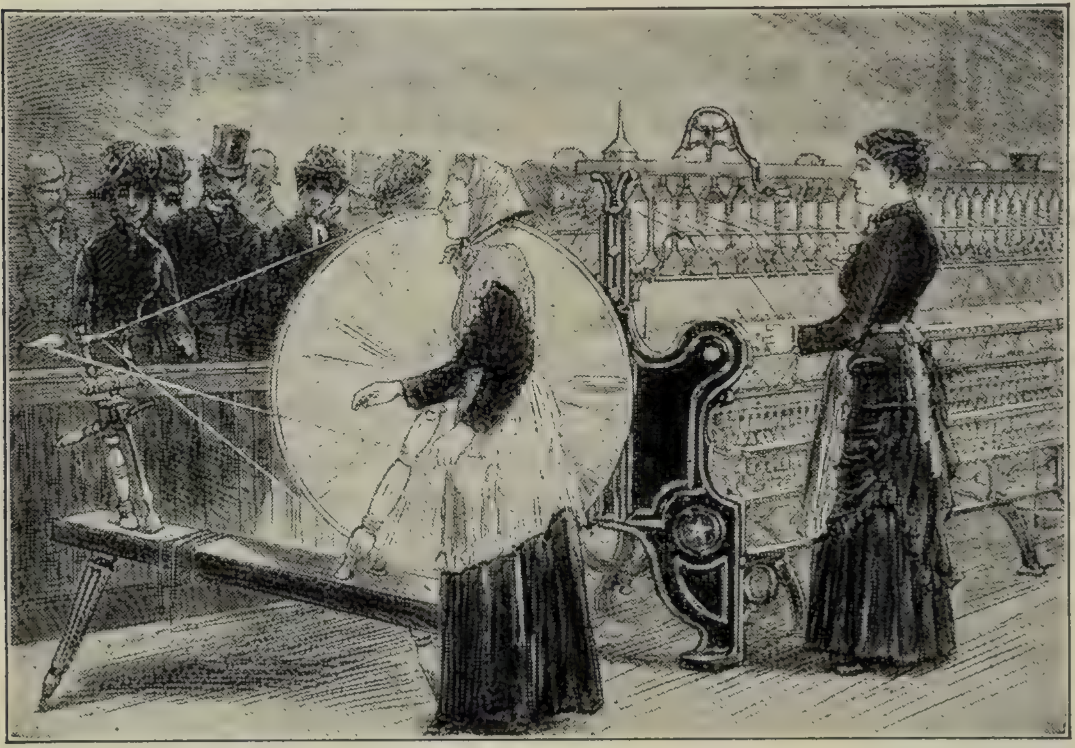
The immediate cause, of course, was the invention of machines. But why were machines invented? Among the earliest traces of man are some of the tools that helped him in his work. Why, after thousands of years, during which these tools were improved but not radically changed, did man, about the middle of the eighteenth century, begin to invent machines that did work that he had formerly done by hand? We can give no positive answer to this question. Perhaps it was merely an accident.

There were certain conditions existing in the later part of the eighteenth century, however, that may give us a partial answer. Probably the rise of a new scientific spirit of inquiry and experimentation which we have already noted helped to bring about the inventions, although, as we shall see, the workingmen rather than the scientists contributed most at first. But a more important factor was the growth of trade. For thousands of years almost the sole occupation of mankind had been farming, and farming does not inspire originality. People went on year after year living in small, lonely villages, doing the same things in the ways their fathers had taught them. With the growth of trade more people began living in towns, where they came in contact with ideas not only of their fellow townsmen but from many different parts of the world. Town life was more mentally stimulating than life on the farm and the rate of progress in invention was quickened on this account. In still another way the growth of trade affected inventions more directly. As we have seen, the demand for more manufactured goods was created by the desire to have articles to export to the East and to America. The invention of machines was a natural outcome of the search for ways to further increase the supply of manufactured goods.

Since England had a larger export trade than any other nation it was to be expected that the demand for increased manufactures should be strongest there. Since she had hand manufacture on a large scale, she was well provided with a sufficient body of skilled workers to experiment with machines. Then, too, she had capital, the profits of trade looking for investment. This was a most important factor in the situation since without capital machines could never have been made nor factories built. With these necessary factors at her command to a greater degree than was the case in any other country, it was natural that the Industrial Revolution should start in England.

III. The Invention of New Machines

A. How machinery revolutionized weaving and spinning. The first branch of industry to be revolutionized by the introduction of machinery was textiles. In the manufacture of cloth—cotton, woolen, or linen—there are several processes, the most important of which are preparing the raw material by straightening the fibers, spinning the fibers into thread or yarn, and weaving the thread into cloth. For centuries the raw wool had been combed and the cotton carded by hand; the thread had been spun on a spinning wheel worked by hand or by a foot treadle and the weaving had been done on a hand loom on which the weaver had woven the "weft" over and under the alternate threads of the "warp" with a hand shuttle. Under the domestic system (see page 50) the carding and spinning were usually done by the women and younger children of the family and the weaving by the father and older sons. Since weaving was a faster process than spinning, the weaver was often held up in his work waiting for the thread. This difficulty was increased when in 1738 John Kay invented the flying shuttle, thus speeding up the process of weaving by the use of a device which enabled the weaver to sit still and throw the shuttle back and forth across the loom by pulling cords.



Harper's Weekly

"Spinning, Old and New Styles"

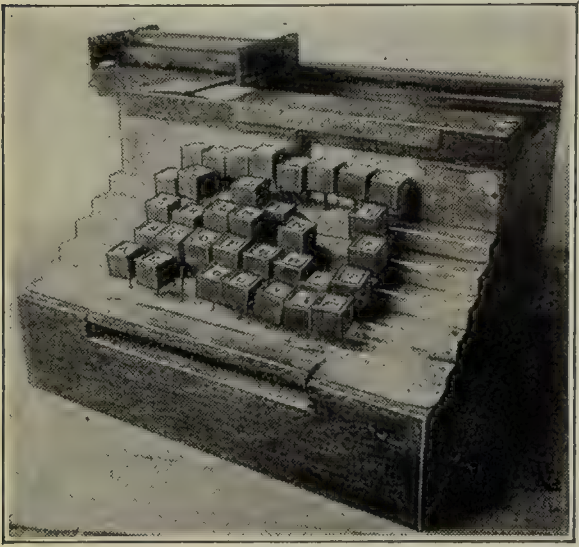
The above is the caption given this picture when it first appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1881, illustrating a scene from the Atlanta International Cotton Exposition. There was much interest in the progress that had been made in spinning methods, and the demonstrations attracted large groups of spectators. Modern spinning machines make the "new" method of 1881 seem as antiquated as the spinning wheel.

The first step in the solution of the problem of supplying the weavers with more thread was made by the invention of the spinning jenny by James Hargreaves in 1764. This was a device by which several spindles were operated by one wheel. At first the spinning jenny was equipped to spin eight threads at a time. Before his death Hargreaves had increased the number to eighty. At about the same time Richard Arkwright, making use of the ideas of several other men, developed a machine for spinning by the use of a series of rollers. He obtained his first patent in 1769 and made a fortune of two million dollars by the sale of the machine and by the establishment of factories in which the machines were used.

Arkwright was the first great factory owner, the first of the "captains of industry." Hargreaves' jenny spun the finer thread, but Arkwright's water frame was faster. In 1779 Samuel Crompton invented a machine combining the best qualities of both. This was called the spinning mule. Meanwhile various machines for carding cotton and flax and combing wool came into general use. These improvements in preparing material and in spinning not only made it possible for the spinners to keep up with the weavers but actually provided more thread than could be used until another movement in the game of seesaw put the weavers on top when in 1784 Edward Cartwright invented a power loom.

The improvements in manufacturing cloth lowered the price, thereby increasing the consumption so that more raw material was needed. Up to this time cotton had been a relatively expensive material, due to the fact that the extraction of the fiber from the seeds about which it grew had been done by hand—a slow and expensive process. In 1793 Eli Whitney, an American school-teacher, invented the cotton gin, a machine which enabled one person to do the work of fifty working by hand. This machine so cheapened the production of raw cotton that cotton cloth became the poor man's clothing material the world over.

B. How one invention led to another. It is characteristic of the Industrial Revolution that one invention, by creating new needs, has led to another. We have seen that the spinning machines led to the power loom and this, in turn, to the cotton gin. The great number of machines in use and the tremendous strain put upon them created a demand for stronger material for their construction. This led to improvements in the smelting of iron. Iron and steel had been used for centuries, but their production had been so expensive that their general use was not practical. At the middle of the eighteenth century one of England's oldest industries was the smelting of iron over a charcoal fire, for which the draft was produced by a hand bellows. The industry was dying out because the forests from which the fuel was obtained were nearly exhausted. In 1760 a new kind of blast furnace using coal instead of charcoal was introduced. On this account the use of coal for smelting iron not only revolutionized the iron industry but also led to a great increase in coal mining. Before many of the coal mines could be worked, however, some device had to be developed for pumping the water out of them. This hastened the perfecting of the stationary steam engine to work the pumps, an inefficient type of which had been in use for several years.

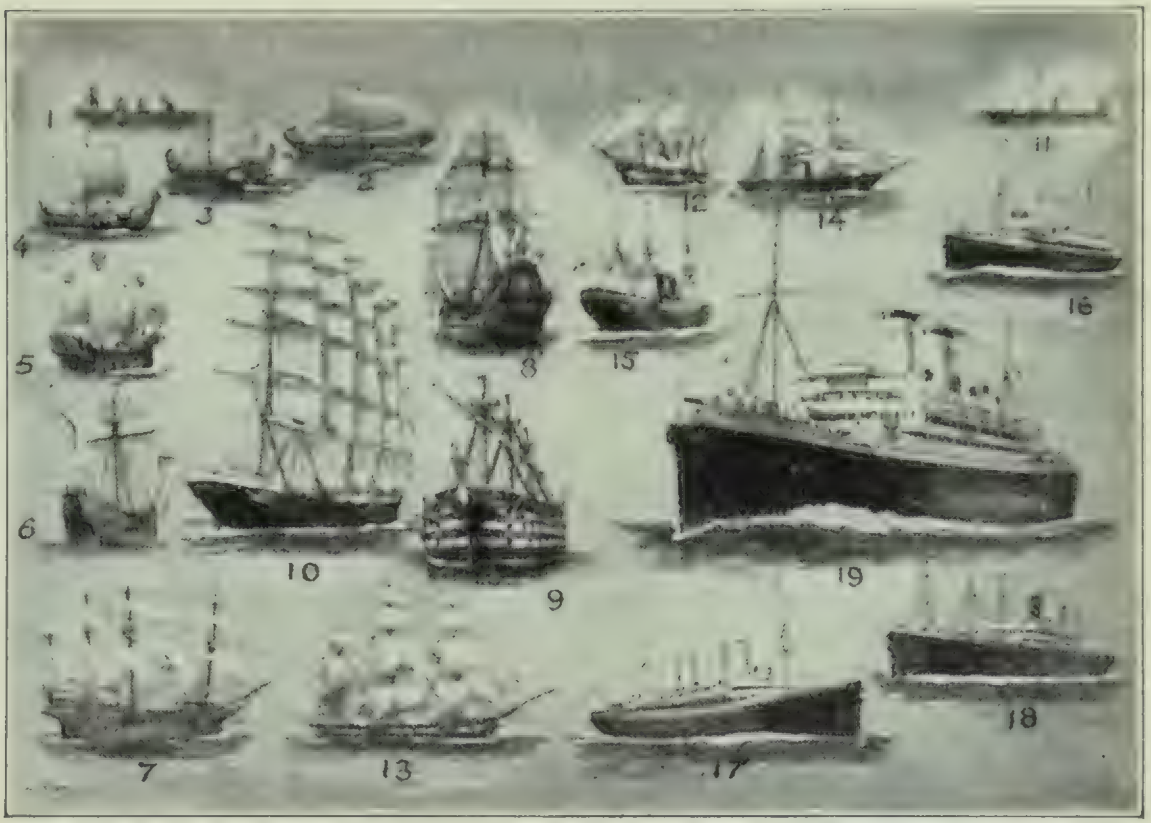


Publishers' Photo Service

A PREDECESSOR OF THE MODERN TYPEWRITER

The appearance of our present typewriters was much influenced by this model made by T. P. Allen in 1876. The keyboard is made of his children's alphabetical building blocks.

C. The steam engine. 1. THE WORK OF SEVERAL MEN. The steam engine is a good illustration of the fact that most inventions are a social product, that is, they are usually the work of many men experimenting along the same line rather than the product of one genius. Often the person who is credited with an invention is merely the one who has fitted the last link into a long chain of discoveries. The expansive power of steam had been known to the ancient Greeks, but no practical use had been made of it before the eighteenth century. Savery, an Englishman, Huygens, a Dutchman, and Papin, a Frenchman, all did their bit in making a workable steam engine, but it was Newcomen, another Englishman, who first produced a machine of practical value. In Newcomen's engine, which was first used to pump water from mines about 1711, steam was introduced into a cylinder forcing up a piston head. The steam was then condensed by cooling the cylinder with a jet of water, thus creating a partial vacuum which drew the piston head back to its original position. This action of the piston worked a pump to which it was attached by a shaft.



Hamburg-American Line

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHIPS

1. A dugout canoe of prehistoric days. 2. An Egyptian ship of the seventeenth century B.C. 3. A Roman trireme of the third century B.C. 4. A viking ship of the sixth to ninth centuries. 5. A Hanseatic trader of the fourteenth century. 6. The *Santa Maria.* 7-10. Sailing vessels of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, respectively. 11. Fulton's *Clermont.* 13-16. Sailing and steam ships of the nineteenth century. 17. *S. S. Deutschland,* 1900. 18. Combined freight and passenger liner, the *President Lincoln,* 1907. 19. *S. S. Hamburg,* 1926.

James Watt, an instrument maker at the University of Glasgow, in repairing one of Newcomen's engines was struck by the great waste involved in cooling and reheating the cylinder for each stroke of the piston. He succeeded in working out a scheme for condensing the steam in a separate condenser, applying steam first to one side of the piston head and then to the other, making the strokes much more rapid and saving a great quantity of fuel. Later he added the governor, two revolving balls which made the motion regular and the speed uniform, and introduced a system of rods, cranks, and belts by which the power generated by the engine could be used to drive any machinery. These changes which seemed so obvious once they were made transformed the steam engine from an inefficient and expensive pumping device into an instrument which has had an almost incalculable effect in transforming modern life.

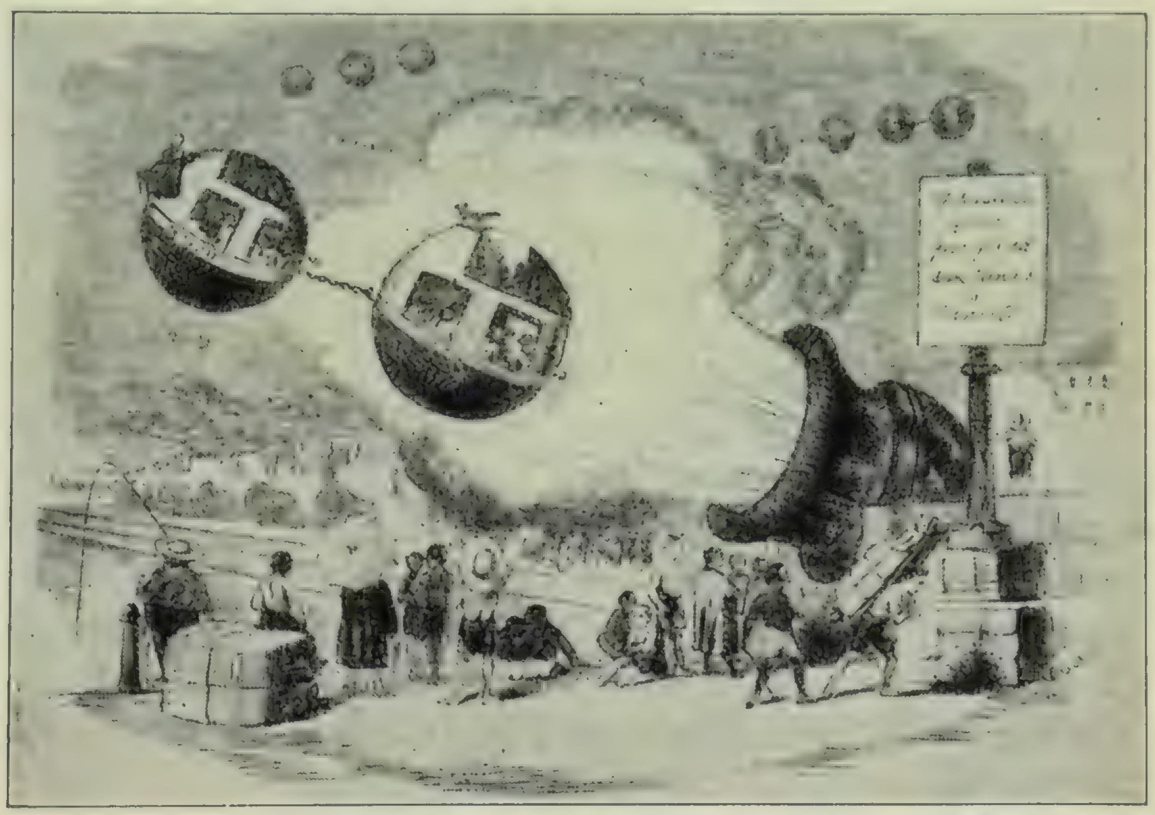
North German Lloyd

"S. S. Bremen," 1930

2. Used to drive machines. In 1785 steam was first used for power in a cotton mill and its use was rapidly extended to other branches of manufacture. Before this time manufacturers had been obliged to depend mainly on water power to drive their machinery and, as the amount of water power in England was limited, it seemed that manufacture could expand only up to a certain point. The use of steam made the indefinite expansion of industry possible. The demand for coal to generate steam has made coal one of the most highly prized of natural resources. A plentiful supply of coal has been instrumental in making England, Germany, and the United States the great manufacturing nations that they are.

3. Applied to transportation. Fully as important as the use of steam in industry has been its application to transportation. A small model boat propelled by steam was developed in Germany as early as 1707; but although many men worked to perfect this in-

vention it was left for Robert Fulton, an American, to make the steamboat commercially practical. In 1807 Fulton's *Clermont* made the voyage from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours. In 1819 the *Savannah,* using both steam and sails, crossed the Atlantic, and in 1838 the *Great Western* steamed from Bristol to New York in fifteen days and ten hours. In 1930 the oil-burning *Bremen* of the North German Lloyd Line went from New York to Cherbourg in four days, fourteen hours; and in 1933 the *Rex,* an Italian liner, made the trip from Gibraltar to New York in four days and thirteen hours. Competing lines promised that this record would be short-lived.



Culver Service

"The Bomb-Ferry—Travel in the Thirtieth Century"

This prophetic cartoon appeared in a book entitled *Wonderful Balloon Ascents,* published in 1880. The sign reads: "Opposition Line. Gun fired six times a minute."

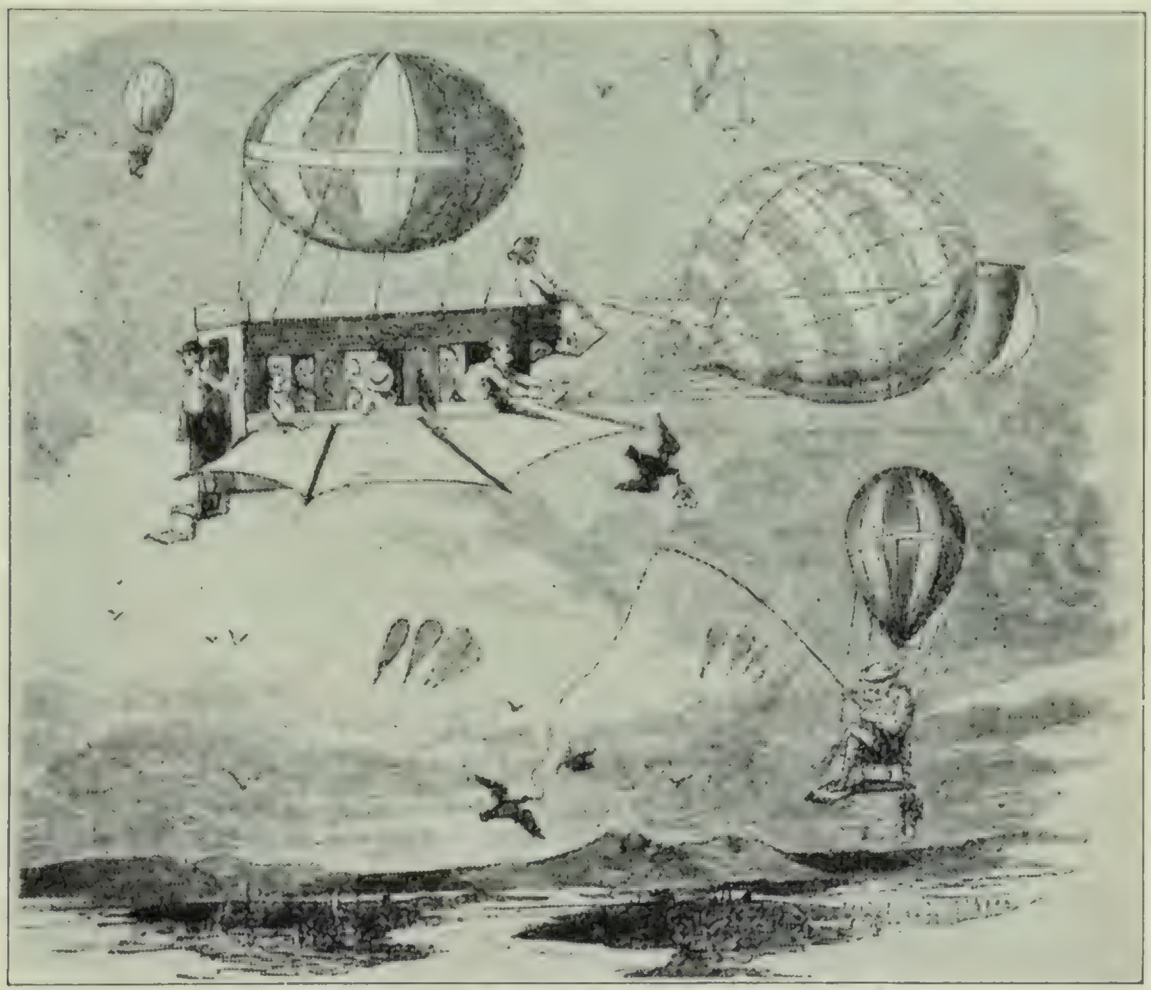
The railway locomotive, like the steam engine and the steamboat, was the product of the experiments of many different men. In 1808, Richard Trevithick built a locomotive that ran twelve miles an hour on a railway in London. George Stephenson improved Trevithick's locomotive, and in 1825 opened the first English railway maintaining a regular passenger and freight service with steam-drawn trains. By 1850 all the large cities of England were connected by railways and they were multiplying rapidly throughout Europe and America.

It is almost impossible to overestimate the importance of the railway and steamship in modern life. Together with the telephone and telegraph they have greatly promoted nationalism by binding the people of vast countries like the United States together. They have also promoted internationalism since they have brought peoples of different nations together. They carry the products of the great industrial centers of Europe and the United States to the most distant parts of the earth, bringing back food supplies and raw materials. Without them to transport food from the newly developed lands of Australia and North and South America, the great modern cities of Europe could never have developed.

IV. Spread of the Industrial Revolution

In England coal mines, blast furnaces, and factories so multiplied during the nineteenth century that by 1850 she had become a thoroughly industrialized country. The great majority of her population was no longer engaged in agriculture but in manufacturing, mining, or commerce. The fact that the Industrial Revolution started in England gave her an advantage which she held throughout the century. Her well-established manufactures could undersell any others in the world's markets. She could justly claim to be the workshop of the world.

A. To France. On the Continent the factory system came more than a generation later than in England. The Revolution and the Napoleonic wars kept industry from developing in France; but after 1825, when England removed the ban on exports of machinery, manufacturing developed rapidly. Commerce and industry were fostered by both Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. France, however, has never become so thoroughly industrialized as England. In the first place, she was handicapped by lack of coal, and secondly, the system of land holding established by the Revolution, by which the peasants owned their own small farms, made the peasant less willing to leave the farm for the factory than in England. France has tended to specialize in small establishments manufacturing finer goods and luxuries rather than in the large-scale production of standard goods which is typical of English manufacture.



"Wonderful Balloon Ascents," 1880. *Culver Service*

"THE PUBLIC HIGHWAY—TRAVEL IN THE THIRTIETH CENTURY"

That such a state of affairs might come to pass within fifty years seemed incredible. Notice the hazards to one's hat in such an era!

B. To Germany. The Industrial Revolution was held back in Germany for more than half a century by the fact that there was no united government, but thirty-eight small states each blocking trade by its own tariff laws. The Zollverein, or Tariff Union, made among the northern states in 1834, helped matters somewhat, and manufacturing on a small scale was started. It was not until after

German unification in 1870, however, that large-scale industry started. Then, thanks to her rich deposits of coal and iron and the industry of her population, her progress was phenomenal. By the end of the century she rivaled England in many lines and surpassed her in some.

C. To other European countries. Italy, like Germany, was handicapped by lack of unity until the later part of the nineteenth century. After 1860, thanks partly to the policy of Cavour as prime minister, manufactures began to develop in northern Italy and have continued to prosper in spite of Italy's lack of coal. In Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland the change to the factory system was under way by 1840 and has continued to develop, especially in Belgium. In Austria-Hungary, Russia, the Balkans, Spain, and the Scandinavian countries there was practically no manufacturing until well after 1850 and little before 1890. Even today these countries, especially Russia and the Balkans, are primarily agricultural, but in the last ten years under the intensive efforts of the Soviet government Russia has made rapid progress toward industrialization.

D. To the United States. In the United States machine manufacture started early in the nineteenth century, but agriculture remained the occupation of the great majority until after the Civil War. In the last quarter of the century manufactures developed rapidly and, although the value of farm products steadily increased with the opening of new lands in the West, since 1880 the value of manufactures has annually exceeded the value of farm products. Today the United States, while still a great agricultural country, produces more manufactured goods than any other country in the world. But only about 50 per cent of her workers are engaged in trade and manufacture as compared with 70 per cent in England and 60 per cent in Germany.

V. What Were the Direct Results of the Industrial Revolution?

To describe completely the effects of the Industrial Revolution we would have to write a history of the world for the past hundred years, for there is hardly an institution or an individual that has not been profoundly affected by it. More changes in the way people live have taken place in the last hundred and fifty years than in any previous ten thousand. If an Egyptian who lived six thousand years ago when the first written records were made could, like Rip Van Winkle, have fallen asleep to awake in 1750, he would have found many strange things, many new ideas; but he would, on the whole, have found fewer changes and have been able to adjust himself to the new life more easily than a person who might have fallen asleep in 1750 to awake today.

In the next few pages we shall summarize some of the more direct results of the use of machines in industry. Some of the less direct but even more important developments—such as the changes in population, the effects on agriculture, the growth of democracy, and the changed attitude of governments toward business activities, the rise of new social classes and the consequent problems of labor and capital, the growing desire of industrialized nations for colonies—will be treated in later chapters. Let us repeat that the Industrial Revolution, using the term in its broad sense, has affected practically everything that has happened since it began and has made our lives far different from those of even our own fathers and mothers.

A. Increased production. The direct economic effect of the introduction of machinery and factories was a great increase in the productivity of labor and a consequent tremendous increase in the amount of commodities produced. In 1720 England used in her cotton manufactures about four thousand bales of raw cotton; in 1820 this had increased to a quarter of a million bales; in 1850 to well over a million bales, and in 1900 to more than three million. In 1913 England produced fourteen thousand miles of cotton cloth daily. Similar figures could be given in many other lines of manufacture. If for every person in Europe and America in 1750 there could have been created ten iron men to have worked with the tools then available, unceasingly, twenty-four hours a day, every day since, they could not have accomplished the work which machinery has done.

The horse power of all machinery in the four greatest industrial nations was estimated in 1925 as follows:

Country	*Horse Power*
United States	704,000,000
England	175,000,000
Germany	175,000,000
France	70,000,000
Total	1,124,000,000

Estimates in 1932 place the horse power available in the United States at one billion. The grand total for the world is probably nearly two billions. Counting conservatively a horse power as equal to the work of six men we have the power of machines in the world today equal to that of nine billion men—approximately five times the total population of the world.

B. Division of labor (or specialization). The introduction of machinery meant a greater division of labor. Under the domestic system a shoemaker, for example, made a pair of shoes entirely himself, sold them himself, and also produced a part of his own food. In a modern shoe factory each shoe goes through nearly one hundred different processes, each performed by different machines handled by different workmen. Each employee is a specialist, spending all his time on one minute process with no direct concern for the finished product as a whole, or for its sale. Not only have individuals become specialists, but localities and nations have specialized. Detroit is famous for automobiles, Troy for collars, Pittsburgh for steel, while all the world knows of English woolens, German dyes, and American farm machinery.

C. Increased trade. Increased production meant, of course, increased trade. Localization of industry meant trade between localities, and specialization by nations meant increased foreign trade. The combined value of English exports and imports was in 1701 £12,000,000; in 1802, £73,000,000; and in 1920, £3,489,000,000. The value of exports and imports of the United States was in 1800 $162,000,000; in 1860, $687,000,000; and in 1920, $13,342,000,000.

VI. Continuity of the Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution has been continuous and is still going on. By this is meant not merely that machinery and factories are being introduced into undeveloped parts of the world, such as China and Africa, but that in countries long industrialized, such as England, new inventions are being made, machines are being scrapped to be replaced by others more modern and efficient, new sources of power are being developed, and industries are being brought into larger and larger units. The revolution shows no signs of stopping; indeed during the last few years greater changes have been made than at any other time since machines were first invented. So important are the changes of the past twenty-five years as to deserve the name of the New Industrial Revolution.

A. New sources of power. 1. Electricity. Of fundamental importance in these recent changes is the use of two new sources of power—electricity and the internal combustion engine (using gas or oil). Scientists had known of electricity for generations and Benjamin Franklin's kite flying had identified the lightning of the thunderstorm with it. But no great practical value could result from man's knowledge of electricity until it was possible to harness it. Two Italians, Galvani and Volta, whose names have passed into the language in the words "galvanic" and "volt," accomplished this feat toward the end of the eighteenth century by inventing the battery. There were still many difficulties, however, in the control and use of electric current, not the least of which was the excessive cost. These were not solved until the development of the dynamo and motor.

The dynamo is a device for generating electric current; the motor is a device for transforming the energy of electric current into mechanical energy. Various types of motors run by batteries were invented, but the great cost of producing current by a battery made their wide use impractical. That "prince of experimenters," Michael Faraday, solved the problem. In 1831 Faraday mounted a disc of copper between the poles of a horseshoe magnet and found that as the disc revolved an electric current was generated. Here we have the fundamental principle of the dynamo which makes possible the many present uses of electricity.

Wide World Photos

THOMAS A. EDISON AND CHARLES A. STEINMETZ

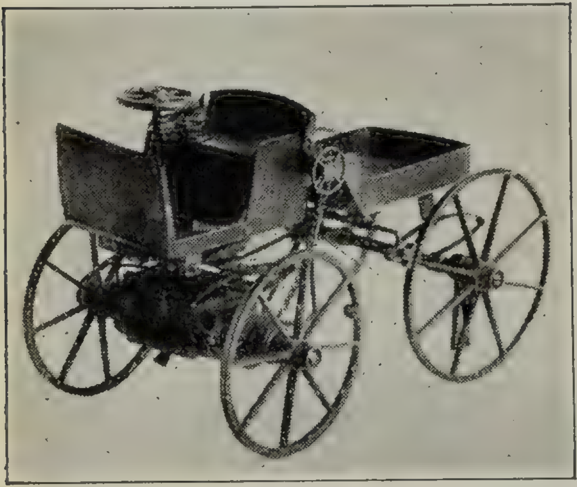
Thomas A. Edison (1847-1931) was the world's greatest practical inventor. Dr. Steinmetz (1865-1923) achieved fame as a research scientist. He was on the laboratory staff of the General Electric Company.

In 1844 Morse applied electricity to the telegraph; in 1876 Bell invented the telephone. Using the discoveries of several scientists as to the nature of electric and magnetic waves Marconi developed the wireless telegraph and from this DeForest and others developed the radio. No other man has applied electricity to so many practical uses as Thomas Edison. Among the more important of his inventions are appliances for perfecting the telephone and telegraph, the phonograph, street car motors, the storage battery, the moving picture machine, and perhaps most important of all, the incandescent electric light.

A large part of the electric current now used is developed by dynamos driven by steam generated by coal. Engineers tell us that the transportation of coal long distances is most wasteful and that hundreds of millions could be saved annually by using the coal at the mine's mouth to generate electricity which could be sent far and wide, furnishing a cheap source of light, heat, and power to homes as well as factories. The utilization of water power to produce electric current has only begun. Giant power surveys are being made in the United States, in Russia, and other European countries to determine how the power resources can best be utilized. The development of the "white coal" (as the water-power resources have been aptly called) entails large expenditures for the construction of dams, power plants, and transmission lines. It also involves questions of navigation, irrigation, and flood control. The twentieth century promises to be the century of electricity just as the nineteenth was the century of steam.

2. THE INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINE. As in the invention of the steam engine, the researches of a long list of men finally brought the internal combustion engine into existence. As the name indicates, the internal combustion engine is one in which the fuel—some form of gas or oil—is burned inside the cylinder instead of in a boiler several feet away. Otto, a German, perfected the first practical gas engine in 1876. In 1883 Daimler, a Frenchman, developed a much smaller engine with moving parts so light that it could be revolved at one thousand revolutions per minute. In 1886 he applied one of his engines to a bicycle and later to an automobile In 1900 Diesel, a German, perfected the engine which bears his name, an engine using heavier fuel oil and forcing the explosion in the cylinder by high air compression instead of by an electric spark. Powerful Diesel engines are used to drive machinery and are widely used as motive power in great ships. Recently experiments have been made to test the possibility of their practical use in airplanes. Internal combustion engines of various types have a host of uses, but the most important one is in the automobile.

Some automobiles are driven by electric power and some by steam, but the gas engine is the most common type of power for them. Selden, an American, was the first to patent the gasoline-powered automobile (1879) but it was in France and England that the first commercially practical automobiles were developed. Since 1900, with the advent of Ford and other great producers, the United States has forged to the front until today her automobile industry is the greatest single industry in the world. In 1929 the United States produced more than five and one-half million cars representing an investment of more than three and a half billion dollars, 80 per cent of the world's production. In the same year the United States had nearly 80 per cent of the thirty-five million automobiles in operation in the world. The effect of the automobile in revolutionizing modern life, especially in the United States, is obvious.



Publishers' Photo Service

Selden's Original Automobile

Following Langley's experiments with flying machines the Wright brothers, in 1903, made the first successful flight in a heavier than air machine, a biplane driven by a gasoline motor. Since then the development of the airplane has been rapid. In May, 1927, Lindbergh made an epochal flight from New York to Paris; in 1929 the Graf Zeppelin circumnavigated the globe in twenty-two days, and in 1933 Post completed a remarkable flight in a monoplane around the world in less than eight days. New feats and new records are becoming commonplace in man's conquest of the air. Great strides have been made in commercial aviation; in both Europe and the United States regular air service is now maintained between the principal cities for passenger, mail, and even express service. We are at the dawn of a new day in methods of travel and transportation. What great changes it will make in our lives we can only guess.

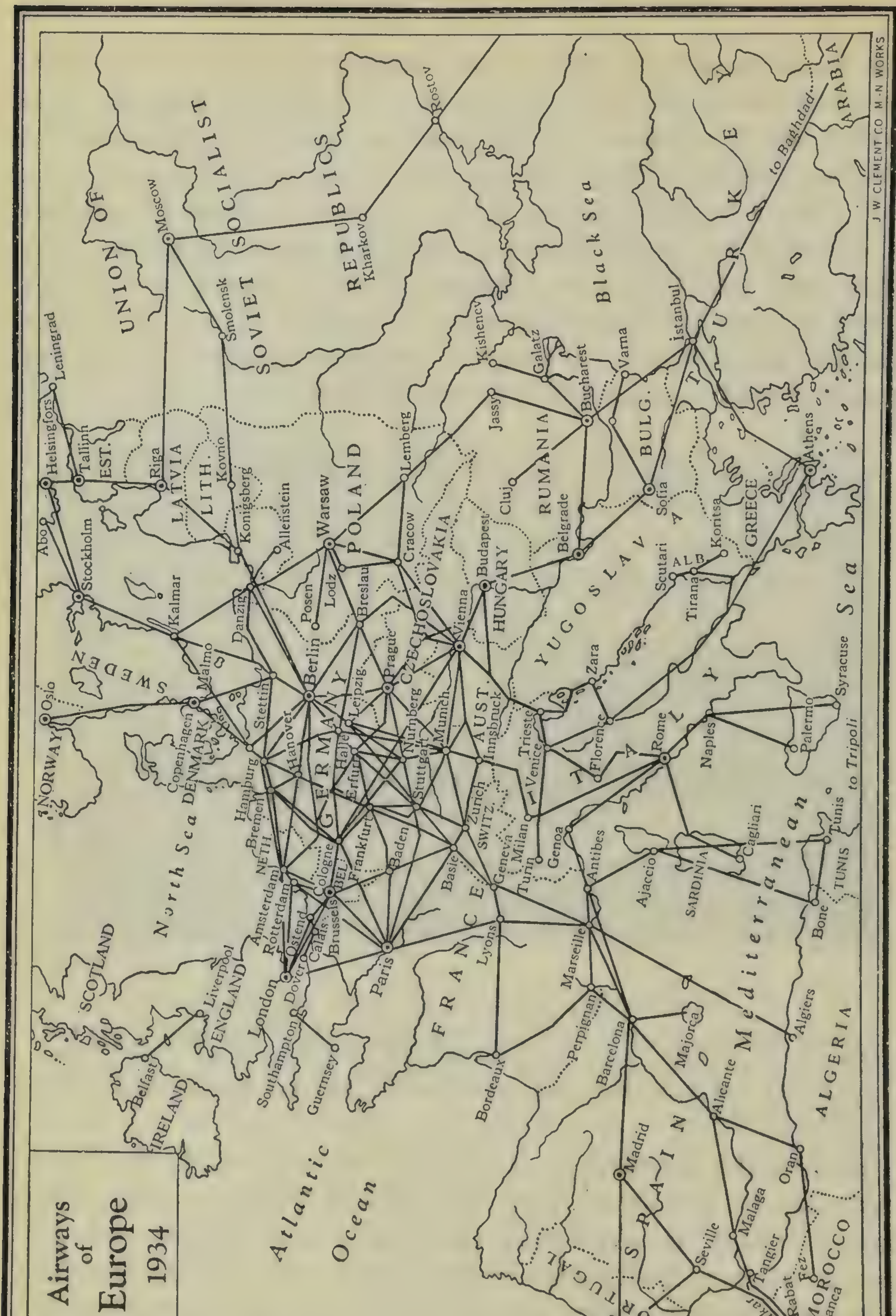
The internal combustion engine with its multitude of uses depends upon petroleum products for its motive power as well as for its lubrication. The immense demand for petroleum in the last twenty-five years has made oil production one of the foremost industries. The rivalry between nations for oil fields has played a major part in recent diplomatic history. In 1927 there was taken from the earth more than fifty billion gallons of petroleum. Engineers tell us that at this rate the world's supply of oil will soon be exhausted. The chaos that may result when the world's oil resources are used up taxes our imagination, but the average person refuses to trouble himself, all too confident, perhaps, that the scientists will find the means to supply our needs in some other way.

Wide World Photos

GENERAL BALBO LANDS ON LAKE MICHIGAN

As a friendly gesture on the part of Italy twenty-four planes, led by General Balbo, flew from Rome to Chicago and back in the summer of 1933. This was a spectacular achievement, and the longest organized flight ever made.

B. Applied chemistry. The recent developments in the Industrial Revolution, much more than the earlier ones, have been brought about by scientists. Many large corporations maintain special research laboratories where trained scientists are provided with equipment to explore the secrets of nature and to develop devices that will eliminate waste and speed and cheapen production



Airways of Europe 1934

Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
IRELAND
EST.
LATVIA
LITH.
POLAND
GERMANY
NETH.
BEL.
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUST.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
BULG.
ALB.
GREECE
ITALY
TURKEY
ARABIA
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
SARDINIA
Moscow
Leningrad
Smolensk
Kharkov
Rostov
Kishenev
Helsingfors
Tallinn
Riga
Kovno
Konigsberg
Allenstein
Abo
Stockholm
Kalmar
Oslo
Malmo
Copenhagen
Danzig
Warsaw
Lodz
Posen
Lemberg
Cracow
Breslau
Berlin
Stettin
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Leipzig
Halle
Erfurt
Prague
Nurnberg
Munich
Stuttgart
Frankfurt
Cologne
Baden
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Ostend
Calais
Brussels
Paris
London
Dover
Southampton
Guernsey
Liverpool
Belfast
Vienna
Budapest
Innsbruck
Zurich
Basle
Geneva
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Venice
Trieste
Zara
Florence
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Syracuse
Cagliari
Ajaccio
Antibes
Lyons
Marseille
Perpignan
Bordeaux
Barcelona
Majorca
Madrid
Alicante
Malaga
Seville
Lisbon
Tangier
Rabat
Fez
Casablanca
to Dakar
Oran
Algiers
Bone
Tunis
to Tripoli
Cluj
Jassy
Galatz
Bucharest
Belgrade
Sofia
Varna
Istanbul
Athens
Scutari
Tirana
Koritsa
to Baghdad
J W CLEMENT CO M-N WORKS

No group of scientists have produced greater practical results than the chemists. The basis of all present-day chemistry is Dalton's atomic theory, formulated toward the close of the eighteenth century and modified in many particulars since then.

The atomic theory is, briefly, that each element, such as hydrogen, for example, is composed of an innumerable number of atoms of the same kind and that atoms combine in different proportions to form molecules of the various compounds. A molecule of water (H_2O) is a combination of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen; a molecule of ammonia (H_3O) is a combination of three atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen. Using Dalton's theory, a host of chemists have analyzed or decomposed many compounds into their elements, about ninety different elements having been discovered. Not only does the chemist decompose compounds, but he has reversed the process and can combine elements to make new compounds. This has led to what is known as synthetic chemistry. Analine dyes, alcohol, indigo, perfumes, and drugs are a few of the artificial products of the chemist. In 1927 a third of a billion dollars worth of rayon (artificial silk) was produced. By showing manufacturers how to use the waste materials of industry, the chemist has added millions of dollars to the wealth of the world.

Another service of the chemist is the improvement in steel making. The modern age is often called the steel age, since it is steel which makes possible the railroads, the ships, the towering buildings, and the monster machines with which we are surrounded. About the middle of the nineteenth century, Bessemer, an English chemist and engineer, made steel of good quality and low price possible through his researches. The Bessemer process is a method of removing carbon and other foreign substances by means of a blast of air forced through a mass of molten iron. Steel making has been further developed by the open hearth process and by the electric furnace.

C. Mass production. Perhaps the most striking of all the features of modern industry is the rapid development of mass production. Stuart Chase in his book *Men and Machines* points out that mass production is not mere bigness, but consists in essence of two things: (1) the making of standard interchangeable parts, (2) the assembling of these parts into the completed unit with a minimum of hand labor. The making of interchangeable parts involves most careful planning of the standard design, and tools that are accurate to the hundred-thousandth part of an inch. The Krupp works in Germany and the Ford Motor Company in America are outstanding examples of the "belt" system of assembling parts. In the Ford factory most parts are not stored at all, but are moved as soon as made to the central assembly point by a conveyor belt and put in their place on a car. Ford describes the process as follows: "The assembling of the motor, formerly done by one man, is now divided into eighty-four operations—those men do the work that three times their number formerly did. . . . The man who places a part does

Ford Motor Company

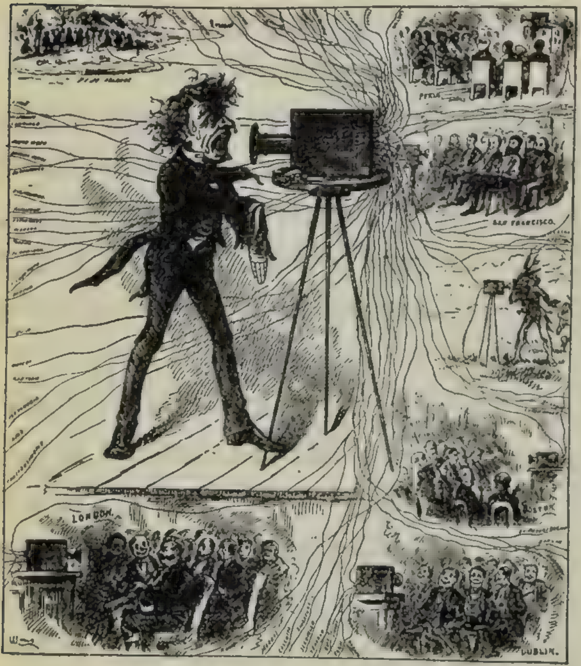
Assembling Automobile Radiators

Each worker performs a single, simple task as the parts are conveyed past him on a moving belt. This method of production is impossible without standardized parts and an enormous consumer's market.

not fasten it—the part may not be fully in place until after several operations later. The man who puts in a bolt does not put on the nut; the man who puts on the nut does not tighten it. No workman has anything to do with moving or lifting anything—this is all done by machines." In the Ford plant there has been a continuous replacement of men by machines; "as soon as a way is discovered of making a process automatic it is made automatic." In the Ford factory there are approximately twenty-five thousand machine tools—machines which make machines—turret lathes, automatic lathes, milling machines, grinding machines. It cost Ford more than one hundred million dollars to replace machines when he changed models in 1928.

A striking example of the application of new methods in industry is offered by Germany's rapid recovery from the difficult position in which she was left as a result of the World War. German industrialists, if they were to survive, had to reorganize their industries radically so as to increase production while lowering costs. The term "rationalization" has been applied to the changes that have taken place in Germany. It is impossible to describe it in a limited space, but it may be defined as the scientific organization of labor, the standardization of both materials and products, the simplification of processes, and improvements in the system of transportation and marketing. It is aimed at securing the minimum of waste of both effort and materials. Rationalization is being practiced by other countries, and the World Economic Conference of 1927, after a thorough study, recommended it as a means of increasing production throughout the world.

D. Industrial combinations. The tendency to make units of business larger and larger by combinations, mergers, trusts, or holding companies, which has long been characteristic of the Industrial Revolution, is intensified at the present time. The chain store is a logical extension of this idea into the selling field and the mergers of banks and trust companies into gigantic combinations shows a similar tendency in finance. Combinations are spreading across national boundaries; the European steel cartel has united the steel industries of Germany, France, and Belgium. Combinations in the chemical and electrical appliance industries are world-wide in scope. These international industrial combinations, together with banks with international interests, and an ever spreading foreign trade have made the world one economic unit, which points the way to a world political organization.



Harper's Weekly

"TERRORS OF THE TELEPHONE—THE ORATOR OF THE FUTURE"

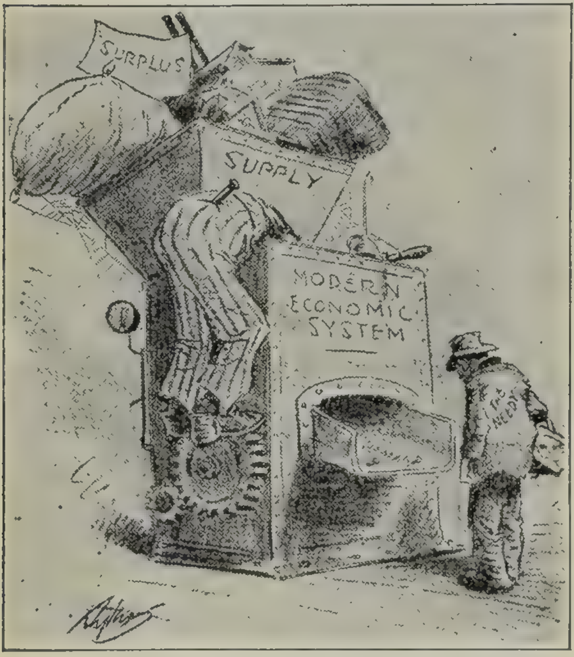
The above caption appeared on this cartoon when it was first published in *Harper's Weekly* in 1877. Lines are shown extending to all corners of the earth including the Fiji Islands, Peking, Iceland, Dublin, and London. The radio has more than made the artist's prophecy come true.

Most of the earlier combinations were "horizontal," that is, they were combinations of companies in the same lines of business. Recently there has been a tendency toward the "vertical" organization; that is, the combination of units engaged in the different steps of producing a commodity, from securing the raw material to the sale of the finished product. The Ford Motor Company produces practically all the materials which go into the Ford car. It operates coal and iron mines, steel mills, forests and lumber plants, glass factories, railroads and steamships, and finances and controls its own selling organization.

E. Results of recent changes. Just what the results of these new phases of the Industrial Revolution will be is not yet clear. It is certain that many of the results of the earlier changes will be continued and intensified and it is probable that even more far-reaching changes will be brought about. Spengler, the German philosopher, says: "Man has felt the machine to be devilish, and rightly. . . . There will come a time when he will blot the whole thing from his memory and his environment, and create about himself a wholly new world, in which nothing of this devil's technique is left."

We do not have to accept Spengler's gloomy view to realize that there are dangers before us which should be faced frankly. The ever growing size of cities brings up a host of problems. It is estimated that New York City loses half a billion dollars a year from traffic delays alone. Will cities go on growing, their traffic tangles, their noise, their smoke, their dust increasing until they become unlivable? Even if their growth is checked or guided by careful planning many problems remain. Beneath a modern city is a maze of subways, water pipes, gas pipes, steam pipes, sewer pipes, telephone and telegraph cables, electric cables, pneumatic tubes; giving access to it and bringing food to it, is a network of railroads, trolley and bus lines, perhaps using bridges and tunnels. No one understands all of these technical things and few understand any of them, to say nothing of the problems of building inspection, health, fire and police protection. What would happen in case of an earthquake? Or of an air raid in war time? Or the strike of a few technical men in key positions? If none of these disasters occur and our machine civilization does not break down of its own complexity, what will happen when the oil reserves give out?

Aside from these problems which are real although they may seem remote, there is the immediate problem of unemployment, not merely the unemployment which comes periodically in slack times, but the new technological unemployment—the result of the displacement of men by machines. On every hand we can see evidence of it—pick-and-shovel men displaced by steam shovels, subway guards displaced by automatic door openers, musicians displaced by talking movies, salespeople displaced by automatic vending machines. Between 1919 and 1929 in the United States the output per worker in manufacturing establishments increased 45 per cent, while the number of workers decreased 10 per cent. It is estimated that new improvements have enabled the railroads of the country to do as much work as formerly and to employ one hundred fifty thousand fewer persons. Many of these found employment in other lines, satisfying ever new wants, but others did not. All of them suffered in the process of making the change. The problem of what to do with those thrown out of work by new machines is one for society to solve. It is unfair to let these unfortunates bear the burden.



Evening Public Ledger, Philadelphia

"Out of Kilter Somehow"

At the other extreme of those who attempt to prophesy what the Industrial Revolution will bring forth are men like Henry Ford, who says: "The function of the machine is to liberate man from brute burdens and release his energies to the building of his intellectual and spiritual powers. . . . Machinery is accomplishing in the world what man has failed to do by preaching propaganda, or the written word—ushering in the United States of the World!" Persons as diverse in their points of view as Herbert Hoover and the Bolshevik leaders of Russia believe that machines are ushering in a new era in which poverty will be eliminated. Many economists and engineers believe that we have reached that era in the United States. They claim that the full use of the present productive capacity of our farms, factories, and mines would create such an abundance of goods, luxuries as well as necessities, as to give to every family in the country a standard of living equal to that enjoyed only by the wealthy at present. They assert that the new sources of power and the new automatic and semi-automatic machines have solved the age-old problem of production and brought in a new economic era of plenty in which the problem of distribution alone remains to be solved. When we consider the almost unlimited productive capacity of the nine billion men we have working for us in the form of machines, when we consider the progress that science has made in the last hundred years, who will dare put a limit on what may be accomplished in the next hundred?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. There is considerable evidence that many machines were invented long before the eighteenth century. How can you explain the fact that these machines were not put into general use?

2. From your own experience give an example of a recent invention that has led to other inventions.

3. If "most inventions are a social product" what justification is there for granting a patent to one man?

4. Explain how the invention of the cotton gin, which enabled one man to do the work of fifty, increased the demand for slave labor in the United States.

5. England felt the need for manufactured goods to export to Asia and America. How did she get her pay? What happens when one nation sells to another without buying from it? When it buys without selling?

6. Why is it that the effects of hard times in one country are soon felt in other countries?

7. It has been stated that it is impossible for any one nation to maintain for a very long time a standard of living much higher than that of other nations. What is your opinion? Give reasons.

8. Give arguments for and against government ownership and operation of water power resources.

9. Explain how improvements in transportation and communication have promoted both nationalism and internationalism.

10. Why is the per capita wealth of the United States so much greater than that of China?

11. Some economists claim that the main reason for the great prosperity of the United States from 1923-1928 was the high wages paid to large numbers of workers. Why were workers paid high wages? Explain how high wages could cause prosperity.

12. What is meant by the statement that the world has become

an economic unit? How does this affect the question of international political organization?

13. To what extent was the economic depression that started in 1929 due to the Industrial Revolution?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

General

Ogg and Sharp
Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*
Toynbee, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution*
Dietz, *The Industrial Revolution*
Cheyney, *Social and Industrial History of England*
The above books contain much material on the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions not referred to specifically in the references below.
Chase, *Men and Machines* is excellent for recent industrial changes and their effects
Cole. Has excellent accounts of economic conditions in Europe in 1933.

Causes

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 67-69
Schapiro, pp. 20-25
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 128-130
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 368-371
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 52-62
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 60-67
Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 344-350
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VIII, pp. 1-13

Early Inventions

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 69-75
Van Loon, Chaps. 57, 58
Schapiro, pp. 24-33
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 130-140
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 45-71
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 53-60
Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 350-368

Continuity—Later Inventions

- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 74, 862
- Schapiro, pp. 540-557
- Ogg and Sharp, pp. 679-712
- Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 368-377

Results

- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 75-97, 100-102, 212-223
- Schapiro, pp. 33-48
- Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 371-374
- Moon, pp. 8-32
- Ogg and Sharp, pp. 141-146
- Van Loon, Chaps. 58-59
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 67-70
- Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 380-416
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VIII, pp. 18-26

CHAPTER XI

SOME PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

I. Increase in Population

One of the most important social results of the Industrial Revolution was a great increase in population. The population of Europe has nearly trebled during the nineteenth century. Great Britain's population increased from ten and one half million in 1801 to over forty million in 1911. The territory included in the German Empire had a population of about twenty-five million in 1816, forty-one million in 1871, and sixty-five million in 1910. No one can speak dogmatically, of course, about the exact causes of this tremendous increase, but one main factor seems to have been the development of new means of transportation, which brought cheap food from the new lands of America, making living conditions easier than they had ever been before. Then, too, since women and children could be employed at the machines, workers became self-supporting and married at an earlier age. Another important factor was the advance made in the science of medicine, which materially cut down the death rate.

II. Growth of Cities in Size and Number

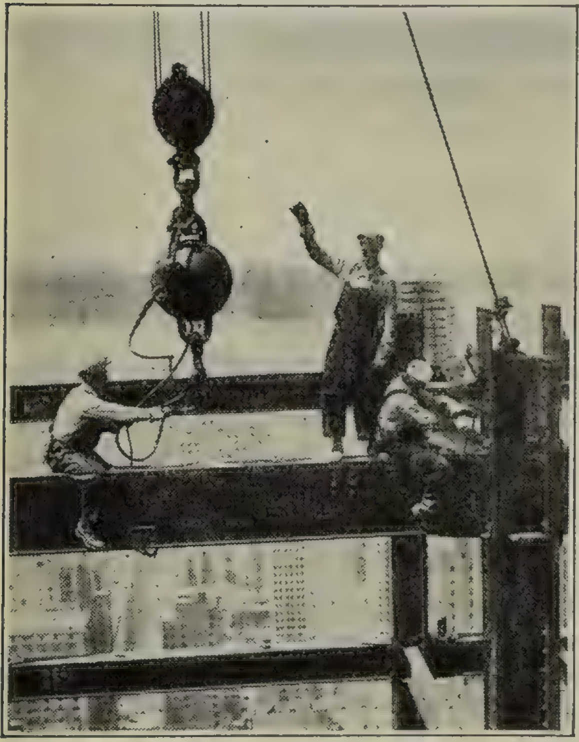
Although some country districts grew slightly, the tendency to move from the country to the manufacturing towns brought the bulk of the increase in population to the cities. While at the beginning of the nineteenth century only fourteen cities in Europe had populations of one hundred thousand or over, at the close of the century there were one hundred and forty. In England one hundred years ago less than 20 per cent of the people lived in cities; today less than 20 per cent live in the country. City life has added greatly to present-day problems, especially since in most countries the cities have grown in a hit-or-miss fashion. Closely crowded tenements, cheaply built, with no regard for beauty and little for health, have become the homes of most factory workers. Housing, sanitation, disposal of garbage, water supply, fire protection, police protection, transportation, are all much more complex problems in a great modern city than they were in an eighteenth-century town.

III. Loss of Old Skills

The new inventions that play so important a part in the Industrial Revolution have enriched the laborer's life in many ways, but the division of labor resulting from the introduction of machinery makes much of the work itself less interesting. When all goods were made by hand every workman was to a certain extent an artist. There is a real satisfaction in turning out a piece of completed work, whether it is a painting or a pair of shoes, a poem or a piece of broadcloth. The artistic pride which did much to keep up the standard of workmanship under the guild system is entirely lacking for the workman whose duty it is to watch a machine do one minute step in a complicated process thousands of times a day. As machines have become more automatic the workman himself has become little more than an automaton. Although definite statistics are lacking there seems to be a great increase in insanity and nervous diseases, part of which some authorities attribute to our machine civilization. It is doubtless possible that much of the modern craving for excitement, the popularity of "yellow" newspapers, inane movies, and fantastic secret societies, as well as the increased consumption of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs, noticeable in every industrial country, is due to the desire of the worker to relieve the monotony of machine labor.

IV. Gain of New Skills

On the other hand we must remember that the handicrafts have not died out. All around us we see tailors, cobblers, carpenters, and bricklayers doing much the same tasks that they have done for centuries. To these may be added automobile mechanics, radio experts, steel riveters, and motion picture camera men engaged in new crafts which the Industrial Revolution has created. Even today in Europe persons engaged in handicrafts outnumber those in a large-scale industry. In large-scale industry itself the number of unskilled jobs is steadily decreasing as the human being who does purely automatic work is being replaced by machines. On the other hand, the demand for skilled laborers is increasing for the men who design, build, install, inspect, and repair the new machines must have a skilled intelligence second to that of none of the medieval craftsmen. In short the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the skill of the worker and on his interest in his work is both good and bad, because while some work has been made less skillful and more monotonous, new types of work requiring skill and creating interest have come into existence. The prospects are that unskilled work will more and more be done by machines, and the proportion of skilled workers increased.



Keystone View Co.

SKILLS OF THE STEEL AGE

To build a modern skyscraper like the Empire State Building in New York City demands the cultivation of a whole series of new crafts and skills unnecessary fifty years ago.

V. CHANGES IN AGRICULTURE

From the time when man first learned to domesticate plants and animals down to two centuries ago, practically all of the human race made its living from agriculture. Even today the vast majority of the world's workers are farmers, but in industrial countries agriculture has come to seem insignificant in comparison with manufacture and commerce. The cultivation of the soil is still, however, the basic industry on which our lives depend. It is especially important for those who live in great cities to know something of farming and the farmer's problems.

As a result of the Industrial Revolution, agriculture has undergone changes hardly less important than manufacture. For centuries there was little to lead the farmer to improve his methods. He was raising food for his own family and even if he had produced a surplus there would have been no market for it. We have noted (see page 45) how the growth of trade and the consequent creation of a city market for farm produce led to improvements in farming in England. As manufacture attracted people to the cities, and the population grew, the demand for farm products increased with relatively fewer farmers to supply it. Moreover, under the domestic system most of the hand manufacturers had had a little piece of land where they raised vegetables and kept a cow and a pig which they pastured on the common land. As cities grew it became impossible for the factory workers to combine agriculture and manufacture in this way. The factory worker, who gave all his time to manufacturing and who lived in a closely settled district instead of in a cottage surrounded by fields, had to buy all his food. In the early years of the nineteenth century the increased demand for farm products encouraged the use of improved methods of farming, which were exceptional in the middle of the eighteenth century. These improvements which included rotation of crops, use of clover, use of artificial fertilizer, and careful breeding of stock started a new movement for enclosures.

A. Enclosures in England. From 1770 to 1830 over five and one-half million acres were "enclosed." These enclosures were for the most part areas that formerly had been common lands where all the peasants of the community had the right to pasture their stock and cut wood. Unlike the enclosures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see page 45) these enclosures were not for the purpose of raising stock but for substituting the new methods of crop farming. Although compensation was paid to the dispossessed villagers for the loss of their common land, the prices allowed were inadequate, so that the new system of enclosures caused a great deal of suffering. It was of this period that the well-known rime was written:

> The law locks up the man or woman
> Who steals the goose from off the common;
> But leaves the greater villain loose
> Who steals the common from the goose.

The enclosures, however, made for better agricultural methods and increased the food supply of England.

Publishers' Photo Service

THE OLD

The earliest crude plows were drawn by men and women. This picture shows a nineteenth-century plow drawn by oxen.

B. Agricultural machinery. As the Industrial Revolution spread and population grew the increased demand for food and raw materials led to further improvements in agriculture. One of the most important of these was the invention of farm machinery, made possible by better methods in the production of iron and steel.

About 1800 iron plows began to replace those made of wood. Another milestone in the development of agriculture was the invention of the reaper by the American, Cyrus McCormack, in 1834. The wide areas of level land, easily worked by machinery, in the Middle West of the United States made this country an ideal place for experimenting with farm machinery and it is here that most of the new agricultural implements were first used. We have not the space even to catalogue the many inventions of this kind, but a comparison of the methods of growing and harvesting grain of a century ago with those of today will illustrate the progress made.

Publishers' Photo Service

THE MODERN WAY

The up-to-date farmer uses a tractor to draw his plow.

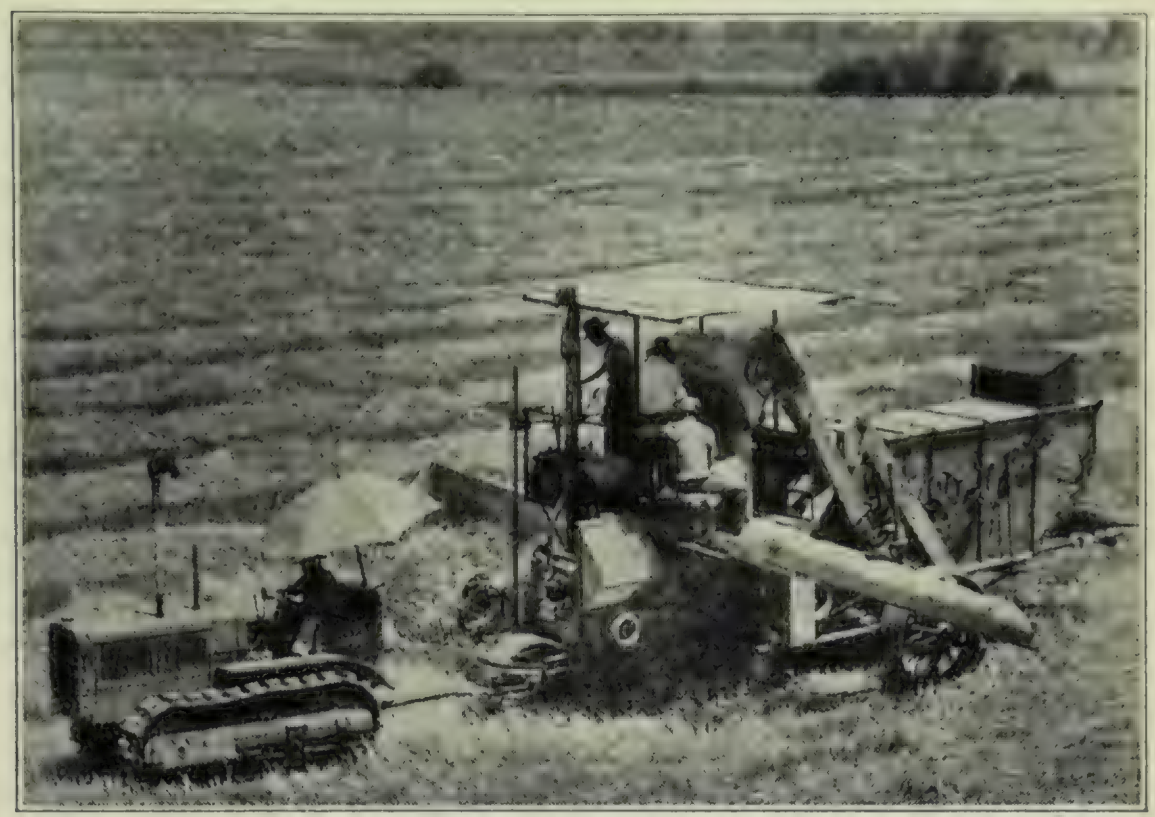
The farmer of a century ago plowed the land with a wooden or crude iron plow drawn by horses or oxen. He broke up the sod with a wooden harrow or by the more primitive method of dragging brush across it. The seed was sowed broadcast by hand. The ripened grain was cut with a hand cradle. An acre cut in a twelve-hour day of grueling labor by this method was a record which few could equal. The grain was then threshed by a hand flail—two heavy sticks tied together—or by driving cattle over it on the barn floor. We still find many of these primitive methods in use today on small farms, since many farmers have not the capital to buy modern machinery.

Publishers' Photo Service

HARVESTING, OLD STYLE

Harvesting used to be a long and wearisome series of operations. The grain was cut with a hand cradle, bound by hand, threshed with a flail, and bagged by hand.

Land is plowed by the up-to-date farmer with a gang plow (that is, one plowing several furrows at once) made of chilled steel and drawn by a tractor. It is harrowed as it is plowed by a spring-tooth or disc harrow made of cast iron or steel. The seed is sown by a machine drill, also tractor drawn, insuring an even distribution and proper covering of the seed with soil. (Russia is experimenting in sowing grain by airplane.) After the grain has grown and ripened it is cut and bound into compact bundles by a reaper and binder and threshed by a threshing machine capable of handling several thousand bushels a day. In some sections a "header" or "combine," which cuts off the heads of the grain and threshes them all in one process, is used. Twenty acres of grain per year was the maximum which one man could handle under the old methods. Today a single farmer using modern machinery can do practically all the work on a one hundred and sixty acre farm devoted entirely to grain growing.



Culver Service

A MODERN HARVESTER

Today harvesting machines are drawn by tractors and combine the cutting, threshing, and bagging of grain into one operation. This offers a concrete illustration of the way in which machinery has increased the productivity of farms.

C. Science helps the farmer. Other improvements have been scarcely less important than machinery in increasing agricultural production. The researches of Liebig, the German chemist, paved the way for the widespread use of artificial fertilizers to maintain the fertility of the soil and permit continuous cropping. Large areas of swampy land have been brought into use by drainage. Much land in regions with little rainfall have been made available by irrigation. Governments have aided agriculture by financing projects for drainage and irrigation and by establishing agricultural schools. Government experiment stations have developed better breeds of plants and animals, and varieties fitted to special climatic conditions.

By applying Pasteur's revolutionary discoveries in bacteriology (see page 296) great progress has also been made in controlling insect pests and plant and animal diseases. The success of the various efforts to increase agricultural production may be realized when it is remembered that, although the number of farmers in the United States has been steadily decreasing in recent years, the volume of products has steadily increased. The drop in prices caused by overproduction of agricultural products was generally looked upon as one of the factors that helped to bring on the world-wide financial depression which started in 1929.

In spite of the improvements in agriculture, however, the industrial countries of Europe are unable to feed their ever growing populations without bringing in food from outside their borders. The railroad and the steamboat have made this possible. Grain is imported from the fertile farm lands of the United States, Canada, Australia, and the countries of South America more cheaply than it can be grown at home. Early in the nineteenth century England became an importer of foodstuffs and the value of her food imports has steadily mounted just as have her exports of manufactures. Today England imports more than 70 per cent of her food besides a vast amount of raw materials for manufacture. Germany and Italy are also large importers of foreign food.

D. The problem of land ownership. The importation of cheap food has lowered the price of that grown at home and has made the condition of the farming population a serious problem in several European countries. As we have already noted (see page 149), France, ever since the Revolution, has been a nation of small farms, but in the other countries of Europe large estates worked by hired labor have been the rule. As a means of improving the condition of the farm population several countries have attempted to break up the great estates into small holdings. The plan, successfully followed in Ireland (see page 629), by which the government advances funds for long-period loans at low rates of interest to enable farm laborers to buy small holdings, has been tried in England and Germany. In several of the countries of eastern Europe the great estates were confiscated and broken up after the World War. Russia's land problem will be described in the chapter on the Russian Revolution. (See pages 492-493; 516-517.)

E. Farmers' coöperative societies. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century farming had ceased to be the means of subsistence for a large part of the world's population and had become an organized business. That is, the farmer in all industrially advanced countries no longer produced on his farm all the necessaries of life, but specialized on one or, at most, a few crops. With the returns from these he bought the things he needed. Farming remained, however, and is still in the main a small-scale industry although experiments with immense farms and mass-production methods are being tried in Russia and in the western part of the United States. Farmers have tried to offset some of the handicaps they have suffered from being small-scale producers in a world of large-scale production by the formation of coöperative societies. By marketing farm products these farmers' coöperatives eliminate the excessive profits of middlemen, and in some cases, by buying seed, machinery, and other articles needed on the farm, give the individual farmer the benefit of large-scale buying. Nine-tenths of the farmers of Denmark are members of coöperative societies engaged mainly in marketing dairy products. These societies have been instrumental in making Danish farmers among the most prosperous of any in the world, in spite of a topography and soil condition that would be discouraging to the American farmer.

VI. Political Changes Resulting from the Industrial Revolution

A. Why modern government is more complex. The growth of democracy has been an outstanding characteristic of the past century. In most countries its growth has gone along with the development of industry and, partly at least, may be said to have been caused by it. (See page 548.) While the Industrial Revolution has been giving people more voice in the government it has at the same time been making the problems of those entrusted with carrying out the will of the people more and more complex and difficult. Farm problems, trust problems, labor problems, banking problems, tariff problems, railway problems, problems of public health and sanitation, problems of foreign and colonial policy—on all of these the modern voter is supposed to have an opinion. The art of government today calls for much more intelligence, much more knowledge, much more tolerance, than it did in the age of absolutism. Democracy can succeed only if the voters grow in intelligence, knowledge, and tolerance as they grow in power.

B. The economic theory of *laissez faire* and its critics. The complexity of government problems has given new life to the old questions as to how far a government should interfere in the economic activities of its citizens. The mercantilist theory that the government should regulate in detail all the economic activities of the nation was displaced toward the close of the eighteenth century by Adam Smith's theory of individualism, or *laissez faire*. Simply stated, this theory was that the state should keep hands off, should allow each individual to pursue his economic interests in any direction he saw fit. (See also page 120.) Individualism was welcomed by business men, since it freed them from burdensome restrictions, and became the dominant economic theory of the early nineteenth century. As the Industrial Revolution progressed, however, critics arose who declared that the liberty so much praised by the individualists was merely the liberty of the strong to exploit the weak, and demanded that the government intervene to protect the great majority against the powerful few.

As the factory system expanded and the economic organization became more complex governments found themselves, whether they liked it or not, forced to intervene more and more in the economic activities of their citizens. Laws for the regulation of railways, trusts, banks, and labor organizations have been passed by the legislatures of all industrial nations. Public ownership, either local or national, of roads, bridges, post offices, parks, forests, water systems, and other public utilities is common and increasing. When a government is particularly concerned with the social welfare of its citizens it is sometimes called "paternalistic." As we shall see in later chapters communism as practiced in Russia and fascism as practiced in Italy and Germany both involve a denial of *laissez faire* and a great extension of government control over business.

The economic depression which started in 1929 led to a great increase in government control over business in all countries. Many business men, formerly strong upholders of *laissez faire,* finding themselves faced with bankruptcy, turned to their government for relief. At the suggestion of President Hoover, staunch upholder of individualism, the Congress of the United States created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which lent billions of government funds to banks, railroads, and other private corporations. Under President Roosevelt government control over banks, agriculture, railroads, and water power resources was greatly extended. The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 which provided for a large measure of government control of production, profits, hours and wages in all industries was an unprecedented extension of government activity into fields formerly regarded as private.

Despite the tendencies toward large-scale interference by governments in business affairs, the issue between individualists and those who favor an extension of government activities is still a vital one; it involves a fundamental difference of opinion about human nature. The individualists contend that man is naturally lazy, that the only incentive that will make him put forth his best efforts is that of making profits for himself and thus getting ahead of his fellows, that if the government interferes with business activity or goes into business itself it will destroy initiative and reduce all to a dead level of mediocrity, putting an end to progress. The advocates of greater government activity contend that coöperation is as natural a human trait as competition, that the ideal of the common good can be made as strong an incentive as that of private gain, and that under present economic conditions the control of national resources and other sources of wealth gives such power that those who have it can selfishly dictate the terms on which the rest of the population must live. They insist that the fundamental purpose of a government is to promote the interests of all its citizens and that no abstract theory as to its proper functions should restrain a government from doing so.

C. Tariff policies. 1. WHAT IS A PROTECTIVE TARIFF? In no field has there been more discussion as to government's attitude toward business than in that of protective tariffs. A tariff is a tax on imports. It may be levied for the purpose of raising revenue or it may be levied for the purpose of raising the selling price of foreign goods so that they will offer less competition to goods produced at home. This kind of tariff is said to be protective, for it "protects" the domestic article of manufacture against foreign competition. For example, if the United States levied a tariff on tea it would be a revenue tariff, since there is no American-grown tea to be protected, but a high tariff on Swiss watches raises their price and thus enables American makers to charge a higher price for their watches. At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, Europe still adhered to the mercantilist system in which protective tariffs were but one phase of a system of minute regulation of all trade, both foreign and domestic. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, Europe gave up protection along with the other features of the mercantilist system and approached a system of free trade. Later the pendulum swung back and although most of the features of mercantilism were not revived every important industrial country, except England, turned again to protection. It is hardly exact to call protective tariffs a result of the Industrial Revolution, but the Industrial Revolution has led most countries to return to protection in recent years.

2. WHY DID ENGLAND BECOME A FREE TRADE COUNTRY? Under the influence of the mercantilist philosophy England had built up an elaborate system of trade regulation and restriction consisting of the navigation acts for the special protection of British ship owners—taxes on exports, and taxes on all imports whether raw materials, foodstuffs, or manufactures. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, England was mainly concerned with the protection of agriculture. As the middle class grew in power many of the restrictions were abolished, but the Corn Laws, as taxes on imported grain were called, remained. The Corn Laws benefited the landlords, but since they raised the price of food they laid a severe burden on the workers and indirectly on the factory owners. Factory owners, led by Richard Cobden and John Bright, organized the Anti-

Corn Law League which for years carried on a vigorous campaign against import duties on food. The Irish famine, due to the failure of the potato crop in 1845, helped rouse opposition to the Corn Laws so that they were repealed in 1846. In the next few years other duties were removed, making England a free trade country.

3. WHY DID OTHER NATIONS ADOPT PROTECTION? It had been freely predicted by the opponents of protection that England's example would be copied by other nations so that in a short time free trade would be universal. For a time it seemed as if this prediction might come true. Both France and Germany had low tariffs and the United States, in the fifteen years preceding the Civil War, had the lowest tariffs she had had since the beginning of her policy of protection in 1816. The desire to protect their own manufactures against English competition, however, soon led these nations to return to protection, leaving England alone of the great industrial nations to continue free trade. In Germany, Bismarck, originally a free trader, was persuaded that the best interests of his country would be served by protection. Under his leadership a high tariff law was passed in 1879 and the policy of protection was continued by Germany down to the time of the World War. France, influenced by the action of Germany, adopted a high protective tariff in 1881 and has continued it ever since. The United States raised her tariffs during the Civil War and has kept them high ever since except for two short periods in the administrations of the Democratic presidents, Cleveland and Wilson, when they were reduced slightly. Her tariff of 1922 was in some respects the highest in her history up to that date. Tariff rates were raised still higher in 1930.

4. WHY DID ENGLAND MAINTAIN FREE TRADE? The other states of Europe followed the example of Germany and France, rather than of England, and adopted protection. Perhaps the main reason for England's long adherence to free trade was that it worked—that is, her manufactures and commerce steadily expanded under it. Agriculture it is true was not prosperous, especially in the last quarter of the century, but the value of her manufactures so far outweighed that of her farm products, that the government for a time

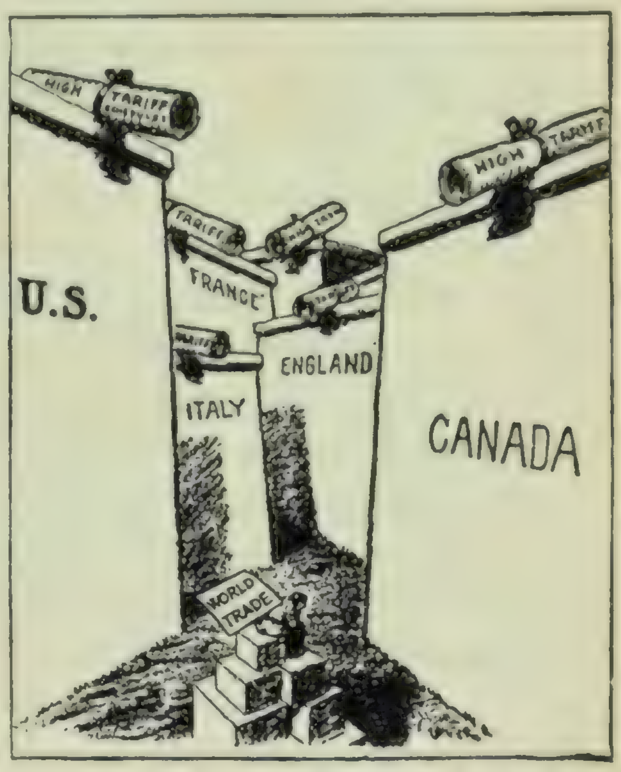
paid little attention to the plight of the farmers. English manufacturers neither needed nor wanted protection, partly because they had the advantage of having started a full generation before those of any other nation, partly because manufacturing costs were kept down by the fact that her money wage scale was lower than that of her competitors, due to the cheap food which free trade made possible. Another reason, perhaps the most important, was that England had become so thoroughly a manufacturing nation that the world market was more important to her manufacturers than the home market. If a nation sells goods abroad she must receive something in exchange. If England should put a tariff on imported goods she would by so much lessen the ability of foreign nations to buy English goods.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century England was beginning to lose the advantage which her early start in manufactures had given her. As new industries began to feel the competition of other countries, especially the United States and Germany, they began to demand protection. Protection became an issue in British politics from 1890 on, but since the Liberals and the Labor party remained firm against tariffs, free trade was maintained until after the World War.

5. WHY DID THE WORLD WAR CAUSE AN INCREASE IN TARIFFS? In many countries there was a great increase in protective tariffs in the period of intense nationalism that followed the World War. All nations were anxious to rebuild their industries and prevent "dumping"—that is, the practice of selling surplus products in a foreign country for whatever they would bring, even below the cost of production. In the new states that were created out of the Austrian Empire especially, protective tariffs, dictated by national hatreds, depressed trade and prolonged economic confusion. For a time there seemed to be a reaction against the extreme protectionism of the post-war years. In 1926 a group of international bankers issued a formal statement that the lowering of tariffs was essential to Europe's economic recovery. The World Economic Conference, held under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1927, declared that the growth of international trade was "at once a sign of the world's

economic health and the necessary condition for the development of civilization"; and further, that "the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction."

6. How did the economic depression affect tariffs? Some slight tariff reductions followed the Conference, but the economic depression started a new wave of high tariffs in 1930. As the depression spread every country found its markets for exports shrinking and everywhere demands were made for increased tariffs to preserve the home markets and prevent the spread of unemployment. The high tariff adopted by the United States in 1930 was the signal for a general increase in tariffs in other countries. Several countries also adopted a quota system for imports, that is, they provided that only a certain amount of a commodity might be imported and fixed the percentage of that amount which should be imported from each exporting country. The Assembly of the League of Nations called a conference in February, 1930, to consider the possibility of a customs truce. General agreement was found to be impossible, but eleven European states signed a convention providing that tariffs would not be raised for one year. A second conference, held in November, 1930, found economic nationalism stronger than ever. With all countries suffering from economic depression each seemed determined to further what it believed to be its own interests, regardless of the rest of the world. An attempt to extend the tariff truce for another year failed.



Brooklyn Daily Eagle

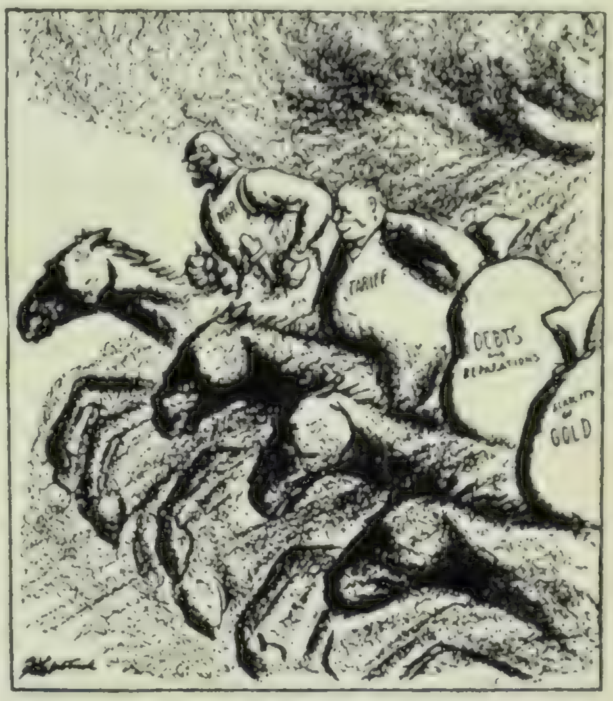
"Warfare the United States Could Stop"

Is the cartoonist's caption correct? Why is the "warfare" not stopped?

Even England has finally turned to protection. Since England lives by exporting manufactures she especially suffered in the economic chaos that followed the war. Loss of trade caused wide-spread unemployment. High tariffs were placed on certain imports such as automobiles and many banking and manufacturing interests declared that a general protective tariff was necessary to restore prosperity. The workers, however, felt that protection would raise the cost of living. In the election of 1923 the tariff was the main issue. The Conservative party declared for protection with imperial preference, that is, that imports from British colonies should pay lower rates than imports from other countries. The Liberal and Labor parties united in opposition and together won a majority in the House of Commons. The National government which came into power at the time of the financial crisis of the summer of 1931 favored protection, and in April, 1932, England turned her back on her traditional policy and adopted a protective tariff.

In the summer of 1932 the Imperial Conference of the British Empire, meeting at Ottawa, Canada, discussed plans to increase trade between different parts of the empire at the expense of other countries. The conference found it impossible to agree on any general plan for the whole empire but separate treaties were made by England with each of the different dominions. These treaties provided that the natural products of each dominion should be admitted into England duty free, and in return the dominion allowed certain English manufactures to be admitted at a lower rate of duty than was fixed on similar imports from other countries. This system of charging lower duties to fellow members of the empire than to countries outside the empire is called colonial or imperial preference. At the conference treaties were also made between some of the dominions providing for increased trade between them. As a result of the Ottawa Conference tariffs were further increased and the system of import quotas further extended by other countries.

The World Economic Conference which was called by the League of Nations and met in London in June, 1933, had as one of the main items on its program the reduction of tariffs and the removal of other barriers to international trade. Hope ran high among internationalists that at last something was to be done to reduce tariffs which, they believed, were stifling international trade and prolonging the depression. In anticipation of the conference a tariff truce was signed by the principal commercial nations by which they agreed not to raise tariffs until after the conference. When the conference met, however, the United States was in the midst of her attempt to raise prices and restore prosperity through the National Recovery Act. President Roosevelt feared that any attempt to adjust tariffs at the time might interfere with his program of domestic recovery in the United States and therefore the United States delegates refused to consider tariff reductions. Since other countries were equally unwilling to make concessions the conference adjourned without accomplishing anything toward tariff reductions by international action.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE WORLD TRADE SLUMP"

Is the idea conveyed by this cartoon correct? In your opinion which, if any, of the four is primarily responsible for the slump?

7. **WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF TARIFFS ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?** The struggle in all countries between the advocates of high and of low tariffs is a phase of the wider struggle between nationalists and internationalists. The high-tariff nationalists contend that in the present weak state of international organization it is the primary duty of every government to promote the welfare of its own citizens. At a time when rivalry for markets is intense, they say, a government should erect tariff walls which will at least guarantee the home market to home producers and so give employment to home labor. Since war disrupts foreign trade, and war is still a very real danger, every country should build up as many industries as possible so that its people will not be deprived of essential products in

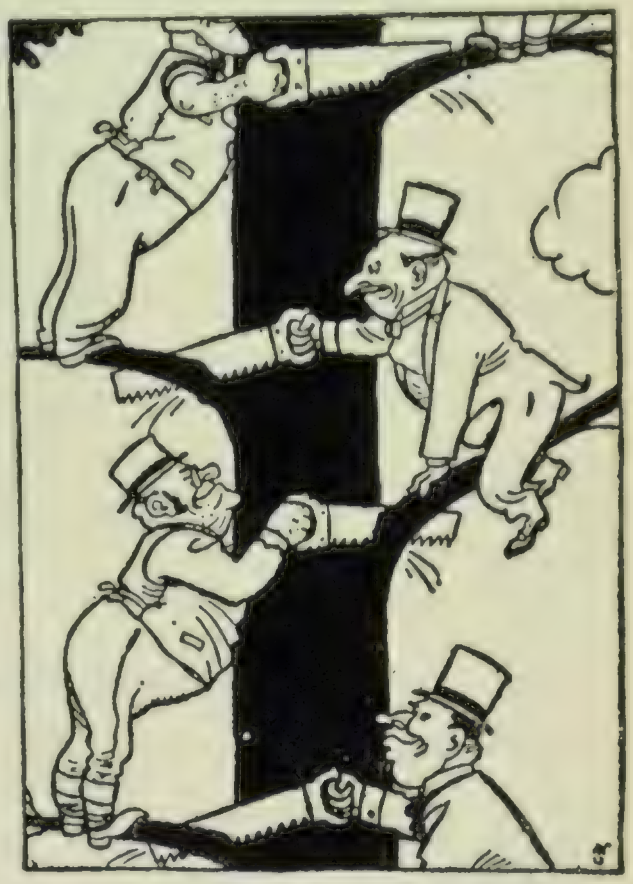
war time. They point out that new industries, "infant industries," can be started only if the competition of established industries in other countries is kept down by protective tariffs.

On the other hand, the low-tariff internationalists claim that a protective tariff does not actually increase the production or the employment of any country, since if one country sells goods to another it must take goods in exchange. For example, if the United States buys English textiles, England must buy automobiles (or other products) made in the United States to pay for the textiles. If a protective tariff keeps out English textiles it means more work for workers in American textile factories but less work for workers in American automobile plants. In other words, the net value of goods produced in a country is the same whether there is a protective tariff or not; free trade enables each country to specialize in goods which it is best fitted to produce. Low-tariff advocates also claim that it is impossible for any country in a high state of civilization to produce the wide variety of goods that it needs in order to be entirely self-sufficient. As an example they point to the United States, which, in spite of great natural resources and a wide variety in soil and climate, must import large quantities of rubber, sugar, and tropical fruits, as well as vanadium and other minerals essential for the manufacture of high-grade steels. They claim that since all countries are interdependent and since war is so destructive to trade and industry, the energies of every country should be devoted to making war impossible. Since tariffs are one great cause of bad feeling which leads to war, the internationalists maintain that free trade is an essential condition for world peace.

8. Economic internationalism. In spite of the recent tendency toward protection, some people, and among them conservative statesmen and economists, would go even farther. Impressed with the persistence of a narrow economic nationalism at a time when all nations are growing more interdependent, appalled at the bitterness of the rivalry for raw materials and markets, they declare that the foodstuffs and raw materials of the world must be rationed among all the nations, so that no one country will be able to prevent the free access of any other to the necessities of life. The world today

has become economically a unit to such an extent that many feel that its present political organization into separate nations is out of date.

An attempt at economic internationalism was made by Briand, foreign minister of France, when in 1930 he proposed a plan for a union of European states. Prominent in Briand's plan was the proposal for a tariff union among all European states, or for at least a general lowering of tariffs as a means of stimulating trade. The proposal was discussed by the Assembly of the League of Nations at its meeting in September, 1930, and was referred to a committee for further study. In the spring of 1931 Germany and Austria announced a plan for a tariff union between themselves. Although the two nations insisted that this was but a step toward the realization of Briand's proposal, since any other country might join them in the union, the other countries, led by France, protested vigorously, insisting that this was a step toward the political union of Austria and Germany which had been prohibited in the Treaty of Versailles. The matter was referred to the World Court, which, by a small majority, decided that the plan was contrary to the peace treaties.



Pravda, Moscow

"PREPARING FOR THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE"

Why does the Russian artist suggest that this is the way the nations prepare for an economic conference?

The League of Nations has done much to promote economic internationalism through its study of economic questions from an international point of view, and through its economic conferences which have brought together experts in various fields from all over the world. One of the most ambitious of its efforts was the World Economic Conference, held at London in the summer of 1933, attended by representatives of fifty-seven nations members of the League and ten nations which were not members. Meeting in the midst of the worst economic depression of modern times the conference found economic nationalism rife. Although speaker after speaker declared that all nations must coöperate for the common good and that every nation would benefit in the long run by such coöperation no nation was willing to take the first step. Each nation seemed to be trying to get something for itself without giving anything in return. Consequently the conference failed to accomplish anything. One step toward international coöperation was made by a committee representing the principal wheat-producing countries of the world which met in London at the time of the conference. These nations agreed to limit the production and export of wheat in an effort to raise prices.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What reasons other than those mentioned on page 234 can you give for the growth of population during the last one hundred and fifty years?

2. List ten different occupations which are carried on by your friends or neighbors. How many of these occupations existed before the Industrial Revolution? How many of those which existed before have been changed as a result of the Industrial Revolution? How many are more interesting? Less interesting?

3. Do you agree with the statement on page 237 that farming is the "basic industry on which our lives depend"? Give reasons.

4. How does the recent controversy in the United States as to whether the national government should spend large sums on public works as a means of relieving the depression illustrate the difference between the *laissez faire* and the paternalist points of view? With which do you agree on this question? Give reasons.

5. Explain why nationalism after the World War should lead to higher tariffs.

6. Many economists believe that tariffs were a cause of the economic depression that started in 1929. Explain why you believe this to be true or false.

7. If you had been a member of the British Parliament in 1932 would you have voted for or against a protective tariff? Why?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Changes in Agriculture
  Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 75-76
  Schapiro, pp. 11-20, 557-559
  Ogg and Sharp, pp. 113-125
  Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. I, pp. 551-560, 572-585

Economic Theory
  Moon, pp. 8-19
  Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. V, pp. 344-364
  Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe,* pp. 409-417
  Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England,* pp. 192-195

Tariff Policies
  Cole, pp. 360-373
  Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe,* pp. 621-647, 685-686
  Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England,* pp. 195-224

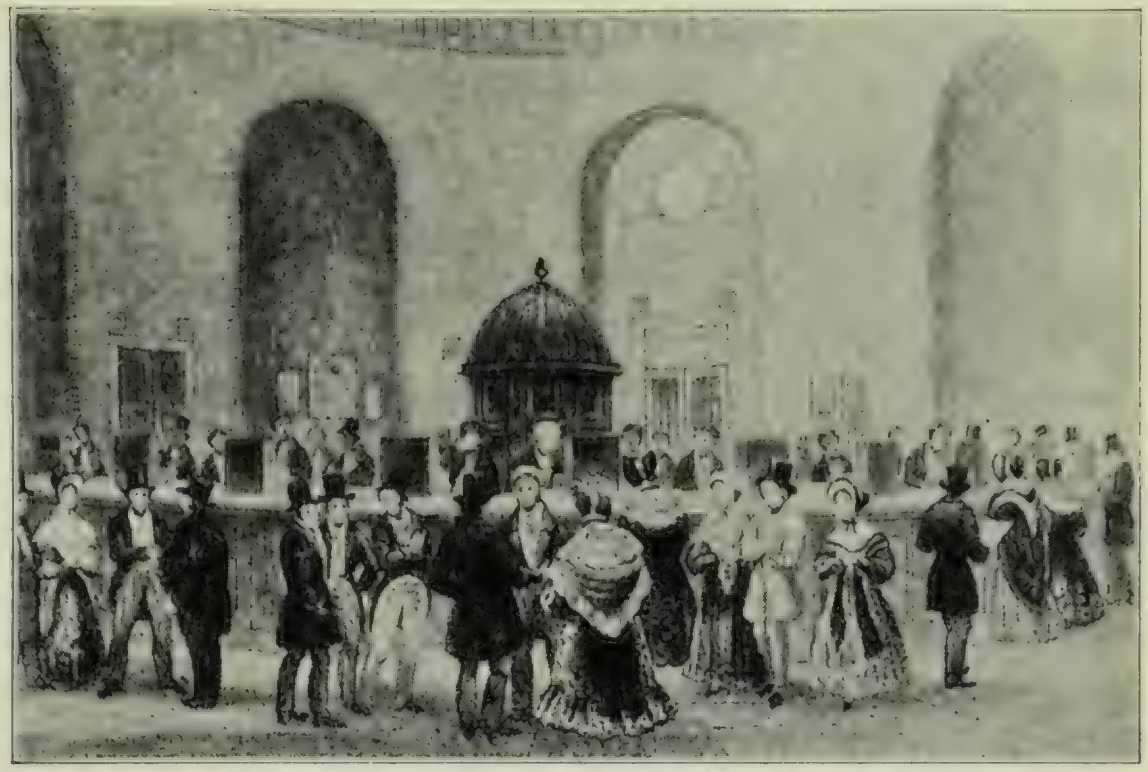
CHAPTER XII

LABOR PROBLEMS

I. How the Industrial Revolution Affected Social Classes

A. The capitalist. The Industrial Revolution resulted in the rise of two new social classes, or rather in the greatly increased importance of two already in existence—capital and labor. Capital, that is, man-made wealth used to produce more wealth, had been in existence from the earliest times but, until recent times, there had been a comparatively small amount of it and its owners, the capitalists, had exercised no great power. Under the guild system the master workman, since he owned his shop and advanced money for raw materials, was a capitalist, but he was also a workman, a superintendent, salesman, and manager. (See page 47.) The growth of trade increased the amount and importance of capital. Wealth made by the merchants was reinvested in goods and ships and continued to multiply. The capitalist was usually a manager as well, although the rise of the joint stock company made it easy for outside investors to put their money into such enterprises without taking any active part in the business. The first capitalists in manufacturing were those under the domestic system who bought raw materials, gave them out to workmen to manufacture for wages, and sold the finished product. (See page 50.)

The Industrial Revolution brought capital to the fore to such an extent that our present economic system is called the capitalist system. Machines, factories, railway lines, locomotives, and steamships are all capital. Money invested in the new enterprises earned large returns which were reinvested, producing still more capital. Although some capitalists still took an active part in the management of their businesses, with the growth of corporations a large body of shareholders was created which merely furnished capital and left the actual management to men hired for that purpose. The general policy of the corporation, however, continued to be fixed by the capitalists through boards of directors elected by themselves.



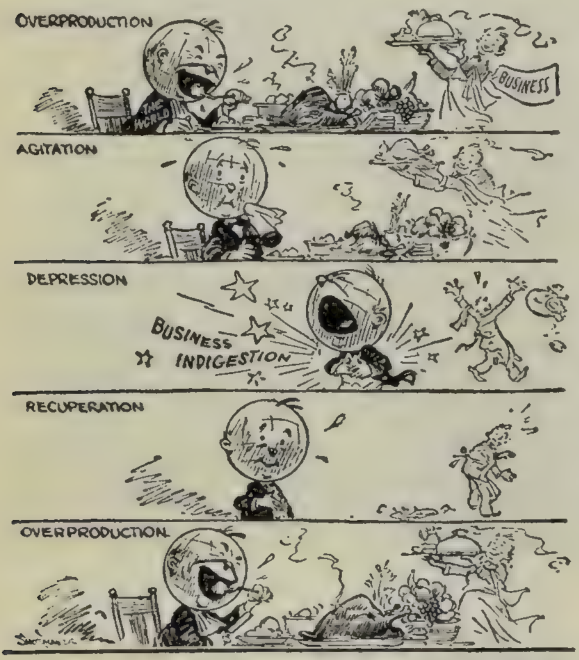
From a contemporary drawing by T. H. Shepherd. Culver Service

THE ROTUNDA OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND

The nineteenth century saw the rise of a new class in society. Bankers and capitalists began to be people of importance and to be received in all drawing-rooms.

Since capital was harder to secure than labor it was natural that the control of the enterprises should go to those who furnished the capital, rather than to the workers. This is the secret of the great power of the capitalist in our present society; since he controls industry, and the worker is dependent upon industry, he controls the worker. He also, in most industrial countries, has a powerful influence in the government. The old ruling class, the landlords, has not been superseded so much as it has been absorbed by the new bourgeoisie. Landlords have invested their surplus wealth in industrial enterprises, their sons have gone into business, their daughters have married into capitalist families. On the other hand, rich factory owners, railway magnates, or others whom business has made rich, in their search for social eminence have bought the estates of impoverished landlords until we have an almost complete union of the two classes.

B. The laborer. 1. More dependent. There has always been work to do in the world and since the earliest time there has been a distinct working class comprising the great majority of the population. With the coming of machinery the factory workers formed a new class of labor which in many ways is more dependent than any previous class. The slave, who did the hard work of the world for many centuries, had no personal liberty, but since he was a valuable piece of property his owner saw to it that he did not lack sufficient food and shelter. The serf on the medieval manor likewise had a hard life, but he could not be sold from the land or be deprived of his right to make a living from it. The hand manufacturer under the guild and domestic systems was subject to harsh regulations which he had no voice in making, but since he owned his own tools and the market was only a local one, he could usually make a living. All these earlier classes of workers, it may be said, were sure of at least a poor living. The modern factory worker enjoys, on the whole, a higher standard of living, but he is not so sure of it, since he has to depend on someone else for a job.



Chicago Daily News

"And So On—"

Is the "business cycle" an inevitable feature of the capitalist system?

The new machines were so expensive that the individual worker could not afford to buy them, and since the market had become a world market he would have had difficulty in disposing of his products even if he had had the machine to make them. As it was impossible to compete by hand labor with the cheaper machine products, the worker was compelled to use a machine owned by a capitalist in a factory owned by a capitalist. As the capitalist was in business primarily for profit he could not afford to operate his factory when the condition of the market was not such as to pay him a profit. Thus the laborer, with no land to fall back on and nothing to sell but his labor, was ever haunted by the fear of unemployment. Consequently he usually accepted employment on the capitalist's terms, however hard they might be.

2. Less secure. This fear of unemployment has been emphasized by the periods of business depression which have occurred at intervals ever since the Industrial Revolution introduced the use of machinery to produce large quantities of goods to be sold in distant markets. Under this system production has to be carried on in anticipation of demand. This makes the adjustment of supply to demand more difficult than it was under the old system of production for a local market. Consequently, we have periods of over-production, or, as some prefer, under-consumption. This means the production of more goods than can be sold at a profit. The result of over-production is that factories close and workers are thrown out of employment. Without wages they cannot buy goods so that, in turn, more factories are closed and more workers become idle in an ever widening vicious circle. Toward the close of a period of depression, marked by business failures, unemployment, and widespread suffering, the stock of goods on hand be-

National Child Labor Committee

Child Worker in an American Mill

Searching for cheaper production costs, many American manufacturers established factories in states which had inadequate labor laws. Under compulsion of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, however, manufacturers drafted codes which eliminated the labor of children under sixteen.

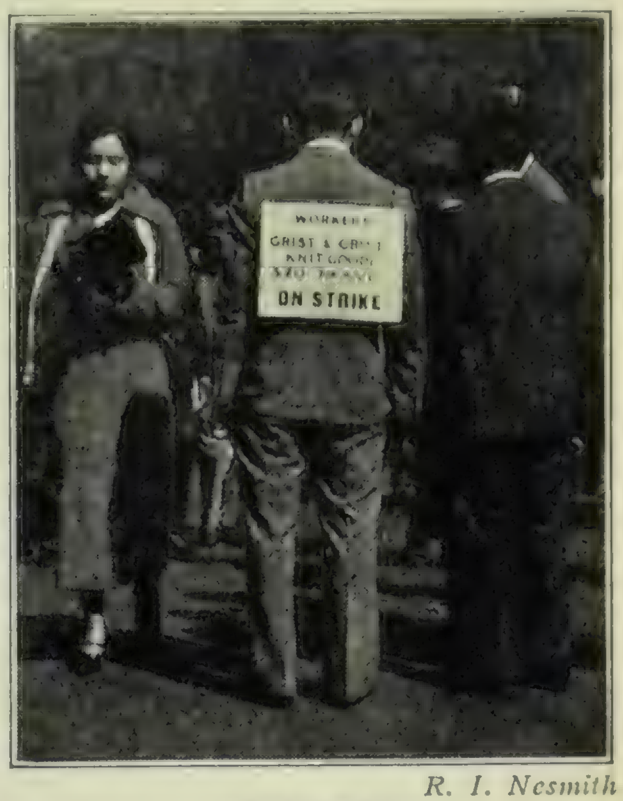
comes exhausted and production begins again. Then follows a period of slow improvement, gradually increasing in momentum, until boom times return again, with rapid expansion of production. Then follows another crisis and period of depression.

3. Bad working conditions. In the early days of the Industrial Revolution in England, before the industries were thoroughly organized and before any restrictive regulations were adopted, conditions became so bad that the period is sometimes referred to as the "reign of terror of the Industrial Revolution." Factories were dirty, dark, and unventilated. To eke out a living the wives and children of the workers went into the factories. Here they were welcomed, as little strength or skill was necessary to operate many of the machines and, of course, their wages were lower than those of men. Children five and six years old worked beside their mothers on an average of thirteen hours a day and sometimes sixteen and seventeen. Competition became so keen for cheap child labor that shrewd employers arranged with church wardens and overseers of the poor to take groups of orphan or destitute children as apprentices; that is, the employers were given complete control of these children for a term of years, supporting them in return for their labor. These apprenticed children were housed in barracks built near the factories and often treated with gross brutality. England was rearing a new generation, undernourished, unhealthy, ignorant, and depraved.

These bad conditions—insecurity, low wages, long hours, unsanitary factories, woman and child labor—led groups of philanthropists to seek remedies in legislation. They also brought about what we have come to call the labor movement—organizations of workingmen for the purpose of improving conditions. There have been two main phases of the labor movement—trade unionism and socialism.

II. Trade Unions

A. What is a trade union? A trade or labor union may be defined as a "continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives." Although there are records of temporary organizations of workers, and of strikes, as far back as the time of the ancient Egyptians, there were no permanent organizations of workers until the eighteenth century, when the capitalist assumed the risk and management in industry and the workman became a wage earner. Although the medieval craft guilds sometimes admitted journeymen, they were primarily organizations of master workmen and had little resemblance to modern trade unions. The Industrial Revolution, by drawing large bodies of workmen together in factories and putting the control of industry entirely in the hands of the factory owner, gave a strong impetus to the workers to organize for their own protection against bad treatment. It may be said, therefore, that unionism really began at that time.



R. I. Nesmith

A Picket

B. What are the methods of unions? The main purpose of a trade union is to raise wages, shorten hours of work, and to secure better working conditions generally. Its method is collective bargaining—that is, the workers bargain with the employer as a group and not as individuals, fixing a common program of wages and hours for all members of the union. As a means of making their bargaining effective, unions usually try to get the *closed shop,* that is, an agreement that only union men shall be employed. The union's main weapon is the strike, a stoppage of work by all concerned to enforce their demands.

Another weapon is the *boycott,* in which members of the union agree not to use the products of a certain manufacturer and try to persuade others not to do so. As a means of enforcing a strike or boycott *picketing* is often used. This consists in standing or walking up and down before the place of business of the firm which the union is opposing, trying to persuade others not to work for it or trade with it.

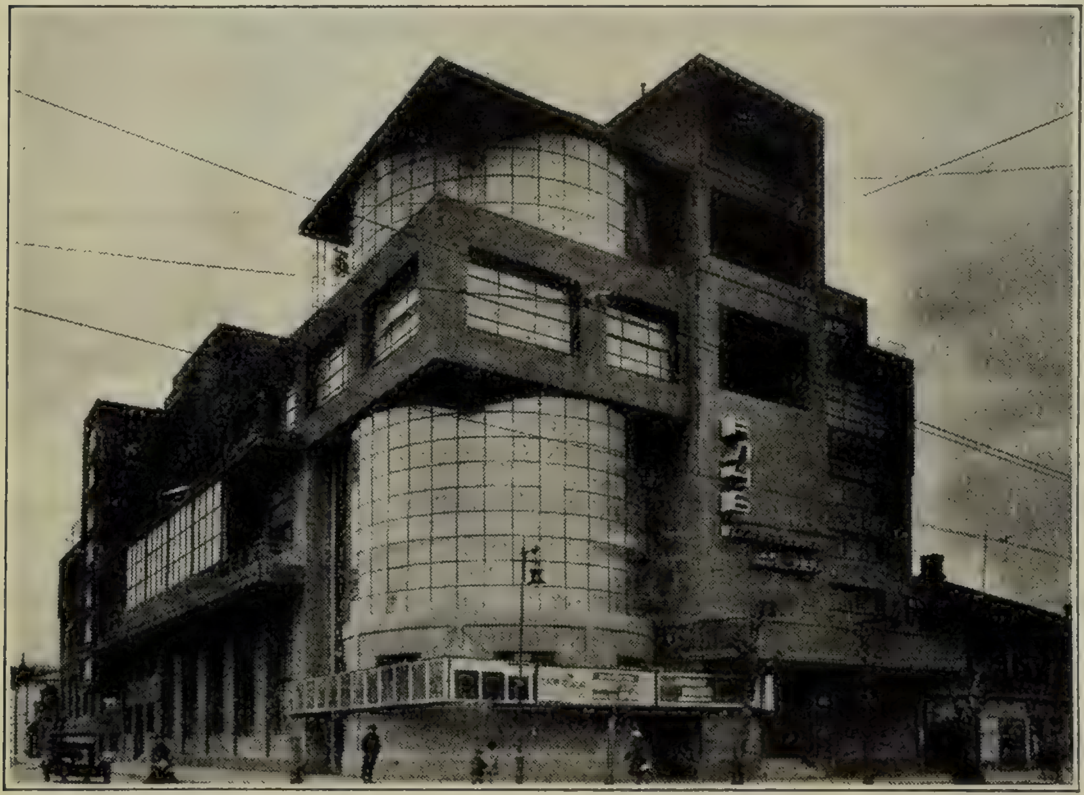
C. What are the methods of employers? In the struggle between trade unions and capital, employers also have organized and developed their own weapons. Corresponding to the strike is the *lock-out,* by which the employer closes his factory, throwing the workers out of employment in order to force them to accept his terms. Corresponding to the boycott is the *black list,* a list of those discharged for union activities. This is circulated among employers so that those whose names appear on it cannot get work. Recently there has developed what is called the *yellow-dog contract,* a contract which the worker is compelled to sign at the time he is employed, in which he affirms that he is not a member of a union and will not become one. In place of the closed shop employers want the *open shop,* which means the employment of union and non-union men without discrimination; but in practice the open shop usually means the non-union shop. In labor disputes employers have frequently made use of the *injunction.* An injunction is an order issued by a court restraining a person from doing something which may result in injury to others. Organized labor opposes the use of the injunction in labor disputes on the ground that it often prevents perfectly legal actions, which might help the cause of the workers, until after a strike has been lost.

In recent years many employers, realizing that repressive measures alone would never satisfy labor, have introduced welfare work such as recreation facilities, pension systems, and free medical care; some of them have adopted a system of profit sharing or have allowed the workers to have representatives on the board which manages the industry. Many employers who have adopted welfare work have been unwilling to recognize the regular unions, insisting that they do business only with company unions, made up entirely of employees of the company. While in many cases company unions and welfare work have improved conditions, the regular unions have generally opposed these local organizations on the ground that they were merely weapons of capital in its struggle against labor and that the larger interests of labor could be served best only by unions organized on a scale that would take account of general, as well as local, conditions and would be controlled entirely by the workers themselves.

D. How have unions developed? Since England was the first country to introduce the factory system it is quite natural that unionism should have started in that country. English unions have been, and still are, more powerful and more widely recognized than those of any other country. The history of English unions is not, however, essentially different from that of unions in other industrial countries. Everywhere in their early years unions had to fight for their existence, since they were prohibited by law in most countries. Once having established themselves legally they won other advantages through legislation—the right to strike, to collect and administer funds, to make contracts, to carry on welfare work among their members.

The earliest unions were organizations of men of the same trade living in the same locality. These local unions then federated with similar unions in neighboring localities, and these federations gradually spread until all the unions of the same trade in the nation were combined in a single federation—for example, the National Union of Carpenters and Joiners in the United States. Local unions of different trades also federated into local federations. The final step was to combine all national unions into a national federation such as the National Trade Union Congress in England or the American Federation of Labor in the United States. These national federations are usually advisory and consultative bodies, each national union and each local union retaining to a large extent the right to govern itself. In 1901 the International Federation of Trade Unions was formed. This body holds periodic conferences for the discussion of common problems and the interchange of opinion, but has no authority over the national bodies affiliated with it.

In contrast to England, unions in Continental countries were from their beginning closely affiliated with the socialist parties and were active in politics. In England until the close of the nineteenth century most unionists were not socialists and took little part in politics as a class. In 1901 the Taff Vale Railway Company in England was awarded damages against the railway workers' union for the loss of business it had suffered during a strike. The decision, had it stood, would have made it practically impossible for any union to exist. Unionists accordingly turned in large numbers to the Labor party and in 1906 elected enough Labor members to Parliament to combine with the Liberals to pass an act safeguarding the right to strike. Since then Labor has taken an active part in British politics and there have been two Labor ministries. (See pages 442-443.)



Publishers' Photo Service

A TRADE UNION CLUB, MOSCOW

E. Of what value are trade unions? Today trade unions exist and are legally recognized in all industrial countries. Their strength is, in general, in proportion to the extent to which the country is industrialized. Great difference of opinion still exists as to the value of trade unions. Conditions of the workers have certainly greatly improved during the past century and unions have had a large share in bringing about this improvement. Through collective bargaining some equality in bargaining power between workers and employers has been brought about. Many employers welcome the coöperation of unions in maintaining standards and in furnishing a steady supply of labor, and praise especially the willingness of some unions to take increased responsibility for the quality of work done. On the other hand, some unions have abused the power which the monopoly of the supply of labor in some regions gives them, to exact excessive wages and to protect inefficient, careless, and lazy workers. Unions, like other organizations, need leaders who understand that with power must come responsibility.

III. SOCIALISM

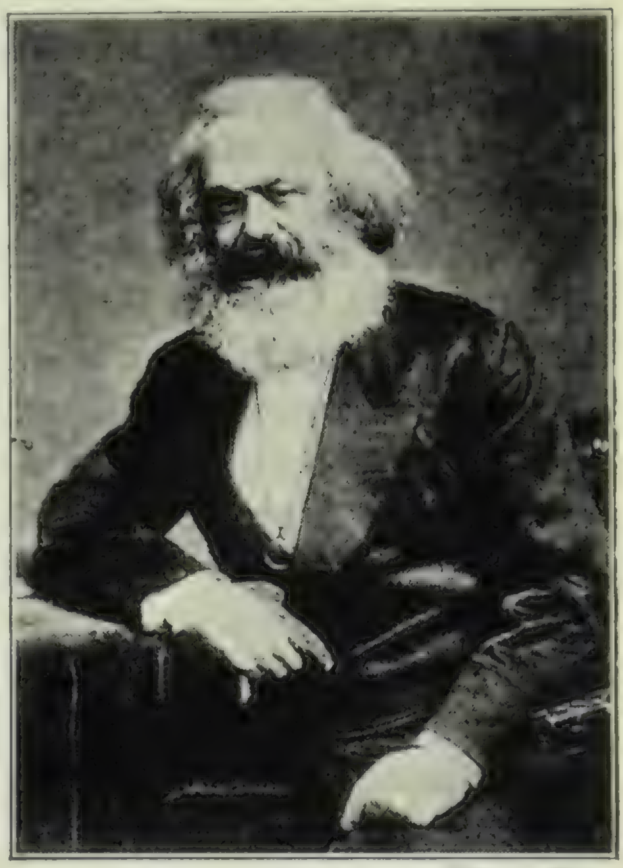
A. What is socialism? "Socialism" is a word much misused and much misunderstood. It has meant different things at different times and in different countries at the same time. It is difficult, therefore, to give any but a very general definition. One that most people who call themselves socialists would probably agree upon is that socialism is a system of collective ownership and democratic management of the socially necessary means of production and distribution. In other words, socialism may be defined as the ownership and operation by a democratic government of the factories, mines, railroads, steamship lines, banks, and insurance companies, which produce and distribute to consumers the more important commodities of life. Socialism does not mean dividing up all wealth nor the abolition of all private property. It would leave to private ownership many small enterprises and such consumption goods as houses for the owners' own use, as well as furniture, clothing, etc. Although there are traces of socialistic ideas in writers from Plato down, modern socialism is a product of the Industrial Revolution.

B. The Utopians. One of the first men to use the term "socialism" was Robert Owen, a Welshman, who, starting as an apprentice in a cotton factory, became in 1800 part owner and manager of cotton factories in New Lanark, Scotland, employing over two thousand men, women, and children. Impressed with the misery of his employees, he started reforms which resulted in model factories with light, sanitary workrooms, working hours reduced from seventeen to ten per day, and the employment of no child under ten. He built model dwellings for his workers, established welfare work, and started schools. Owen's solution of the labor problem was to persuade other employers to follow his example until all England, and in time the world, should be covered with similar model communities. All his efforts, however, to gain converts among the capitalists of his time were futile. While Owen's ideas of reorganizing society bore little fruit except in the coöperative movement (see pages 274-276), the impetus which he gave to labor legislation and to education, and his unselfish use of his really remarkable talents for the benefit of the workers, give him an important place in the history of the labor movement.

At about the same time that Owen was experimenting in England, various French writers were attacking the institution of private property. Most important among them were Saint Simon and Fourier, each of whom worked out elaborate plans for the reorganization of society. Although each of them had many followers who elaborated their doctrines and attempted to put them into practice, nothing concrete came of their schemes. These early writers and reformers all advocated social ownership in some form or other and are therefore called socialists, although they would hardly be recognized as such today. Although differing in details, they all advocated the establishment of model communities or utopias, and are therefore called the Utopians. They differed from modern socialists also in that they appealed mainly to the educated and well-to-do classes, urging them on grounds of justice and morality to improve the condition of the workers, rather than suggesting that the workers might help themselves.

C. The national workshops of Louis Blanc. During the reign of Louis Philippe in France, Louis Blanc organized a workers' party. Blanc's main idea was that everyone had a right to work and it was the duty of the state to provide the opportunity. His followers helped bring about the overthrow of Louis Philippe's government in 1848. (See page 196.) The middle-class Republicans who controlled the provisional government then set up had no sympathy with Blanc's ideas but, in order to keep his followers quiet, established the so-called national workshops. These were not the factories financed by government funds which Blanc had planned, but merely a scheme for giving the unemployed work at digging trenches and building fortifications. They were soon abolished, and the workers who revolted in protest were suppressed with great bloodshed. So Blanc's ideas came to nothing, but he founded the first real Labor party in Europe and his ideas mark a transition from the Utopians to the "scientific" socialism of Karl Marx.

D. Karl Marx and "scientific" socialism. The founder of modern socialism was Karl Marx, a German of a middle-class family of Jewish descent. Having received a doctor's degree in philosophy and history from the University of Jena in 1841, he became the editor of a newspaper in which he attacked the autocratic Prussian government so severely that he was exiled from Prussia and went to Paris. Here he met a group of radicals interested in economic and social questions, among them Louis Blanc and Frederick Engels, who coöperated with him in some of his later writings, and Proudhon and Bakunin, the founders of anarchism. His writings were too radical for the bourgeois government of Louis Philippe and he was invited to leave France. After a few years spent in Brussels, he took up his residence in England, where he remained until his death in 1883. Marx's principal works are the *Communist Manifesto,* published in collaboration with Engels in 1848 as a charter for a workingmen's association in Brussels, and *Das Kapital,* an extensive work in four volumes on which he spent the last twenty years of his life. His writings are voluminous and his



Brown Bros.

KARL MARX (1818-1883)
The founder of modern socialism.

style not always clear, so that those attempting to work out a detailed plan according to his ideas often disagree as to the meaning of certain passages. This partly explains why there are so many different opinions as to details among socialists who claim to be disciples of Marx.

Marx's main ideas may be summed up briefly as follows: (1) The most important factors in determining action, either individual or social, are economic. (2) Those who have economic power—that is, those who own wealth—have social and political power as well. (3) Struggles between economic classes have gone on throughout history. (4) At present the class struggle is between the capitalists, who own the means of producing wealth, and the property-less workers, the proletariat. (5) The workers receive as wages only the amount necessary for bare existence, although they produce more goods than are necessary for this purpose. The difference between the amount paid to the workers and the amount which the capitalist gets for the goods produced is what Marx calls surplus value, the source of the capitalist's profits. The proletariat, if it is to be free, must overthrow the capitalists and take for itself the full value of the commodities created by its labor. (6) As time goes on, wealth will be concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, the proletariat will grow steadily poorer until at last it will take from the capitalists the means of production and distribution. According to Marx this ultimate seizure of power by the proletariat is an inevitable result of the capitalist system.

Marx called himself a "communist," since the term "socialist" was commonly applied to the Utopians, whom he looked upon as sentimental philanthropists. He offered no Utopia to be brought about by arousing the sympathy of well-meaning bourgeois, but claimed to show by scientific processes that the same laws which led to the establishment of the capitalist system would bring about its downfall. Although the outcome was inevitable, he said, the sooner the workers realized their position and their power and prepared themselves for their responsibilities, the sooner would the revolution come about. He appealed directly to the workers, therefore, in the *Communist Manifesto* to organize themselves and to work for the establishment of reforms which would be steps toward the communist state. The closing words of the Manifesto, "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!" have been the slogan of socialists ever since he wrote them.

Marx was not explicit as to how the final change was to be brought about. He nowhere advocates violence, although he nowhere directly disapproves of it. He emphasizes the importance of political action and evidently intended that the revolution should be brought about by the workers gaining control of the government through the ballot. The word "revolution" as used by Marx and other socialists has often been misinterpreted. In the sense in which socialists use it, it means the change from private to collective ownership, not implying violence or even the use of methods not provided by law.

As a means of promoting socialism Marx helped to organize the International Workingman's Association, usually known as the First International. It held annual meetings until 1873 when internal dissensions and popular opposition led to the break-up of the organization. The governments of Europe, which had feared the International far more than its strength warranted, were greatly relieved, believing that to be the end of socialism. Socialism, however, continued to grow in national parties. In 1889 the Second International was formed. This was a federation of national socialist parties, formed on the lines of the First International but having merely advisory powers and not attempting to control the national parties as the first had done. Periodic conferences are held bringing socialists from all countries together to discuss common problems. After the Russian Revolution the Third or Communist International was formed at Moscow in 1919. It has always been dominated by Russia and its activities have been along orthodox communist lines—mainly carrying on propaganda for a world revolution.

E. Divisions in national socialist parties. In the various national socialist parties of Europe there developed two distinct groups, a right and a left wing. The terms "right" and "left" are in common use in European politics to indicate differing shades of opinion. The term "right wing" describes the more moderate or conservative element; the term "left wing" is used to describe the more radical. Very often too, the term "center" is used to describe those who hold to a moderate or middle course between the conservative and radical factions of the same party. Both factions accepted Marx's doctrines and agreed as to the ultimate aim of socialism—the substitution of public for private ownership of the means of production and distribution. They disagreed mainly as to the means to be used in bringing this end about.

KARL-MARX-HOF

THE KARL MARX HOF, VIENNA

One of the municipally owned apartment houses built for working people by the socialist city government. This was the scene of bloody fighting in the struggle between socialists and the Heimwehr in February, 1934.

The left wing, or "Marxists," stood for a literal interpretation of Marx, insisting that the all-important thing was to keep the final revolution always in mind. While working for the democratization of government and freedom of speech and press, they were indifferent to such reforms as social insurance, factory laws, and minimum wage laws, sometimes even opposing them on the ground that they were merely designed to distract the workers from what they considered more fundamental changes. They consistently opposed cooperation with other parties and stood firmly against imperialism and increase of armaments. Some of the more radical Marxists, discouraged by the apparent indifference of the masses to their teachings and despairing of bringing about the revolution by gaining control of the government through the ballot, advocated "direct action" and a "dictatorship of the proletariat." By this was meant the seizure of power by force, the suppression of all opposition until the workers' government should be thoroughly established.

The right wing, variously called Reformists or Moderates, insisted that the "movement is everything, the goal is nothing." In other words, they believed that, while keeping the goal of complete public ownership of the means of production and distribution in view, they should concentrate their efforts on immediate reforms, such as extension of suffrage to all men and women, complete freedom of press and speech, increased responsibility of government to the people, high direct taxes on land and incomes, public ownership of forests, mines, railroads, and other public utilities, protection of woman and child labor, and social insurance. To promote such reforms they were willing to coöperate with other parties. While opposing militarism they did not always oppose the acquisition of colonies or the increase of armaments and were often strongly nationalistic. They insisted that the revolution must come step by step in a legal way through the gradual education of the voters to see their point of view.

These two groups could be found in every country. In some countries they split into two parties, in others they remained opposing factions of the same party. Up to the outbreak of the World War, the right wing or reformist element seemed to be gaining. In most countries they were in control of the party machinery and even where they were not, the socialist policy was moderate.

F. Effect of World War on socialism. The *Communist Manifesto* said: "The workers have no country. What they have not got cannot be taken from them." Socialism has always emphasized internationalism and opposed international war on the grounds that it was caused by capitalists for their own benefit and brought nothing but suffering to the workers. At several meetings the Second International debated the socialist attitude toward war. It voted that socialists should use every effort to prevent war and to end it as soon as possible once it had broken out, but voted down a resolution calling for the general strike to prevent war.

1. Nationalism stronger than socialism. When the World War came, nationalism proved stronger than socialism. While a majority of the socialists in Russia, Serbia, Italy, Rumania, Hungary, and the United States opposed the war, large minorities in these countries and the great majority in Germany, Austria, England, and France supported it. Vandervelde, of Belgium, president of the International, became a member of the Belgian war cabinet. Prominent labor leaders in France and England accepted government offices.

As the war dragged on and the imperialistic aims of both sides became clearer, in all countries the minority opposition groups became stronger. Even the majority groups began to talk of peace and various international conferences of socialists were planned to discuss peace terms. These conferences amounted to little, partly because of the opposition of some socialist leaders, partly because of the refusal of the French and English governments to grant passports to the delegates.

2. Bolshevism. Several years before the war a split had occurred in the Social Democratic party of Russia, the majority or Bolsheviki being the Marxian left wing group, the minority or Mensheviki favoring a moderate policy. Most of the Mensheviki supported the World War, while the Bolsheviki actively opposed it, many of their leaders being driven into exile. With the revolution of 1917 the Bolshevik leaders returned, overthrew the moderate revolutionary government, and proceeded to put their ideas of socialism into effect. They adopted officially the name of Communist. We shall describe their experiment in Russia in some detail in a later chapter. (See page 505.) At this point we should remember that Russia was the first country to put socialism into practice and that the Russian Bolsheviks or Communists are the extreme left wing group of socialists.

3. Communism. The Russian Revolution caused a crisis in the socialist parties of all countries. The left wing groups took the name

of *Communist* in imitation of the Russian Communist party, and demanded that their parties organize and work for an immediate revolution along Russian lines. The moderate elements, while favoring the policy of allowing Russia to work out her own salvation without foreign interference, opposed violent methods in their own countries. Although the communists gained temporary control of the parties in some countries, ultimately the majority remained with the moderates in every country except Russia.

4. SOCIALIST GAINS. While many socialists left their parties during the World War, because they thought their parties were not sufficiently patriotic, and many other socialists turned to communism after the war, nevertheless socialist parties in many countries gained in strength. The high taxes and the depreciated paper currencies that followed the war bore heavily on the workers, impoverishing many middle-class people who had formerly been fairly well off. Large numbers turned to socialism. During the war governments had been obliged to operate railroads and other industries. In spite of some extravagance and inefficiency, production had increased and goods had been transported at a time when large numbers of the most efficient workers were withdrawn to the battlefields. These facts were used by socialists as an argument for their cause. Socialists also used conscription as an argument for the justice of their program. "If the government can conscript human life, why should it not conscript wealth, too?"

Russia's experiment has been studied with interest. The difficulties which she has encountered in establishing a socialist commonwealth have caused socialists everywhere to realize that the millennium cannot be brought in by phrases, or by the sudden application of theories, or without much experimentation and careful consideration of practical results. It has made socialists more practical and less visionary, more interested in concrete programs and less in theories. While many have gone over to the communists, the socialist commonwealth established by democratic legal means is still the ideal of millions of workers. Today, however, fascism is a threat to the very existence of socialism. Strong socialist parties in Italy and Germany have been annihilated and Austria's is threatened.

IV. Other Labor Movements

A. Anarchism and syndicalism. Other reformers, some more radical than Marx, have studied the labor problem and offered what they believe to be solutions. Prominent among them is Proudhon, the founder of anarchism. By making the necessities of life free to all, anarchism would do away with the need for the state entirely. Although Proudhon was an extreme pacifist, declaring that his program must be put into effect by peaceful means alone, some of his followers, particularly those in Russia, have turned to violence. The ideas of anarchism are the basis for syndicalism which has made some headway among trade unions. The syndicalists will have nothing to do with politics. They advocate the formation of unions to carry on a constant warfare against capitalism through the boycott, the strike, and sabotage. Sabotage, sometimes defined as the "strike on the job," consists in doing poor work, spoiling work already done, or crippling machinery. The final overthrow of capitalism, according to this theory, is to be brought about by a general strike which will put the worker in control of all industries and abolish the state as a political organization. This revolutionary unionism gained followers in France and after 1900 spread to other countries. It has been confined mainly to small groups of unskilled workers.

B. Coöperation. Another movement, which in its attitude toward the state and its belief in freedom for the individual is similar to anarchism, is the consumers' coöperative movement. The strength of the coöperators is, however, not in their theories but in their practical accomplishments. Robert Owen's scheme (see page 266) was essentially a coöperative one, but attempts of various coöperative enterprises to put his elaborate theories into practice had failed. In 1844, some weavers of Rochdale, England, anxious to reduce their expenses in a period of hard times, collected what capital they could among themselves and started a coöperative grocery. Their plan differed in two important details from those of previous coöperative stores. Each shareholder had one vote and only one, no matter how many shares he might hold. Goods were sold at the current market prices and after operating expenses had been paid, including a fixed rate of interest on invested capital, the surplus was divided quarterly among the members, not, however, in proportion to the amount of stock held, but in proportion to the amount of goods purchased.

The Rochdale store prospered. Others sprang up in the neighborhood, organized on a similar basis, and the idea spread to neighboring counties. Soon the competition of the coöperative stores began to affect privately owned stores and pressure was brought to bear upon wholesalers not to sell to coöperators. Accordingly the coöperators started a wholesale business of their own with stock held by their retail stores and savings distributed among them according to purchases. In time the wholesale coöperatives found manufacturers, anxious to maintain friendly relations with privately owned stores, unwilling to sell to them, and so went into manufacturing. In 1929 the coöperative societies of Great Britain reported a membership of over six million with total sales equal to $1,122,328,015.

Coöperative enterprise has expanded till it owns and operates factories for the manufacture of practically every consumable commodity, as well as the operation of farms, mines, steamship lines, and Indian tea plantations. It conducts a banking and insurance business, has developed extensive housing schemes, and provides medical care, education, and recreation in various forms for its members. In spite of this wide extension of functions the idea of local control has been maintained. Each member of a coöperative society has a voice in the affairs of his society, and each society remains in full control of its own affairs.

Consumers' coöperation has spread until there is hardly a civilized country without a coöperative movement. It is especially strong in the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Russia. In Belgium the social side of the movement has been particularly developed. *Maisons du peuple* (People's Houses), located in every large town throughout the country, are the centers of social life in which Belgian workers provide themselves with cafés, theaters, playgrounds, gymnasiums, health centers, day nurseries, and social clubs, owned and controlled by the people who use them.

While the concrete accomplishments of the coöperative movement rather than its theories have attracted the workers, it is by no means merely a plan for saving money on groceries and clothes. Although coöperators do not believe in the class struggle and insist that man's function as a consumer is more important than his function as a producer, like the socialists, they look forward to the overthrow of the capitalist system. For it they would substitute the coöperative commonwealth, to be brought about not through politics but by the gradual extension of voluntary coöperative enterprise until all industries are owned and operated by coöperators. These self-governing coöperative associations would provide their members not only with the services now provided by capitalistic institutions but also with many of those now provided by the state, thus reducing the state to an insignificant position.

OROC

READING ROOM IN A WORKERS' CLUB

This club at Yuzovka, a center of the Russian steel industry, is similar to clubs carried on by coöperative organizations in many sections of Europe.

C. Social Catholicism. Socialism does not concern itself with religion and its apologists declare that there is nothing in its doctrines that should interfere with anyone's religion, be he Christian, Jew, or atheist. The irreligious attitude of many prominent socialists, however, and the charge made by others that the Christian church tries to make men submit to bad conditions in this world with the promise of happiness in the next, has brought about the feeling among many devout Christians that socialism is definitely contrary to the teachings of the church. Many Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, believe that the socialist doctrine of the class struggle is antichristian, and regard the various schools of socialist thought as essentially irreligious; the attitude of the socialist government in Russia toward the churches and clergy has tended to confirm this belief. Realizing at the same time the evils and injustices of the existing economic régime, Christians have at various times attempted to bring about a reconciliation between socialism and Christianity.

The name Social Catholicism is given to the efforts of Catholic clergy and laymen in this field. Social Catholicism received a good impetus in 1891 when Pope Leo XIII issued a famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum,* dealing with the condition of the working class, in which he strongly advocated the promotion of workingmen's associations. In 1931 Pope Pius XI, celebrating the fortieth anniversary of this pronouncement, issued an encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno,* in which he reaffirmed the program of action of Pope Leo and even went beyond it. Pope Pius XI condemned left-wing socialism or communism in no uncertain terms, but remarked that present-day right-wing, or moderate, socialism advocated programs which "often strikingly approach the just demands of Christian social reform." One of the most important and advanced principles of labor action endorsed by Pope Pius XI was that wage earners should become "sharers in some sort in the ownership or the management or the profits." This strong statement of the pope and the conversion of a large part of the clergy, who have a powerful influence over great masses of workers both in city and country, to a program of radical social reform seems destined to be of great influence on the labor movement as a whole. Various Protestant sects have also adopted an advanced program of economic and social reforms.

V. Social Legislation

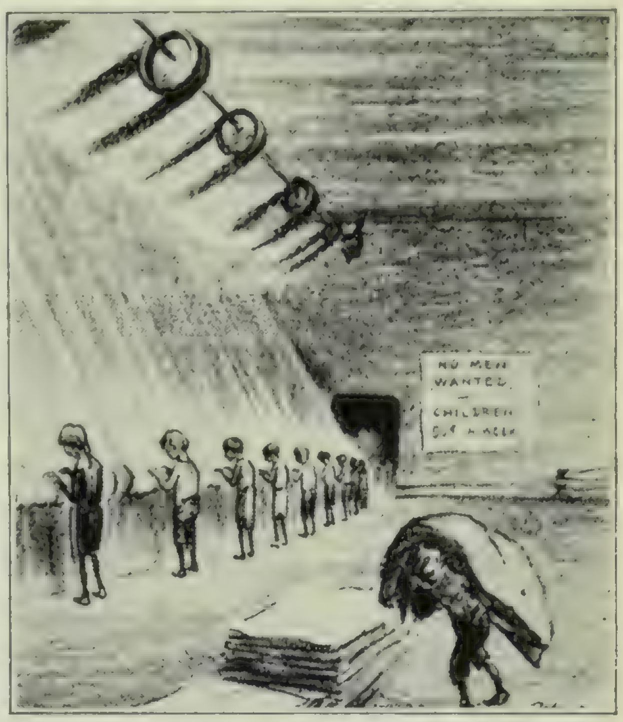
A. Labor laws. The bad conditions among the workers which led to the organization of trade unions also led to the attempt to improve the condition of the workers through legislation. Although the condition of the workers is still far from ideal, although poverty, unnecessary disease, and hard and disagreeable work are still the lot of large portions of the world's population, no one can doubt that conditions have been improved.

Labor organizations, both economic and political, have had a large share in the passage of labor legislation, but labor has found many allies in its struggle for better conditions through legislation. A number of people in every country, commonly called "humanitarians," appalled by the misery of the workers and shocked by the great inequalities of wealth, have worked valiantly for reforms both within the government and outside. Many statesmen realize that the strength of a nation in the last analysis depends upon the strength of its workers, and that the nation which permits its children to grow up undernourished and uneducated, and its mothers to be weakened by overwork, is paving the way for its own downfall. Such men have worked for labor laws as a matter of patriotism. Finally, many employers, coming to realize that healthy and contented workers produce more than those who are underpaid and dissatisfied, have welcomed labor laws as a matter of good business and common justice.

In spite of the coöperation of these various groups, the path of labor legislation has not been a smooth one. Improvements have come a step at a time, every advance being fought by vested interests which saw profits threatened. Ignorance and prejudice have been appealed to by every possible argument, not the least of which was that the worker, by submitting to laws to improve his condition, was sacrificing his liberty.

1. Labor legislation in England. We shall not attempt to enumerate the labor laws of the various countries in any detail, but merely to outline the history of legislation in England, where the first struggles were made in this field of social betterment. The act

of 1802 for the protection of apprenticed pauper children was the first of England's long list of labor laws. This act prohibited the apprenticing of children under nine years of age, limited the labor of apprentices to twelve hours per day, forbade night work, and required that factories should be properly ventilated and whitewashed. This act did not touch the greater problem of non-apprenticed children and even its limited requirements were never well enforced. After long agitation, the law of 1819 was passed, providing regulations for the labor of all children in cotton factories. The opponents of this measure used every effort to defeat it, declaring that it was an act of kindness to permit children to work, since only by working could they avoid starvation. "All experience proves," wrote one, "that in the lower orders the deterioration of morals increases with the quantity of unemployed time of which they have the command. Thus the bill actually encourages vice—it establishes idleness by act of Parliament; it creates and encourages those practices which it pretends to discourage."



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION"

A powerful cartoon in the struggle to end child labor. The restrictions placed on child labor in the codes of fair competition under the NRA did much to end this blot on American civilization.

The act of 1819 applied to cotton factories only, but a movement was immediately started to extend it to other textile establishments. After a great deal of discussion a special parliamentary committee was established in 1832 to investigate the whole question of child labor. The report of this committee, which disclosed shocking conditions, led to the enactment of the law of 1833, known as the "Great Charter" of labor. This act, which applied to all textile establishments except silk mills, forbade the employment of children under nine years, fixed the maximum hours of children under thirteen at nine a day and of those under eighteen at twelve, prohibited night work for all persons under eighteen, and provided that all working children should be given at least two hours schooling a day. Furthermore, the law made provision for its own enforcement, a provision which had been lacking in previous laws on child labor.

The battle was by no means won by the enactment of the "Great Charter." Employers were hostile to the law and constantly tried to repeal it, contending that all such legislation was unsound. It was only by constant agitation on the part of labor leaders and friends of labor that the law was maintained and gradually extended. The history of English labor legislation is a history of progress, slow and halting, but still progress. Only a few milestones need be mentioned. By the Mines Act of 1842 the work of women and girls and of boys under ten was prohibited in mines. The Factory Consolidation Act of 1878 consolidated the various laws, removing discrepancies and strengthening methods of enforcement. Further consolidations of existing laws took place in 1891 and 1901.

At the present time children under the age of fourteen are not allowed to be employed in any factory or workshop, and a certificate of physical fitness is required of children under sixteen. A maximum of ten hours a day is allowed for young persons between fourteen and eighteen and for women in textile and most other establishments, although in many cases the actual working hours have been reduced to eight by agreements brought about by unions or by other means. With a few exceptions night work is prohibited, one day of rest per week provided, and overtime, rest periods, and other details of hours of work strictly regulated for women and young persons. Elaborate regulations are enforced for the prevention of accidents and for safeguarding the health of the workers. These health regulations apply to men as well as to women and children, but there has been no regulation of men's hours by law except in dangerous trades where unions have been able to enforce even better hours than the law provides for women and children. In 1919, at the National Industrial Conference, the British employers agreed to a practically universal maximum of forty-eight hours per week. By an act of 1919, seven hours per day below ground was fixed as a maximum for all workers in coal mines.

No attempt was made to deal with the question of wages by law until 1909, and then only in the case of sweated trades. The term "sweated trades" was used at first mainly in connection with the clothing trade, in which contractors let out the work to be done at home, usually at piecework rates. More recently the expression has been applied to any trade where wages are poor or conditions particularly bad, whether the work is done in the home or in workshops. After various committees had reported on the evils existing in certain trades, an act was passed in 1909 providing for the creation of trade boards, made up of representatives from the workers, the employers, and appointed members, in certain sweated trades such as clothing, lace making, and paper box making. These boards have power to fix minimum wages for their respective trades, both for time and piecework. In several of the trades, minimum wages have been fixed, bringing relief to groups of exploited workers.

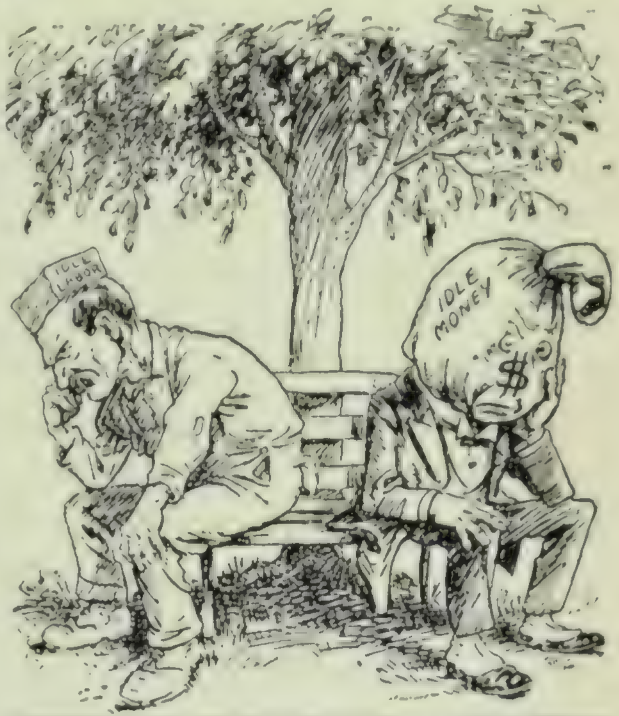
2. Labor legislation on the Continent. When the Industrial Revolution spread to the other countries of Europe, England's labor laws not only showed the way but helped to break down the prejudice against government interference with business. As a result, legislation followed the rise of factories more quickly, and with less opposition, than in England. Today every civilized country has laws regulating factory conditions and the labor of women and children. The comprehensiveness and importance of these laws are relative in most cases to the degree that the country has become industrialized. Hungary, Brazil, and Argentina alone of modern states allowed the employment of children as young as ten years in 1928. In the United States, regulation of labor conditions is left to the individual states and there is considerable variation in state laws. Congress has twice tried to limit child labor by federal law but in each case the law has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. A proposed amendment to the federal constitution permitting Congress to deal with child labor seemed to have little chance

of securing the necessary ratification by the states, but in 1933 the codes of fair competition established under the NRA provided for the elimination of the labor of children under sixteen years of age.

During and since the war many nations have passed most advanced labor legislation. This has been comparatively easy because of the strength of labor groups in parliaments and the fear of revolution. For example, since 1918 Germany, France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland have established the eight-hour day for industrial workers. As a matter of fact, because of unprecedented economic confusion following the World War, and especially since the depression that started in 1929, not only are the new laws not enforced but in many cases standards long established have been broken down. The great problem in most countries has been to prevent a complete breakdown of industry and starvation of the workers. In 1934 economic conditions were still in great confusion in every country. The labor laws and social insurance acts mentioned in this chapter refer to conditions as they were in 1914, except where later dates are specifically mentioned.

B. Social Insurance. 1. IN GERMANY. Another development, fully as important for the welfare of the workers as protective labor legislation, is social insurance, which was first started in Germany. Because of her limited natural resources, Germany long ago learned the necessity of conservation and, with the growth of industry, German leaders were quick to realize that human as well as natural resources must be preserved. Plans were made for a system of insurance against the dangers ever present to a group who are entirely dependent on their own labor.

Bismarck, great German statesman and first chancellor of the empire, while impressed with the possibilities of social insurance as a means of strengthening the nation through conserving its human resources, was even more convinced of its usefulness in combating socialism. The socialist vote in Germany had nearly quadrupled between 1871 and 1877, and Bismarck in common with all conservatives was much disturbed. In 1878 a law was enacted forbidding all associations, meetings, and publications of the socialists, but Bismarck was too shrewd a statesman not to realize that this policy of repression would, in itself, accomplish little. Consequently he encouraged social insurance as a means of "stealing the socialist's thunder." In 1884, he said, "Give the workingman the right to work as long as he is healthy, assure him care when he is sick and maintenance when he is old. Do not fear the sacrifice involved or cry out at state socialism as soon as the words 'provision for old age' are uttered. If the state will show a little more Christian solicitude for the workingman, then the socialists will sing their siren song in vain."



Adams Service

"Both: 'I Wish I Had a Job'"

The first bills introduced met with considerable opposition. The socialists opposed them because they believed that they were merely a sop designed to distract the workers from what they considered more important issues and to weaken the socialist party. Conservatives opposed them because they were "socialistic," and employers because of the expense involved. In spite of this opposition a Sickness Insurance bill, usually called "Health Insurance" in other countries, was finally passed and went into effect in 1884; an Accident Insurance bill went into effect in 1885; and an Old-Age and Invalidity bill in 1891. All these bills were amended as experience showed the need, and in 1911 were extended and consolidated into one great Workmen's Insurance Code of nearly two thousand articles, covering every phase of social insurance in the empire.

Under the law of 1911 there is compulsory insurance for practically all wage earners against sickness, accident, invalidity (disability), and old age. Every worker whose wages are lower than the equivalent of $500 a year is compelled to become a member of a sickness insurance society and to contribute a small percentage of his wages to its insurance fund. In most cases the workers' contributions make up two-thirds of the whole. The other third is contributed by the employers. The societies are administered, under government supervision, by boards made up of equal numbers of employers and employees. In case of sickness the insured receives free medical and surgical treatment and one-half of his average wages. In case of death, burial expenses are paid from the fund.

Accident insurance funds are made up entirely by employers organized into associations and are administered by the employers subject to law and under government supervision. All workers receiving wages less than the equivalent of $1,200 a year are required to be insured. In case of accident resulting in total disability, the insured receives two-thirds of his average annual earnings as a pension. Proportionate amounts are paid in cases of partial disability. In case of death resulting from an accident, dependents of the insured receive pensions of from 20 to 60 per cent of the annual earnings of the insured.

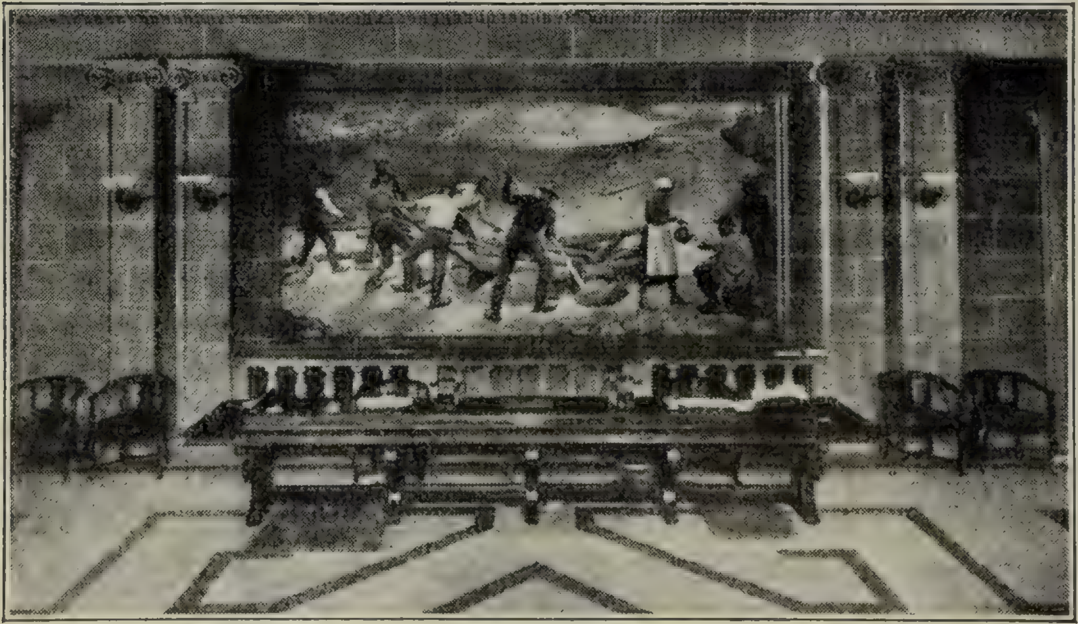
All wage earners and many low-salaried employees are also required to contribute to the old-age and invalidity insurance fund. An amount equal to the contributions of the workers is contributed by employers and the government also helps support the fund. Administration of this fund is entirely in the hands of government officials. For complete disability, from a cause other than an industrial accident, the insured receives an annuity equal to two-thirds of his average earnings. Persons over sixty-five years of age receive pensions varying according to the amount of their contributions.

2. In other countries. When Germany started her system of social insurance the statesmen of other countries doubted its efficacy and in many cases actively disapproved the program. It was looked upon as a dangerous experiment in state socialism. The workers would be pauperized, it was claimed, losing all initiative and incentive for thrift if the state safeguarded them against accident, sickness, and poverty in old age. When, however, Germany's experiment was seen to result in greater efficiency and contentment

of the workers at a relatively small cost to the state, prejudice gradually gave way and other nations followed in Germany's footsteps. Today every European country in which the Industrial Revolution has progressed to any extent has some system of social insurance. While systems of social insurance vary widely as to details, those of all countries follow the main lines of the German system—a compulsory system with a fund built up by contributions from workers, employers, and the government, administered by the government or under government supervision, and paying allowances to those among the insured who suffer from accident, sickness, or old age.

Before the World War several countries had turned their attention to providing insurance against one other menace to the propertyless worker—unemployment. The great amount of unemployment that has existed since the war has focused interest on this problem, and the effects of unemployment insurance were widely discussed in the depression which began in 1929. Today compulsory systems of unemployment insurance exist in ten countries which, together with voluntary systems and those conducted by trade unions, provide unemployment insurance for nearly fifty million workers. The English system, to which those of most other countries are similar, provides for a nation-wide system of labor exchanges (employment offices conducted by the government) which exchange information as to available positions and men wanting work in different parts of the country. A fund is made up by contributions from employers, workers, and the government. A person for whom the government labor exchanges is unable to provide work receives an allowance varying according to his age and the number of persons dependent on him. Because of the great amount of unemployment in England, however, the government has for several years had to make up large deficits in the unemployment funds. Such payments, entirely out of government funds, are called "doles."

C. International action. One of the main arguments against the adoption of protective labor legislation was that it would increase costs so that manufacturers in a country which had labor laws would be unable to compete with those in countries which had none. Accordingly there early developed a demand that labor laws should be the result of international agreements, thereby putting all nations on the same basis. Switzerland was the first government to propose a conference for consideration of the question, but the first conference assembled at Berlin in 1890 on invitation of the German emperor. After long discussion the Berlin Conference finally adjourned without actually doing anything. However, the interest that had been aroused in the idea bore fruit in the formation in 1900 of the International Association for the Legal Protection of Labor. This was a private association for the study and collection of information and statistics in regard to labor legislation. It held three conferences at Berne, Switzerland, which drafted several conventions (agreements) for the protection of labor to be submitted to governments for ratification. Some of these had been ratified before the World War.



Vestibule of the International Labor Office, Geneva

The furniture and decorations in the International Labor Office have been given by different member nations. The furniture shown is the gift of the Union of South Africa; the painting, the gift of Finland.

At the Versailles Peace Conference a special committee, of which Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was chairman, was appointed to draft the labor sections of the treaty. The treaty, as finally adopted, contained a "Magna Carta" for labor consisting of principles recommended for adoption by all nations. It also provided for an International Labor Organization consisting of the International Labor Office, with headquarters at Geneva, and the International Labor Conference. The function of the International Labor Office is to collect and distribute information in regard to labor legislation and to prepare programs for the conferences. To these conferences each member has the right to send four delegates—two representing the government, one the employers, and one labor. The decisions of the conference are expressed in recommendations to the member governments or in conventions which go into effect upon ratification by the government concerned. Members pledged themselves to carry out a convention once it was ratified.

The first conference, held in Washington in 1919, adopted several recommendations and conventions, among the more important of them being the universal eight-hour day in industry, the prohibition of night work for women and children, and the establishment of government employment bureaus with a system of unemployment insurance. Since 1920, annual conferences have been held at Geneva, and various conventions, most of them supplementary to those already mentioned, have been adopted. These conventions have been ratified by several countries and only abnormal economic conditions in Europe have prevented more ratifications. The work of the International Labor Office in collecting world-wide statistics on labor and living conditions has been of great service to the cause of labor throughout the world.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain the statement that the Industrial Revolution has made the condition of the worker both worse and better.

2. There are many examples in history of workingmen opposing the introduction of labor-saving machinery for fear they might lose their jobs. Is such opposition justified?

3. Many employers in the United States oppose the closed shop

as being un-American. Do you think this opposition is well founded?

4. Discuss whether international action is better than national for the protection of labor.

5. Explain why socialism and other radical movements have always been weaker in the United States than in Europe.

6. If you were appointed economic dictator of the United States what steps would you take to prevent business depressions?

7. Show in what sense coöperation is a "revolutionary" movement.

8. In what ways is the average worker in England better off than he was one hundred years ago? What are the reasons for improvement in conditions?

9. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor have always opposed socialism and preferred to work through unions alone. Is this a wise policy? Give reasons.

10. A common argument against trade unions is that by securing the same wage scale for all workers in the same trade they reduce all to the level of the least efficient and kill ambition. Discuss this argument.

11. To what extent have Karl Marx's prophecies proved true?

12. The main argument against socialism is that without the opportunity to make large profits there would be no incentive for people to do their best. Give facts to prove or disprove this argument.

13. Many people in the United States have opposed unemployment insurance on the ground that it is degrading and demoralizing for labor to accept a "dole" from the government and have advocated that those in distress from lack of work be relieved by private charity. Do you agree with this point of view? Give reasons.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

General

Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe,* Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England,* and Ogg and Sharp are especially valuable for this chapter. Consult also economic textbooks, and the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* for recent magazine articles dealing with contemporary phases of the problems suggested.

Economic Theories

Schapiro, pp. 42-45
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 467-475
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 252-253
Van Loon, Chap. 60
Moon, pp. 8-24
Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 417-425
Chase, *A New Deal*

Trade Union Movement

Schapiro, pp. 40-41, 284-289, 348-351
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 102-106, 181-205, 625-633
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp, 485-487
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 400-457
Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 403-409
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VIII, pp. 682-696
Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*

Labor Legislation and Social Insurance

Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 185-198, 251-255, 279-287, 322-328
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 78-94, 191-215, 279-287, 322-328
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 307-319, 410-414
Cheyney, Chaps. 9, 10, 11
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 355-400, 713-748
Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 400-408, 511-520, 562-564

Socialism

Cole, pp. 423-498
Schapiro, Chap. 18, pp. 562-592. This chapter also deals with bolshevism, anarchism, and guild socialism.
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 255-274
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 396-414
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 478-505
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 457-542
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 559-586
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 257-282

- Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 425-432
- Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom*
- Laski, *Communism*
- Webb, *Decay of Capitalist Civilization*

The Coöperative Movement

- Ogg and Sharp, pp. 523-524, 733-734, 805-810
- Knight, Barnes, and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 766-769
- Sonnichsen, *Consumer's Coöperation*
- Warbasse, *Coöperative Democracy*
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, pp. 359-399

CHAPTER XIII

THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE

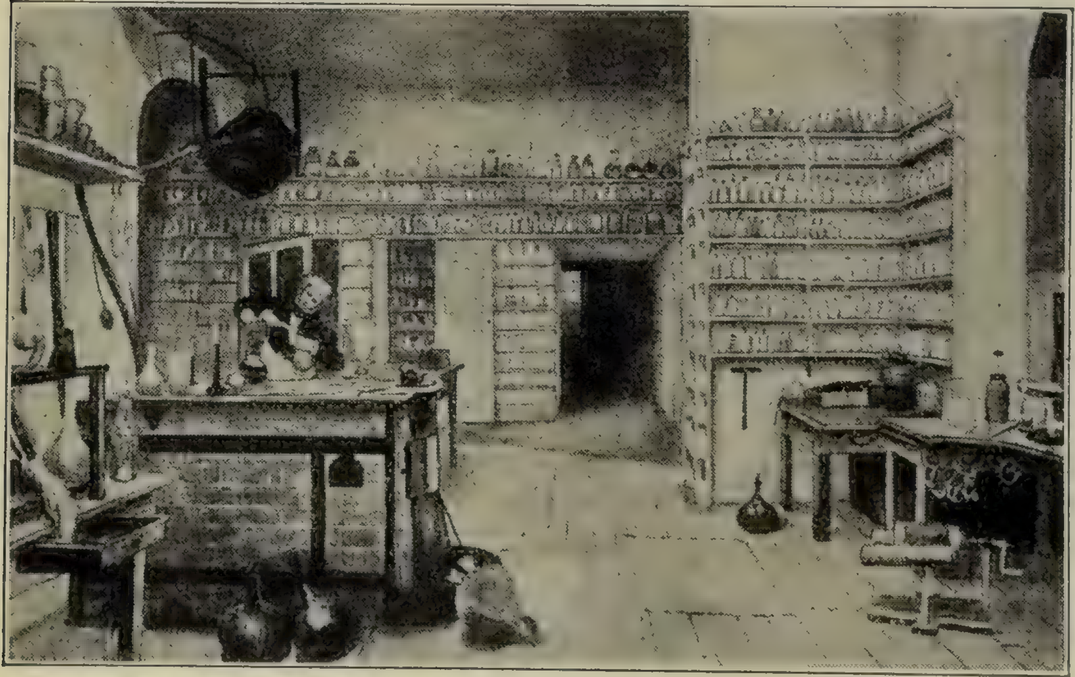
The present age is preëminently the age of science. In no other respect is the contrast between our own times and earlier times so striking as in the knowledge of the physical world and man's attitude toward it. Scientists have changed our whole way of life—our work, our play, our homes, our ideas. They have enabled us to live longer and fuller lives.

I. Relation of Pure and Applied Science

All around us we see concrete evidences of the triumphs of science, yet few of us ever stop to think of the vast amount of scientific research represented by these comforts which we accept as a matter of course. The brilliance of applied science, science which is turned to some practical use, obscures the importance of pure science, the search for natural laws without regard for their practical application. The applied scientists, the inventors, could not have accomplished their marvelous work if the pure scientists, men seeking to "gratify a noble curiosity," had not spent many weary hours in laboratories and workrooms exploring the principles of physics or chemistry or biology or mathematics.

II. The Continuity of Science

In a previous chapter we have dealt with the beginnings of modern science in the sixteenth century and its development in the seventeenth and eighteenth, a development so remarkable as to justify the term the "scientific revolution." (See pages 104-112.) We have noted how a wider knowledge concerning science produced a critical spirit toward social and political institutions which aided materially in the overthrow of the Old Régime. The scientific developments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been even more remarkable, particularly in the field of applied science. The work of the past hundred years has been, of course, based on that of previous centuries. In the words of Newton, modern scientists have been able to see farther than earlier ones because they were "standing on the shoulders of giants." This does not mean that all the beliefs of the eighteenth century are accepted today. Many of them have been supplemented, modified, or discarded altogether. To understand this we must keep in mind the distinction between theory and fact.

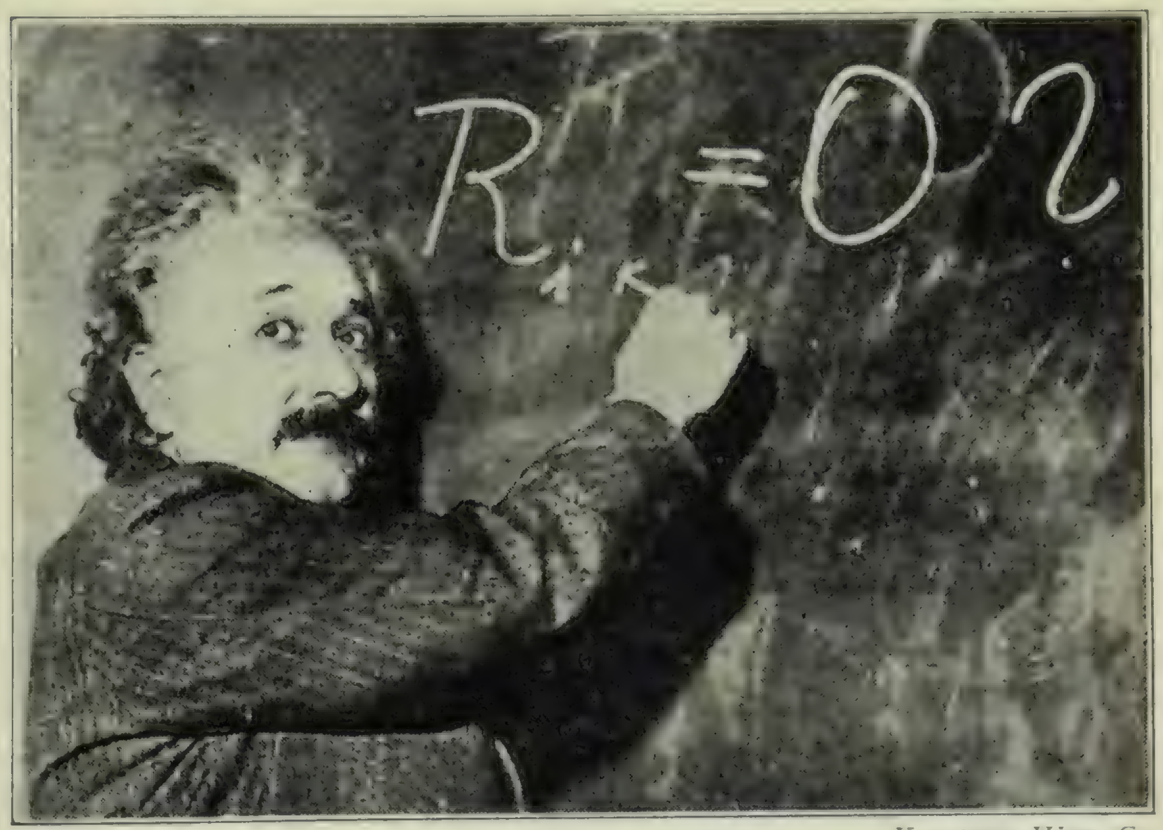


Fisher Scientific Co.

DR. FARADAY (1791-1867) AT WORK IN HIS LABORATORY

Compare the equipment and general appearance of Faraday's laboratory with that illustrated on page 306.

A scientist forms a theory to explain some observed phenomenon of nature. He then tests it by experiment, accepting it only if it meets all possible tests. After a theory has been well established by experiment the scientist applies it and assumes that what has happened in a great number of cases will always continue to happen under the same conditions. Occasionally, however, new facts are discovered which make it necessary to supplement or discard a theory. For example, Newton, in the seventeenth century, formulated what was known as the corpuscular theory of light. During the nineteenth century, owing to the work of several experimenters, this theory was discarded and supplanted by the wave theory of light. In recent years wide acceptance is given to the electromagnetic theory of light. Without attempting to describe these theories here we may at least see how one theory is rejected and another formulated to take its place.



Keystone View Co.

DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN

Dr. Einstein's recently developed theory of relativity challenges many theories of physics which have been accepted as true ever since the time of Newton.

It must be remembered that the magnetic theory of light is considered but a theory, not a fact, and that—like its predecessors—it, too, may have to be abandoned later because of new discoveries. The scientific world has many such theories which furnish excellent foundations for further work, not infrequently leading to the discovery of new sets of facts. A theory, then, even though it may have to be amended or even abandoned, may be extremely helpful—or, to use the phrase of Sir Oliver Lodge, may be "partially and usefully true." Scientists always keep the distinction between fact and theory in mind. Not so the popularizers of scientific discoveries, who sometimes create considerable misunderstanding by announcing as fact that which the scientist puts forward merely as a possible explanation of facts. This confusion has frequently led to severe and bitter criticism and condemnation of the scientist.

III. Science Transforming Modern Life

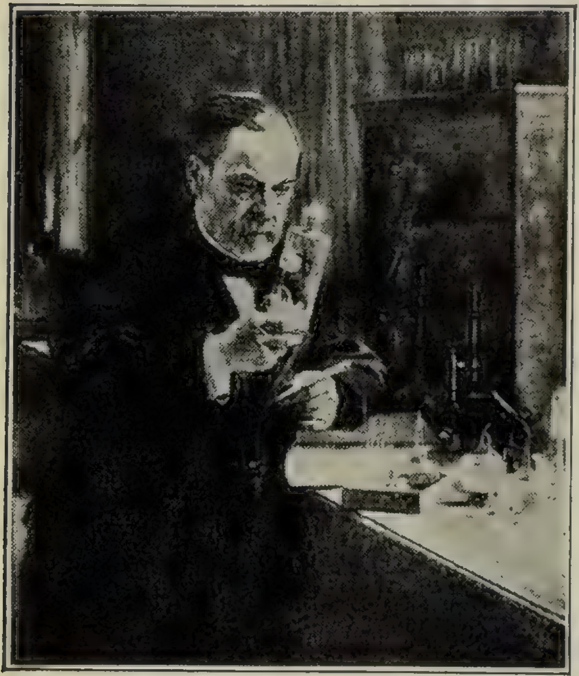
We have already noted the changes brought about by science in industry, in transportation and communication, and in agriculture. (See pages 212, 219, 237.) In a later chapter we shall see how science has transformed modern warfare. It would take several volumes to give an adequate account of the accomplishments of science in other fields; we can only attempt to suggest some of the more obvious ways in which it has influenced and is still influencing our everyday life.

A. Education. In the schools science has affected both curriculum and method. It is only in the last few decades that natural science has been taught at all in secondary schools or to any extent in colleges. Today some knowledge of natural science is being recognized as essential to a well-rounded education. The large number of teachers' colleges and schools of education shows the attempt, at least, to apply scientific methods to education. Scientific discoveries such as moving pictures and the radio are affecting educational methods and offering new means of acquiring knowledge outside the school.

B. Home life. One of the easiest ways for us to realize how science has transformed modern life is to compare our own homes with those of our grandparents. One hundred years ago the houses of even the wealthiest people were heated by fireplaces or crude stoves and lighted by homemade tallow candles; water was carried in from a well in the yard; bathrooms were unknown; all washing, ironing, and cleaning was done by hand; practically all the food that the family ate was produced in the neighborhood and prepared in the home; most of the clothes for the entire family were made at home and sewed by hand. Even the kerosene lamp and the kerosene stove were unknown. Today the houses of people of ordinary means have steam or hot-water heat produced by coal, gas, or oil-burning furnaces controlled by an automatic electric thermostat; they have electric lights, gas or electric ranges for cooking, and bathrooms and kitchens supplied with hot and cold water. Sewing machines, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, floor polishers, refrigerators, flatirons, toasters, percolators, and waffle irons are but a few of the electrical devices for making the work of the modern housewife easier. Practically all of the work of making clothes and much of that of preparing food, particularly baking and canning, is done outside the home. In spite of the laments of those who remember the good old days of homemade bread and pie, our diet is undoubtedly more varied and more nourishing than was that of our grandmothers. Scientists have taught us food values and the importance of a balanced diet; new methods of transportation bring the products of all the world to our door at all times of the year; Burbank and other botanists have developed many new food plants.

C. Health. 1. THE CELL THEORY. In no field has greater progress been made in the last century than in the prevention and cure of disease. This has been largely due to discoveries in biology, and basic to most of these has been the cell theory. This theory, developed originally in Germany by Schleiden and Schwann about 1840, is that the tissues of plants and animals are composed of minute bodies, *cells,* made up of a jellylike substance called *protoplasm* (from Greek words meaning "first form"). All life is believed to have its beginning in this protoplasm. The bodies of the smallest plants consist of a single cell, while larger ones have innumerable cells. Besides its power of growth, a cell has the power to divide itself into two parts, each of which grows to the size of the original, thus producing a complex body of many cells.

Before the acceptance of this theory and for some time afterward it was believed that living organisms might be generated spontaneously; that is, that life might develop from dead matter, as, for example, when maggots appear on decaying meat. But beginning in 1860 the Frenchman Pasteur began a series of epoch-making experiments which completely overthrew the theory of spontaneous generation and it became definitely established that only a living cell can produce a cell.



Science Service

Louis Pasteur (1822-1895)

Pasteur was one of the world's greatest benefactors. His scientific researches have probably saved more lives and wealth than all the wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have destroyed.

2. The germ theory of disease. Louis Pasteur was born in France in 1822. He early became interested in the natural sciences, particularly chemistry and physics, and during his long career was professor of chemistry in various French universities. In 1885 he became Director of the Pasteur Institute, founded and named in his honor, a post he held until his death in 1895. His studies demonstrated that the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter was caused by bacteria. Bacteria are single-celled plants. The term "germs" is commonly used as synonymous with bacteria, but strictly speaking bacteria are plants while germs may be either plants or animals. Bacteria increase and multiply at an enormous rate by the method of dividing into two similar parts. Contrary to popular belief, most bacteria do good, or at least are harmless; there are only a few kinds which cause disease. Among the diseases caused by bacteria or germs may be mentioned leprosy, typhoid fever, cholera, tuberculosis, influenza, pneumonia, diphtheria, scarlet fever, tetanus, and probably measles and mumps. Besides being of incalculable value to agriculture and making possible the great canning industry,

Pasteur's work laid the foundation for the germ theory of disease.

An important contribution to this theory was the discovery of Metchnikoff, a Russian, that the white corpuscles in the blood destroy many of the germs that are introduced into the body. Much experimental work has been done, therefore, to stimulate the glands which produce the white corpuscles. It was also discovered that the body develops antitoxins to fight the toxins (poisons) formed by the germs. So hundreds of scientists at the Pasteur Institute and other great scientific laboratories have been working, first, to isolate the particular germ that causes a disease, and then to develop an antitoxin which may be injected into the body to aid in the struggle against it. Pasteur developed antitoxins for various animal diseases and for hydrophobia. Koch, a German, in 1880 discovered the germ which causes tuberculosis, but an effective antitoxin for it has not yet been developed. Great progress has been made in developing antitoxins for other diseases, notably for diphtheria and scarlet fever. Toxin-antitoxins which, when injected into the body of a healthy person, give a permanent immunity from the disease are also being developed.

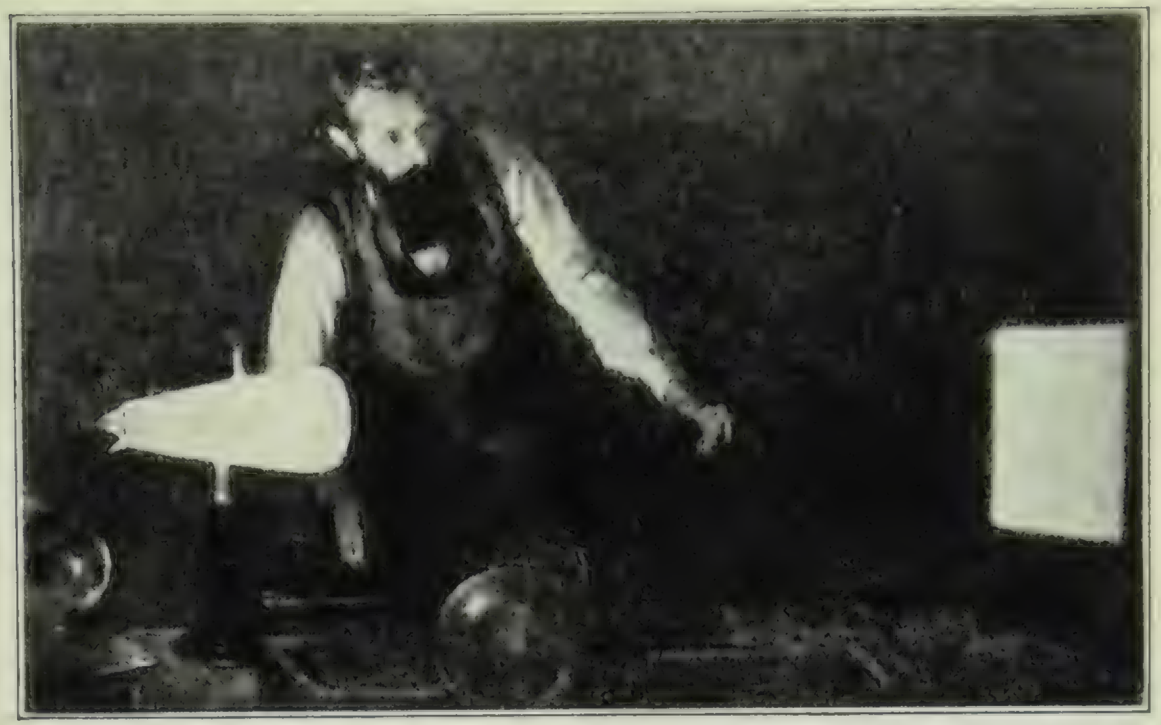
Another similar method of combating germ diseases is vaccination. It is known that when a person has a certain disease, such as measles, he builds up an immunity to it so that he ordinarily does not have it a second time. Vaccination consists in giving a mild form of the disease by the injection of weak doses of the toxin and thus building up an immunity. Vaccination for smallpox had been practiced for years before Pasteur's researches showed why it was effective. English farmhands had noticed that those who had been afflicted with a mild disease known as cowpox did not catch smallpox even in great epidemics. In 1796 Dr. Edward Jenner performed the first vaccination, inoculating a man with cowpox and demonstrating that it made him immune to smallpox. Thanks to his discovery smallpox has become a rare disease. Vaccination for typhoid fever and hydrophobia has also proved successful.

3. Surgery. The germ theory has also shown why antiseptic surgery is important. Until the middle of the nineteenth century operations were much more dangerous than they are today because the

wound made by the surgeon's knife did not heal rapidly. Pus would form in the wound, blood poisoning might develop or possibly gangrene, erysipelas, or lockjaw. Sixty per cent of all abdominal operations ended fatally. Before Pasteur's discoveries showed that bacteria caused these fatal complications, Joseph Lister had reduced the number of surgical wounds that developed pus and blood poisoning by keeping his instruments and all material involved in the operation clean. In addition to this scrupulous cleanliness he used antiseptics. Pasteur's researches provided the explanation as to why Lister's operations were so successful. Today no unsterilized instrument, gauze, or hand touches the clean wound made by the surgeon's knife. Jenner in discovering vaccination, Lister in the use and practice of antiseptics, Pasteur in explaining the nature of bacteria, and finally Warren in developing anesthetics, have made possible the miracles of modern surgery.

In 1845, Dr. Warren of the Massachusetts General Hospital performed a major surgical operation in which ether was used to render the patient unconscious and insensitive to pain. Since then chloroform, cocaine, and other agents have been used to produce anesthesia. The modern surgeon is able to open the head or abdomen and prolong an operation two or three hours. He can thus give relief in a large number of cases that formerly would have proved fatal. Naturally, many improvements in the administration of chloroform and ether have been made since the time of Warren; in recent times local anesthesia has been developed, that is, sensibility of the part of the body to be operated on is destroyed but the patient remains conscious throughout.

Another discovery which has proved of immense value in surgery as well as in other fields is the X-ray. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Professor Röntgen performed an experiment of far-reaching importance. This involved the passage of electricity through a vacuum tube which was enclosed within a shield of black cardboard. When Röntgen passed an electric discharge through the hidden tube, he observed that rays escaped which had a remarkable power of penetration. Many substances such as wood and leather were transparent to these new rays. Röntgen did not know what they were and was unable to explain them; he therefore named them after the algebraic symbol for the unknown, X-rays.



Parke, Davis and Co.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE X-RAY

While studying invisible rays at the University of Würzburg in 1895 Wilhelm Konrad Röntgen discovered what he christened the X-ray.

The X-ray photograph is of incalculable aid to the physician. It determines the location of foreign particles in the body; it determines the exact nature and place of fractures; it discloses the action of the heart and stomach and the formation of abscesses or cancerous growths.

4. PREVENTIVE MEDICINE. Nothing is more important in the general improvement of health than the increased attention given to the prevention of disease. We are more and more coming to realize the fundamental truth of the old adage that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Outstanding examples are the work done by the commission headed by Dr. Walter Reed in stamping out yellow fever in Cuba and that of Surgeon-General Gorgas in ridding the infested Panama Canal Zone of the dread malarial fever.

Yellow fever was the curse of the tropics. Every year it killed thousands. Aroused by the fact that in the Spanish-American War the terrible "yellow jack" had killed more American soldiers than had Spanish bullets, in 1900 the United States government sent Dr. Walter Reed, a major in the medical corps of the army, to Havana to investigate the causes of this dread disease. After having tried unsuccessfully to isolate the germ which caused the disease, Dr. Reed hit upon the theory that the germ was carried by a certain species of mosquito. To prove this theory it was necessary to experiment with human beings since animals never had the disease. Some of Reed's assistants and several others volunteered. One group slept in rooms, carefully screened against mosquitoes, in beds and bedclothes in which yellow-fever patients had died; another group, carefully isolated from all other sources of infection, allowed themselves to be bitten by mosquitoes which had previously bitten yellow-fever patients. None of the first group caught the fever, all of the second group did—one, Dr. Jesse Lazear, died; the others recovered. Today, where the breeding places of the yellow-fever-carrying mosquito have been destroyed, yellow fever is extinct—thanks to Walter Reed and his heroic helpers.

American Museum of Natural History

John R. Kissinger

Kissinger was the first army volunteer to allow himself to be bitten by Aëdes mosquitoes infected with yellow fever germs. He recovered but was permanently disabled as the result of his heroism. He receives a pension from the government and was given a gold medal by Congress in 1929.

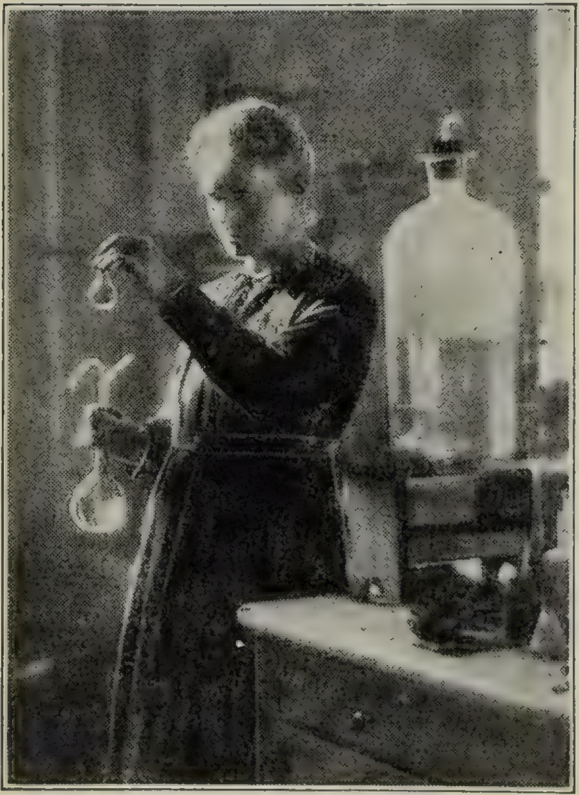
Swamps are drained, rivers and lakes examined, streets cleaned, garbage and refuse disposed of, those afflicted with contagious diseases quarantined or isolated, dairy farms inspected, houses fumigated, publicity campaigns carried on by municipal and state boards of health, pamphlets describing the way to avoid certain diseases circulated, spitting forbidden, cleanliness insisted on—all in a colossal effort to prevent the spread of disease. Despite the evident good that comes to all the world in the saving of human lives, our local, state, and national governments are reluctant to spend the large sums of money needed to carry on the work of investigation. Until governments realize the wisdom of expending money from the public treasury for the development of the arts of peace and the promotion of human comfort and welfare, it will be necessary for the world to depend on the generosity of the rich to endow laboratory, museum, and hospital.

D. Ideas of the universe and of life. 1. THE VASTNESS OF THE UNIVERSE. Even more important than the concrete changes which science has made in our ways of living are the changes which it has brought about in our ideas. We no longer believe that the earth is the center of the universe about which the sun and stars revolve, but know that it is a mere speck in almost limitless space. Astronomers tell us that our solar system—the sun and its planets, of which the earth is one—is merely one of millions, each star being a sun. Light from the nearest star, traveling at the rate of one hundred and eighty thousand miles per second, takes four years to reach the earth; the most distant stars are millions of light years from the earth.

2. THE SMALLNESS OF THE ATOM. From the infinitely large universe of the astronomers the physicists and chemists take us to one that is infinitely small. For some time after Dalton developed the atomic theory it was believed that the atom was the smallest particle of matter in existence. A teaspoon will hold several quintillion atoms. In 1897 Madame Curie, a Polish woman, and her French husband discovered radium and found that it gave off rays which were not atoms but particles infinitely smaller than atoms. Other scientists investigated the structure of the atom and have arrived at the theory that each atom of matter is in itself a miniature solar system. Each has a nucleus or center with particles revolving around it as planets revolve about the sun, sometimes at the speed of several thousand miles per second. If this theory is true, and it is gen-

erally accepted by scientists, every stone or piece of metal, however solid and motionless it seems, is in reality a mass of seething activity.

In the heavy atoms some of the particles break away in the course of their rapid revolutions. This disintegration of the radium atom, as the breaking away of particles is called, causes the radium rays which have been used in the treatment of cancer. In the disintegration of the atom enormous energy is let loose; radium will give out enough heat every hour to raise its own weight of water from the freezing point to the boiling point. Professor Curie estimated that the energy stored up in one gram of radium is sufficient to lift a weight of five hundred tons to a height of one mile. It is estimated that it takes twenty-five hundred years for a quantity of radium to disintegrate entirely.



William Thompson

MADAME MARIE CURIE

Madame Curie and her husband were codiscoverers of radium. Her remarkable achievements furnish an excellent example of the way in which economic changes have affected women's spheres of interest and activity.

3. THE AGE OF THE EARTH. At the time of the Congress of Vienna nearly everyone believed with Archbishop Usher of England that the earth had been created in the month of October, 4004 B.C. That no one believes this today is largely due to the work of the Englishman, Sir Charles Lyell. In his *Principles of Geology,* published in 1830, he elaborated the theory that the earth had come to have its present form as a result of causes that are still at work. Vegetation is still producing future coal beds, igneous rocks are still in process of formation, upheavals and shiftings of the earth's crust are still rearranging the various strata, rivers and tides are still

changing the contours of continents, fossils are still being preserved in hardening rocks. Some fifty years before, Buffon, the great French naturalist, had estimated that the earth was probably some fifty or seventy-five thousand years old. To this theory Lyell brought proof and even suggested that Buffon's estimate was not great enough. Subsequent geologists have accepted and revised these conclusions. While there is no universal agreement among them concerning the exact age of the earth, they all agree that the earth is at least millions of years old.

4. ARCHEOLOGY. The geologists in examining, naming, and placing in their appropriate order of formation the various rock strata gave great impetus to the study of fossils. Fossils are the bodies or parts of bodies, such as bones or shells, of animals or vegetable matter that have become embedded and so preserved in various strata as they gradually hardened. By examining the nature of the rock strata in which they are found the student of fossils can estimate the time at which these various animals lived. Consequently they are of vast importance in revealing the ancient history of the earth.

Alongside of the remains of men and animals found in the more recent strata, there have been found stone, copper, and bronze tools and weapons, pieces of pottery, fragments of clothing, and other evidences of intelligent life. This has given origin to a new science, archeology, which concerns itself with these evidences of man's early life upon the globe. The archeologists have pushed back further and further our knowledge of man's history. Their studies not only reveal the intimate details of the life of primitive and uncivilized man, but they have also enabled us to read more accurately the ancient history of the Egyptians and Greeks. Some fifty years ago Egyptian history could be traced back to about 2500 B.C.; now we know that Egypt was the scene of a flourishing civilization as early as 5000 B.C. The most famous excavations during the nineteenth century were probably those of the German Schliemann near the site of ancient Troy, at Cnossus in Crete, and at Mycenae and Tiryns in Greece. In the present century archeologists have extended their researches to the North and South American continents. They are giving us some knowledge of the character of the Western Hemisphere as it was before the coming of Columbus. Similar expeditions have been undertaken in Asia and the interior of Africa. Archeology and its allied science, anthropology, are in their infancy and bid fair to add more and more to our knowledge of the world.

5. THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION. (*a*) *Darwin.* Even more important than the discoveries of the geologists and archeologists in revising our ideas of the universe were those of the evolutionists led by Charles Darwin. The theory that all forms of life developed by gradual modification from earlier and simpler forms, which is the essence of evolution, had been suggested as early as the fifth century by the famous Catholic theologian St. Augustine and, indeed, can be traced in the writings of the ancient Greeks. St. Augustine suggested that God had created all things at the instant of creation, but some of them only "potentially"; that is, they did not actually appear at the instant of creation, but only when in the fullness of time God had intended that they should appear through the slow operation of natural causes. Later scientists suggested evolution as an explanation of certain facts in nature, but it was left to Darwin to give a detailed and explicit explanation of evolution, supported by a wealth of material. It was his fortune to focus the attention of the public on the subject and hence we have the prevalent but erroneous idea that Darwinism and evolution are identical.

Charles Darwin was born in 1809. His father and grandfather were naturalists; indeed, his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, had warmly supported the ideas of Buffon. It is not surprising, then, that the grandson became interested in the same subject. After studying medicine at Edinburgh, only to find it distasteful, he went to Cambridge with the idea of becoming a clergyman. Shortly after graduation he accepted an opportunity to sail as a naturalist on *The Beagle* for a voyage to survey the coasts of South America and the Pacific islands. During the five years of the voyage the youthful naturalist observed the plant and animal life of the places visited, made copious notes, collected specimens. He had as yet no theory concerning the origin of species, but under the spell of Lyell's *Principles of Geology* and Malthus' *Essay on Population* he continued his studies, and in reconsidering the vast amount of facts he had accumulated on his voyage the theory of natural selection gradually took shape in his mind. As early as 1846 he made some notes on the origin of species which, however, he did not publish. In 1858, a younger naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace, afterward the devoted friend of Darwin and ardent champion of his cause, while sick with fever in one of the East Indies, thought out the theory of natural selection, put his ideas on paper, and mailed them to Darwin. Darwin was amazed to find the thoughts and even the terminology of Wallace coinciding in almost every detail with his. He decided to publish simultaneously his own and Wallace's views. The next year, 1859, he put forth his epoch-making book, probably the most important single book published in the nineteenth century, *The Origin of Species.*

We cannot go into a detailed study of the vast field of discussion that was thus launched and is still continuing. However, the fundamentals of Darwin's theory are few and simple. They are that all the diverse and complex forms of plant and animal life have *evolved* from original simple forms or perhaps from one simple form. No two of the offspring of any simple plant or animal are exactly alike; they *vary* in minute details. These slightly differing types as they spread over the face of the earth come in contact with climatic and other conditions that vary widely. In each environment the few *best fitted* to that environment—by their ability to resist heat or cold, drought or dampness, by their ability to find food, by their ability to resist the attacks of stronger types—*survive;* the others die. The survivors reproduce offspring, some of which have in a slightly stronger form the characteristics which enabled their parents to survive. Those whom nature has thus favored survive and breed; their less fit brothers and sisters die. Although the variations in each generation are almost imperceptible, when the process is repeated over countless years—the fittest surviving and breeding, the less fit dying off—ultimately the descendants are so different from the original types that new species are evolved.

(*b*) *Modifications of Darwin's theory.* For a quarter of a century Darwin's natural selection theory, as it is called, swept the field. But as time wore on and numerous biologists began to examine it closely and check up its details with newly observed and discovered phenomena, the theory was changed and modified in a number of respects. One important modification was made by De Vries, a Dutch naturalist, who contributed the theory that at times freaks or "sports" of nature suddenly come into existence without any evident explanation, thus forming new species. Probably the greatest modification of Darwin's theory comes as a result of our increased knowledge of heredity. Gregor Mendel, the prelate of a Roman Catholic monastery in Austria, spent a large part of his life in experimenting with the breeding of plants and animals. Although the Mendelian laws were originally published by Mendel himself in the sixties of the last century, they were not generally known until they were rediscovered about 1900. Bateson, an English biologist, maintains that the findings of Mendel render untenable the natural selection theory of Darwin, who offered no experimental evidence of the mechanics of evolution.

General Electric Co.

A Modern Research Laboratory

It is work of the type done here that fosters and furthers the scientific habit of mind.

The details of evolution, the question of how and why it comes about, are still matters for investigation. Not all biologists agree that all the various species have been evolved from a single cell; some incline to this view but many others believe that the various forms of life have developed from several separate original forms. While there is disagreement as to how evolution occurred, the overwhelming weight of all scientific opinion is that it did occur.

(*c*) *Influence of evolutionary theory.* The theory of evolution has had important effects on many fields of thought. Darwin and Wallace, most ably assisted by Huxley and Spencer in England, Asa Gray in America, Haeckel in Germany, and countless others, succeeded in arousing the interest of the general public in this scientific dispute as to the nature and proof of evolution. The general idea of evolution readily engaged the interest and fancy of man. The imagination is carried away with the thought of slow, gradual, but sure progress to something better and grander. All science seemed to indicate change, growth, development, progress. Lyell had demonstrated that the earth had gradually achieved its present form. Now Darwin and his successors urged the theory that life in its multiple and complex forms also had been gradually evolved. It was not long before the idea of evolution was applied to every department of human thought and action. Man's ideas, his moral principles, his religion, were all interpreted as subject to the general principle of evolution. Everything was in a state of flux, changing, progressing, developing. Even truth itself was supposed to evolve and change; one school of philosophy, the Pragmatists, maintained that truth is anything which man at any time may find to be helpful or workable. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) put forth a series of volumes on education, ethics, and sociology in which he proposed to show that the state, the accepted moral code, everything, had gradually evolved. This he called his Synthetic Philosophy, and his writings have had a profound influence in shaping many of the ideas on these subjects that are still current. Most students today accept the idea that our social, economic and political institutions have evolved from the past. That is why history, the story of this evolution, is important.

IV. The Scientific Attitude of Mind

We like to think that our present civilization is the highest that man has ever attained. So many different things go to make up what is called "civilization" that no one can say whether present-day civilization surpasses or even equals that of Athens in the day of Pericles, that of Rome in the day of Augustus, or that of the Italian cities in the days of Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci. What distinguishes modern civilization and makes it superior in many ways to that of any earlier period, is the work of scientists. Why has greater progress been made in science than in other fields? Many able men have devoted themselves to scientific study, but it is doubtful whether scientists as a group have been abler or have had better brains than other groups who have worked in other fields. Much of the progress of science is due to the scientific method and the scientific attitude of mind.

The scientific method is still that advocated by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century: "Observe, experiment." In his own field the scientist accepts nothing on authority, nothing on tradition, nothing on hearsay, nothing that cannot stand the test of experiment. He sometimes has to guess, but he is always ready to modify his guesses when new-found facts prove them untenable. His conclusions are not determined by passion or prejudice or by "what everybody knows," but by the facts before him. How many of us solve our everyday problems in a scientific way? How many of our ideas or how many of the ideas of our leaders in business and politics are the result of scientific thinking? How many of us welcome facts which show our cherished opinions to be wrong? Judgments based on tradition, prejudice, and hearsay are expressed on the widest variety of subjects without hesitation. Not only do we not ask for verification, we resent the suggestion that our reasoning may be illogical or our opinion contrary to recorded fact. If the scientist could induce leaders in other fields to go about a solution of their problems as he goes about a solution of his, this contribution would ultimately add more to the world's peace and happiness than his gift of the steam engine or the dynamo.

Tolerance, openmindedness, and clear thinking—the scientific attitude of mind—are more necessary today than ever before. The achievements of science have made the problems of government, of economics, of social relationships more numerous and more complex. For the inhabitants of the medieval manor, old ways of thinking did not make for progress but they did little harm. Older ways of thinking in the world of the twentieth century invite disaster. In the words of James Harvey Robinson, "We have need to create an unprecedented attitude of mind to cope with unprecedented conditions and to utilize unprecedented knowledge."

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Compare the attitude of the general public toward Galileo in the sixteenth century with that toward Einstein today. Give reasons for the change.

2. A few years ago a French newspaper conducted a poll among its readers as to who was the greatest Frenchman, Napoleon or Pasteur. How would you vote in such a poll? Why?

3. Show the relation between the development of science and the increased population.

4. If you were a member of a state legislature in which a bill had been introduced appropriating funds for the endowment of a laboratory for research in pure science, how would you defend using taxpayer's money for such a purpose?

5. Explain the difference between "Darwinism" and evolution.

6. Opponents of the theory of evolution have claimed that it lowered man's dignity. Discuss this idea.

7. Mary Godwin Shelley's *Frankenstein* tells the story of a medical student who created a monster which he could not control and which, after committing various atrocities, killed its maker. Some persons have referred to modern science as a Frankenstein monster. Is there any justification for this point of view?

8. How many of your own opinions about political or economic questions are the results of scientific thinking? Of prejudice?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

General

Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*
Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind*
Slosson, *Creative Chemistry*
Locy, *Biology and Its Makers*
DeKruif, *Microbe Hunters*
Consult also your school textbooks in biology, chemistry, and physics.

Scientific Method and Attitude

Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 517-519
Schapiro, pp. 489-495
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 505-510

The Achievements of Science

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 231-234, 248, 862
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 514-516
Schapiro, pp. 495-530
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 510-512, 520-532
Van Loon, Chap. 60
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe*, pp. 694-709

Evolution

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 235-238, 241-242
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 507-516
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 414-424
Schapiro, pp. 531-538
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 512-520
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. V, pp. 649-662

CHAPTER XIV

SOME SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST CENTURY

I. Relations of Church and State

In previous chapters we have told of the great power of the church in both spiritual and temporal affairs throughout the medieval period; we have told of the Protestant revolt of the sixteenth century; of the establishment of state churches by most of the newly organized national states; and of the period of intolerance and bitter warfare between Catholics and Protestants. An established church, Catholic or Protestant, supported by government funds and controlled to a greater or less extent by government officials, was everywhere the rule in the eighteenth century. (See pages 54-64.) Yet we have noted the growth of a spirit of toleration and the gradual cessation of religious persecution by civil authorities. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many nations have completely separated religion and government.

A. Why did the movement for the separation of church and state develop? 1. The experience of the new world. It was in the English colonies in North America that the practice of completely divorcing religion from government first developed. Roger Williams, expelled from Massachusetts because his religious convictions were not acceptable to the colonial government, established in his new colony, Rhode Island, the principle of complete separation of church and state. This idea spread slowly among the colonies and the first amendment to the federal Constitution included the provision that Congress was not to make any law "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

2. Attitude of the church toward revolutionary ideas. In other countries the separation of church and state was not accomplished without a struggle between two different ideals: that of a national state which controlled all the activities of its citizens, and that of a universal church which, concerned with the spiritual welfare of man, regarded itself as superior to or at least independent of the state. Since the Catholic Church was an international body and had never been so much under national control as the Protestant sects, the struggle was especially marked in Catholic states. During the French Revolution the National Assembly took away the privileges of the clergy, confiscated church property, and brought the church completely under control of the civil government. By the Concordat of 1801 Napoleon restored many privileges to the Catholic Church, but the harsh treatment it had received from the revolutionaries prejudiced the clergy against all revolutionary ideas. In the period of reaction that followed the overthrow of Napoleon many of the clergy, since they were a privileged class, sided with the reactionaries to maintain things as they were. To them nationalism was a threat against the international powers of the church, liberty was a threat against the power of the church officials, and equality was a threat against any special privileges for the clergy. Because of the attitude of many of the clergy, anticlerical groups, as those who wished to limit the power of the church were called, were formed in many countries.

During the first part of the nineteenth century the Liberal Catholic movement, led by such men as Daniel O'Connell in England and Lamartine in France, tried to bring about a reconciliation between liberalism and the church. Liberal Catholics, appalled at conditions existing among the workers, felt that the church had a responsibility for improving them and would find democracy a better means than monarchy for doing so. Pius IX, who was elected pope in 1846, had a reputation for liberalism, and the constitution which he granted the Papal States strengthened the hope that the church was entering a new era in its attitude toward modern ideas. Pius's first-hand experience with revolution in 1848, when a temporary republic was established in Rome and he was forced to flee, caused a change in his attitude. Soon after this, disputes between liberal and conservative thought concerning the new discoveries in science added to the difficulties of his position.

3. ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD THE CLAIMS OF SCIENTISTS. The claims of Lyell and the other geologists that the earth was hundreds of thousands of years old and had slowly developed into its existing form were considered directly contradictory to the literal biblical account of creation and stirred up a storm of protest from the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant. This apparent conflict between science and religion was greatly embittered by the development of the theory of evolution. Some evolutionists, notably Huxley, proclaimed that their theory satisfactorily disproved the existence of God and the spirituality and immortality of the soul, the very foundation of all religion.

Although Huxley and his followers took an extreme position not shared by many scientists, the theologians became alarmed and immediately launched a bitter attack not only against Huxley and those scientists who thought as he did, but against science itself. They labeled all advocates of the new ideas blasphemers, materialists, ungodly, and pagan. But as the years wore on and the new scientific theories multiplied and resulted in practical discoveries such bitterness died down. However, the controversy over the claims of science and religion is by no means settled. Because of the character of its organization and because of the doctrine of private judgment, Protestant Christianity has been more divided in its attitude than Catholic Christianity. There are, for example, many Protestant leaders who interpret the Bible literally and reject some of the theories of the scientists. There is also a large group, doubtless growing in numbers, led both by scientists and clergymen, who believe that science and Christianity are not contradictory and who attempt to bring about a reconciliation between the two.

The Catholic Church denied the doctrine of private judgment and substituted therefor the authority of the church. In general, it took the attitude that since God was the creator and Ruler of the Universe there could be no conflict between the laws of nature and the religious system He established. Catholic apologists revived the study of scholasticism, notably the writings of Thomas Aquinas, who, centuries before Darwin, had suggested that creation might have been carried out by a series of acts on the part of the Creator. Catholic theology gradually adopted the stand that the Darwinian exposition was, after all, a theory, which had been considerably modified by biologists themselves; that even if evolution were applied to man it merely explained the origin of man's body, not his soul; and that, so far as man's origin was concerned, the time and place mattered little so long as the Catholic accepted the doctrine of the creation of the soul of the first man, Adam, as an act of God. The Catholic position was unmistakably fortified by the fact that many Catholic scientists—for example, Pasteur, Mendel, Ampère, Volta—found no difficulty in reconciling their religion and their science.

Keystone View Co.

Palace of the Government of Vatican City

The immediate effect of the new scientific theories was, however, to make many people indifferent, if not actually hostile, to religion. Pope Pius IX did not sit idly by while the influence of the church was being lessened either by political ideas or scientific theories. In 1864 he issued a famous encyclical, *Quanta Cura,* and an appended *Syllabus of Errors* in which he condemned many of the fundamental principles of the intellectual and political reformers. Opponents of the church seized upon the *Syllabus* as a declaration of war on all modern ideas. Bourgeois politicians were not averse to stirring up religious issues, hoping thereby to distract the attention of the workers from economic questions.

In 1870, the Vatican Council, a general council of the church, ratified the dogma of papal infallibility—that is, the doctrine that the pope, when he officially defines matters of faith and morals for the whole church, is divinely guided and therefore cannot be wrong. This dogma, often misunderstood and misrepresented, gave a further excuse for anticlerical attacks on the church. Together with the *Syllabus of Errors* it led to organized movements to limit the powers of the church in various European countries.

B. Clericals versus anticlericals in France. 1. WHAT DID THE ANTICLERICALS DEMAND? In France the relations between church and state were governed by the concordat made by Napoleon and the pope in 1801. The Third Republic, the present government which was proclaimed when the Second Empire collapsed in 1870, became firmly established only after a long struggle with the Monarchists and in this struggle clericals generally sided with the Monarchists; so much so that Clericalism and Monarchism became practically synonymous.

The main bone of contention was the control of education. Most of the schools were conducted by the Catholic Church and it was charged that in these schools disloyalty to the republic was openly taught. Anticlericals accordingly tried to improve the schools. Public schools increased in number; primary education was made free and compulsory; state support was withdrawn from all except public schools; only laymen were allowed to teach in public schools and religious instruction was prohibited in them. Feeling against Catholics was increased by their opposition to this educational program. Pope Leo XIII felt it necessary to intervene. In an encyclical of 1892 he urged French Catholics to accept the republic. A few followed this advice and became supporters of the republic, but the majority, more "clerical" than the pope, remained zealous Monarchists, redoubling their effort to discredit the republic.

Anti-Semitism, hostility toward Jews, has often been used by politicians in various countries to further their own ends. French Clericals and Monarchists seized upon anti-Semitism as a means of discrediting the republic. By bitter attacks in books and newspapers they tried to show that the republic was controlled by the Jews and was corrupt for that reason. They were aided in this campaign by the disclosure of scandalous dealings between Jewish financiers and some of the republican officials in connection with the attempt of a French company to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Anti-Semitism reached its height in the famous Dreyfus case.

2. The Dreyfus affair. In 1894 Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jew, was convicted by a court-martial of furnishing Germany with information about the French army and condemned to life imprisonment. Two years later Colonel Picquart, newly appointed head of the army secret service, discovered evidence which seemed to show that a Major Esterházy was guilty of the offense for which Dreyfus had been condemned. Picquart, for his honest effort to right a wrong, was accused of forgery and disgraced, while Esterházy was acquitted. Friends of Dreyfus, however, refused to give up. In 1898, Emile Zola, the popular novelist, wrote a flaming article accusing high officials in the army of deliberate dishonesty and injustice. The whole world was stirred by the case.

France was divided into hostile camps of Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. Monarchists, Clericals, Jew-haters, and high officials in the army opposed Dreyfus, while Republicans of all shades of opinion and of all economic classes sided with him. A new trial by court-martial was finally granted which resulted in the unusual verdict of guilty of treason "with extenuating circumstances," and a recommendation for clemency. President Loubet immediately pardoned Dreyfus but he was not satisfied with a pardon and finally in 1906 secured from the highest court of France an annulment of the original verdict. Dreyfus was given the rank of major and made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. He served with distinction in the World War.

The original conviction of Dreyfus seems to have been the result of a plot on the part of a small group of Monarchists and Clericals to further rouse anti-Jewish prejudice and thus discredit the republic. Prominent army officials, not involved in the original plot, connived at preventing a new trial in order to protect what they considered the honor of the army. The case identified the Clericals more definitely with the enemies of the republic and consolidated all Republicans into an anticlerical *bloc*, leading directly to the separation of church and state.

3. THE LAWS AGAINST CLERICALISM. In 1901 the Law of Associations was passed requiring every religious order to secure authorization from Parliament if it wished to continue in France, and forbidding any member of an unauthorized association to teach. Parliament granted few applications for authorization. Within two years, ten thousand religious schools were closed, so that less than 10 per cent of the children of France were in religious schools by 1904. A law of 1904 provided that within ten years all teaching by religious associations should cease. Finally, in 1905 the separation law was passed. By this law the government abrogated the Concordat of 1801, surrendered the right to take part in the nomination of bishops, suspended the payment of salaries to the clergy, and declared that church buildings were state property but could be used for religious purposes by "Associations of Worship" made up of all citizens of a community who wished to take part. Owing to bitter opposition this phase of the law was softened somewhat in 1907, and was still further changed in 1921, when control over church buildings was given to the clergy, but ownership still remained with the state.

C. The question of clericalism in Italy. 1. THE "PRISONER OF THE VATICAN." When Rome was seized by the Italian army in 1870 and became the capital of Italy, the pope retired to the Vatican palace, denouncing the Italian government. By the Law of Papal Guarantees of 1871 the Italian state acknowledged the pope's spiritual supremacy, recognized him as an independent sovereign with full jurisdiction over the Vatican palace and grounds, and agreed to pay an indemnity for the seizure of his property. Pope Pius IX and his successors refused until 1929 to recognize the law or accept the indemnity, regarding themselves as prisoners of the Italian government. The pope furthermore requested all Catholics not to take any part in the Italian government. This decree kept many able Italians out of politics until it was modified in 1905.

Wide World Photos

THE SIGNING OF THE VATICAN TREATY

Mussolini is reading aloud to representatives of the church and state the treaty with the pope which he signed immediately afterward.

2. HOW WAS THE ROMAN QUESTION ADJUSTED IN 1929? Mussolini, the head of the Fascists who seized power in Italy in 1922, had been a professed atheist, and at first Fascism seemed likely to widen the breach between the church and state. The Fascists, however, realized the power of the church in Italy and preferred to have it as a friend rather than an enemy. In 1923 a decree was issued making the teaching of the Catholic religion obligatory in the elementary schools. Negotiations were begun which resulted in the treaty of reconciliation and concordat of 1929, sometimes referred to as the Lateran Accord. By the treaty the Italian government recognized the pope as sovereign of the City of the Vatican and the pope abandoned all claim to other territorial possessions. Italy paid the pope about ninety million dollars and agreed to furnish the City of the Vatican with an adequate water supply, railroad facilities, and telephone, telegraph, radio, and postal services. By the concordat

the parties agreed that the Roman Catholic religion was to be the sole religion of the state but that other religions were to be "admitted"; that both church marriages and civil marriages were to be valid; and that the Catholic religion was to be taught in all elementary and secondary schools.

These and various other provisions of the treaty and concordat seemed for a time to have satisfactorily settled the sixty-year controversy. However, a bitter dispute between the pope and Mussolini developed in 1931 over the activities of *Catholic Action*, a lay organization of Catholics interested in the propagation and practice of Catholic principles. Mussolini claimed that this organization engaged in political activities, seeking to undermine the power of the Fascist state. This was vigorously denied by the pope, who claimed that Mussolini was endeavoring to exalt the Fascist state into an organization that controlled all activities, even religion. This new controversy, while it may lead to a modification of the Lateran agreements of 1929, illustrates the nature of the struggle between church and state.

D. The Kulturkampf in Germany. The struggle between Bismarck and the Catholic Church which started soon after the empire was established was known by the name of *Kulturkampf* (struggle for civilization). The Catholics were in the majority in the south German states and their representatives in the Reichstag opposed some of the laws Bismarck was introducing to unify the new German Empire. Bismarck, disliking clerical interference in politics and thoroughly imbued with the nineteenth-century philosophy so well expressed by Cavour, "a free church in a free state," succeeded in having a series of laws passed which, in brief, expelled the Jesuits and other orders, forbade religious orders to conduct schools, made civil marriage compulsory, and practically turned over to the state the control of the education and nomination of the clergy. The Catholics objected strenuously. The pope denounced the laws as null and void; in the elections that followed the Catholic laity voted for nominees of the Catholic Center party, with the result that its delegation in the Reichstag increased, until in 1877 it could muster ninety-two votes and was the largest party. Becoming alarmed by the growth of socialism, Bismarck abandoned the struggle against the Catholics and had the laws repealed (except that concerning civil marriage). He thereby secured the support of the Center party in his campaign of social legislation designed to thwart the growth of socialism. (See pages 282-284.)

E. The religious problem in England. In Protestant England Anglicanism was the state religion. Other religions were tolerated but at the opening of the nineteenth century their members were under certain disabilities, mainly the right to hold office. A law of 1828 gave the right to hold office to all except Catholics. Under the fiery leadership of Daniel O'Connell, Irish Catholics protested and, despite the law, elected O'Connell to Parliament. He demanded his seat and in 1829 secured the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act giving Catholics the right to hold all but a few offices. In 1869 the Irish succeeded in having the Anglican Church disestablished in Ireland; that is, it ceased to have government support, becoming a purely voluntary organization. In 1914, the Anglican Church was disestablished in Wales.

The so-called Oxford movement increased the prestige and membership of the Catholic Church in England. This began as an effort on the part of high church Anglicans to show that the Anglican Church was not Protestant but had an unbroken succession of bishops dating back to early Christian times. They were also advocates of many of the doctrines, forms, and ceremonies which were commonly thought to be exclusively Roman Catholic. The movement collapsed when one of its great leaders, John Henry Newman, became a Catholic. Hundreds of others followed him. The Catholic hierarchy of bishops and archbishops was reëstablished in 1851, and Newman and Manning, two converts, were made cardinals.

F. The separation of the church and state in Russia and elsewhere. Without describing the struggles in other countries, we should note that wherever there was a close relationship between church and state there was constant quarreling between clericals and anticlericals. This is true of Spain, Austria, Belgium, and Portugal. Portugal separated church and state when it became a republic in 1911. Spain imitated her when she became a republic in

1931. The same struggle has gone on in the Catholic countries of Latin America, especially in Mexico where in recent years there have been attempts of the government to confiscate church property, limit the number of the clergy, and end the control of education by the clergy. The modern tendency towards separation may also be seen in Turkey. For centuries the sultan of Turkey had also been caliph, head of the Mohammedan religion. In 1924 Mustapha Kemal abolished the caliphate and did away with all official connection between Mohammedanism and the Turkish government.

In no country has the struggle between church and state been more bitter than in Soviet Russia. The Communists are opposed to all religion and especially to the Orthodox Russian Church, which was so closely tied up with the czarist government as to be practically a department of it. The vast properties of the church, over four million acres of land and buildings and other property equal in value to four billion dollars, were confiscated, as was all private property, when the Bolsheviks came into power. Church buildings were left for the use of the congregations, but each local soviet has control of the churches in its district and many churches have been turned into schools or workers' clubs by a vote of the people. Members of the Communist party may not belong to any religious organization but other citizens

OROC

THE LITTLE CHAPEL OF IVERSKAIA, MOSCOW

Although situated directly opposite a building on which is prominently displayed an inscription "Religion is the opiate of the people," large crowds attend religious services here undisturbed.

may adhere to any religion or to none. All denominations are allowed freedom of worship but no religion may be taught in any school where non-religious subjects are taught, and no person under eighteen may receive religious instruction. No clergymen are allowed to vote and many have been imprisoned and executed for counter-revolutionary activities. No religious body may own property or engage in business. The League of the Godless, a propaganda organization, carries on a campaign of ridicule of all religion. The attitude of the Communists is summed up in the slogan, "Religion is the opiate of the people."

II. The Growth of Toleration

A. How religious tolerance has gradually developed. Along with the movement for the separation of church and state there has been a notable growth of religious toleration, something that was practically unknown in Europe throughout the Middle Ages. Then all persons were members of the universal church; death was the punishment for heretics who disagreed with it. The Protestant Revolt, while it destroyed the universal authority of the church, did not lead immediately to toleration. Catholics were persecuted and executed in Protestant countries; Protestants received the same treatment in Catholic countries. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, active persecution of those who dissented from the state religion had died out, although in most countries laws requiring religious uniformity remained on the statute books and dissenters did not have full political privileges.

There were certain historical precedents for toleration. Intolerance flourishes only when the great majority agree; whenever a dissenting group has been relatively large and powerful, toleration of their beliefs has usually been granted. Even in the Middle Ages in countries where there was a large Jewish population Jews were often tolerated, although outbreaks against them were frequent. The Huguenots in France were so numerous and so powerful that in 1598 Henry IV granted them toleration in the Edict of Nantes.

The strength of the various groups of Protestant dissenters in England won them recognition in the Toleration Act of 1689.

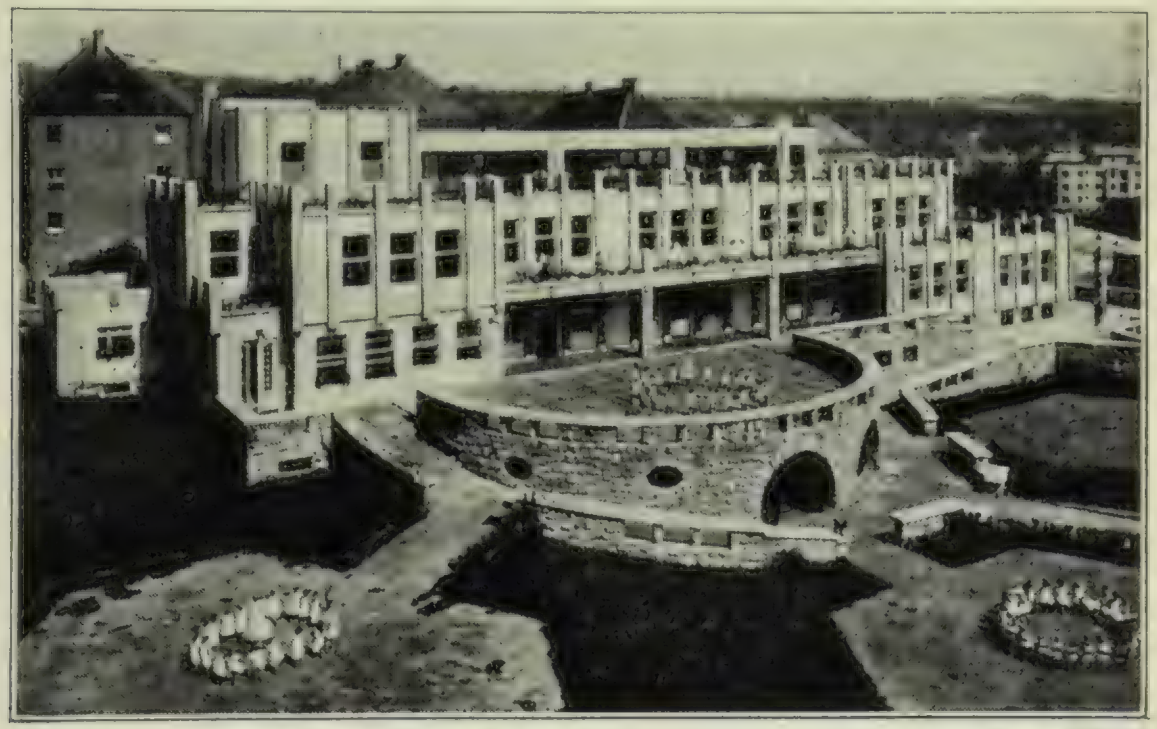
In addition to these precedents there have been other reasons for the growth of religious toleration in the past two centuries. Foremost among them has been the ever increasing number of sects which made toleration necessary if continual religious war was to be avoided. New conditions have come about also through the broadening influences of a larger knowledge of science and the advent of the Commercial and Industrial Revolutions. Men have grown so much interested in the life about them that they are less inclined to worry about the life beyond the grave. The spread of public education and the ideals of democracy have made their contribution to a belief in the rights of the individual, including his right to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience. All of these factors have greatly strengthened the modern spirit of religious toleration.

The English colonies in America were pioneers in granting religious toleration. Maryland and Pennsylvania allowed freedom of worship to all Christians, while Rhode Island established complete religious freedom. The writings of the French philosophers gave a powerful stimulus to toleration. Under Voltaire's influence, Frederick the Great proclaimed religious toleration and encouraged Catholics to settle in Prussia. The French Revolution popularized the idea. The statement of the Declaration of the Rights of Man that "no one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views," has served as a model for similar declarations in most constitutions that have been written since. Restrictions on the right of dissenters to vote and hold office have been gradually removed. In England Protestant dissenters were given the right to hold office in 1828, and Catholics given the right to sit in Parliament by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. In 1886 Charles Bradlaugh, a well-known "free thinker" and a professed atheist, was admitted to Parliament, after having been refused a seat several times because of his alleged incompetence to take an oath.

Today toleration is legally established in all civilized countries. The right of everyone to worship as he pleases, or not at all, so long as his worship does not interfere with the rights of others or is not contrary to the prevailing moral code, is universally recognized. Governments have ceased to persecute heretics or, for the most part, to concern themselves with the religious beliefs of their citizens, but there is still much jealousy and bitterness between religious groups. The activities of such organizations as the Ku-Klux Klan in the United States, the harsh treatment of the Jews by the Hitlerites in Germany, and the frequent flaming up of anti-Semitic feeling in different parts of the world show that intolerance is by no means dead. It is easy to stir up religious prejudice, especially among ignorant people. We can all think of examples of unscrupulous politicians making use of religious prejudice to obscure other issues. The religious toleration which exists on statute books will not result in a real spirit of toleration until all people come to realize its importance.

B. Toleration of political and economic ideas. At the same time that religious toleration has been developing there has also been a growth of toleration in other lines. In the Old Régime the suppression of economic and political ideas contrary to those of the ruling class was the accepted state of things. Government censorship of books and pamphlets was almost universal, although it was never completely successful, as we have seen in the case of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. Freedom of speech and press had a prominent place in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and are fundamentals in the idea of liberalism which was born in the French Revolution. Under the leadership of Metternich, freedom of speech, press, and assembly was suppressed all over Europe in the period of reaction that followed the downfall of Napoleon, and their denial helped bring on the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. The constitutions written at that time and since have treated these rights as fundamental, and they have been greatly extended by the spread of education and the growth of power of the working class.

Today several countries ruled by dictators frankly deny the right to express opinions hostile to the existing government or economic system. Countries which claim to be democratic, however, have in their constitutions guarantees of the right to speak, write, or print opinions without interference. The existence of these constitutional guarantees does not, unfortunately, always insure complete freedom. Many countries have the additional provision that these rights must not be abused and legislatures and courts have the power to decide what constitutes an abuse. At times the right of free speech amounts to the right to express ideas with which the government officials are in sympathy, but not to express those to which they are opposed. With the phrase "liberty but not license" minority opinion is suppressed in spite of constitutions.



OROC

A Modern Kindergarten, Vienna

C. Why tolerance is important. The main purpose of government is to promote human happiness. One of the main sources of individual happiness is liberty. But the liberty of the individual, when it interferes with the liberty or welfare of others, must be restrained in the interests of the larger group. It is one of the most difficult tasks of government to draw the line between actions that actually and substantially interfere with the welfare of the majority and those which merely interfere with the prejudices of the majority or of which the majority is afraid. We all recognize that some restriction on individual liberty is necessary, but unnecessary restrictions on the liberty of an individual or group are tyranny. There is danger of a tyranny of the majority as well as of the tyranny of an individual. This is especially true in times of public excitement such as strikes or wars.

Never was a broad spirit of open-mindedness in all lines of thought more needed than today. We live in a world which is being changed rapidly by science and invention. Our institutions and customs must change to meet changing conditions. Only by experiment and a willingness to consider new ideas can we arrive at the best social, political, or economic system. Most of the ideas held by the majority today were originally minority ideas. Only by a free discussion of all ideas can we arrive at a rational decision as to which are sound and which are false. Repression does not convince those who hold false ideas; it only drives them to secret and violent methods to gain a hearing. We must educate ourselves to understand that real free speech means free speech for those with whose ideas we disagree as well as for those who agree with us.

III. The Development of Public Education

The educational systems of modern nations—state-controlled, state-financed, free, compulsory—are of comparatively recent origin. One hundred and fifty years ago formal schooling was for the most part the privilege of the wealthy few and was a monopoly of the church. Universities had of course existed from the thirteenth century on, and had increased in number and influence. The education of the masses was, however, almost completely neglected. The educational needs of an agricultural population were few; the political ideal of absolute monarchy made popular education unnecessary and, in the opinion of many, dangerous. The religious ideal, which considered life merely as a preparation for another world, did not require a widespread diffusion of knowledge, nor did a complex economic and political organization make it necessary.

With the coming of the printing press, national languages, the gradual extension of the franchise, the crowding of people together in cities, the creation of a complex economic organization, the need for a new educational system became imperative. The adoption of the modern ideal of a national system of education was not accomplished by quick or easy strides, for educational reformers had to overcome the objection of church authorities, the fear of many statesmen that the education of the masses would be dangerous to the stability of the state, and the reluctance of the bourgeoisie to approve the new taxes which public education made necessary.

A. In Prussia. One of the first states to attempt to centralize the control of education and make it universal was Prussia. Frederick the Great started the movement for state-controlled schools and, following the Prussian humiliation at the hands of Napoleon in 1806, extensive improvements were made by Von Humboldt. During the nineteenth century fees were abolished, central control and supervision were substituted for local control, and ecclesiastical influence was almost eliminated. One characteristic of the Prussian system was what might be called the two-class system. Two different types of schools were provided, one preparing pupils for advanced institutions, the other for pupils up to about fourteen years of age who would have no further formal education, intended for the masses. The former schools educated about 8 per cent of the population, and were designed to train and prepare the wealthier German youth for leadership.

B. In France. In France, up to the time of the Revolution, there was little effort at state control of education. Schools and colleges were conducted as private institutions, mostly by religious groups. In developing a public school system, France allowed these private religious schools, elementary and secondary, to exist side by side with the public schools until the opening of the twentieth century. During the Revolution various schemes and proposals were made for a public system, but little was accomplished. Napoleon established the University of France in 1806, not a teaching organization but an agency designed to secure national control. Under the influence of Guizot, minister to Louis Philippe, public elementary schools, free to the poor, were provided for in nearly all communes. Primary education was made free to all in 1881, and compulsory in 1882. The church schools remained more numerous and influential than the public schools until the "Associations" law of 1901 and the subsequent law of 1904 caused the closing of thousands of religious schools. (See page 317.)

C. In England. In eighteenth-century England education was in the hands of religious organizations and philanthropic societies. After much bitter discussion the government in 1833 made a grant of twenty thousand pounds to help finance these schools, and increased grants were made in the following years. No substantial changes were made until the Forster Act of 1870 brought into being the first schools paid for and controlled by the government. These were known as "board" schools. Church schools, however, continued to receive financial help from the government. In 1880 attendance at either a private or a board school was made compulsory for children under ten; in 1891 the board schools were made free. In 1902 a law was passed giving the church schools support from local taxes equal to that of the board schools. The Liberal party opposed the law on the ground that it made all contribute to the support of religious schools, chiefly Anglican. This opposition was so bitter that it helped bring about the defeat of the Conservative party in 1905. After the World War and in the same year as the franchise bill of 1918, the Fisher act brought into existence "the most satisfactory" educational system "to be found in any modern nation." The act continued public support to religious schools, raised the age limit of compulsory attendance to fourteen, abolished all fees for public elementary education, established a system of national supervision for all schools, provided for continuation schools, and extended the system of medical inspection. Lack of funds, however, has prevented the carrying out of the law in full.

D. In the United States. During the colonial period in New England the custom of having schools maintained by towns and villages developed, and elementary education was both public and free. There was a close connection between church and state in these colonies and schools were established mainly for religious instruction. Elsewhere throughout the country, and even in New England in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the bulk of formal education was carried on by private academies, philanthropic societies, and religious organizations. During the first half of the nineteenth century, under the influence of men like Henry Barnard and Horace Mann, the establishment of public schools grew apace. The newly organized labor unions made public schools one of their principal demands. Public education developed as a function of each state, rather than of the national government, and as a result there is no single system of education in the United States. For the most part, however, the various state systems follow the same pattern. All the states provide free public elementary education; most of them maintain a system of secondary schools and many provide state universities where tuition for residents of the state is at a low rate. Education is compulsory in most of the states, some of the more progressive extending the compulsory age to sixteen.

Keystone View Co.

A MODERN GERMAN SCHOOL

All of the classrooms are fitted with radio and wireless arrangements. An observatory on the roof has a powerful telescope.

E. Modern tendencies in education. Like tendencies toward the creation of free, public, non-sectarian schools are present, in varying degrees, in most modern nations. It is essentially a result of the powerful forces of democracy and nationalism. There has been a constant decrease in the amount of illiteracy, though many countries, because of a late development of an educational program, are still backward. There is an increasing tendency everywhere to extend the compulsory school age and to provide free public schooling in secondary schools and colleges. In recent years provision has been made for vocational and industrial education at public expense. The continuation school and the night school extend the benefits of formal education beyond the period of compulsory attendance, and many universities make serious attempts to enlarge the field of adult education. In recent times the schools have also undertaken a wide variety of important social services—free medical inspection and dental service, special courses for defectives, special treatment for the undernourished, and special attention to physical and mental hygiene.

There has been a steady improvement in the content and quality of teaching. This has been due partly to the establishment of training schools and colleges for teachers, partly to the development of the science of psychology and its application to teaching. For years higher education was dominated by the idea that Latin and Greek were the essentials for a liberal education, and elementary and secondary education were mainly directed toward an understanding and application of the classics. Only quite recently has the course of study been enriched by the introduction of modern languages and the natural and social sciences.

Another recent development is the emphasis on adapting education to the individual. The rapid growth of public school systems led to mass-production methods of education. Large groups received the same type of instruction with little regard for individual capacities or needs. Modern educators are insisting that education is a process of developing the individual according to his ability and needs, that democracy does not demand that all be given the same education but rather that each be given the education which he can best use.

F. Why is education important? The need for education in a democracy is obvious. The changes of recent years, noted in previous chapters, have made our life much more complex than that of our grandfathers or even our fathers. On every side we are faced with problems on the correct solution of which depends our own happiness and that of our children. On every side selfish interests—social, political, economic, national—seek to mislead us by solutions which will benefit only themselves. Never was the propaganda of selfish interests more prevalent, more plausible, or more powerful. Our problems can be solved correctly only by the building up of a well-informed, intelligent, and tolerant public opinion. Such a public opinion can be built up only by a system of education, which will be open and free to all, which will be fearless, progressive, and controlled only by a desire to know the truth.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the relative advantages of a system of complete separation of church and state, such as exists in the United States, and of an established church with complete toleration, such as exists in England.

2. Why has the struggle between clericalism and anticlericalism been so conspicuous in Europe and practically nonexistent in the United States?

3. Why was the pope willing to accept the Treaty and Concordat of 1929 when he was unwilling to accept the Law of Papal Guarantees?

4. Explain what is meant by the slogan of the Russian Communists, "Religion is the opiate of the people."

5. Why is toleration of minority opinion more important today than ever before in history?

6. Which is more democratic, to give to all the same type of education, or to give to each the type of education for which he is fitted?

7. Is a person who has graduated from high school, college, and university with high rank necessarily an educated person? Why?

8. "Public schools should not deal with controversial questions but only with those on which the majority agree." Discuss this statement.

9. Our modern ideas of education are a result of modern political and economic processes. Prepare a brief in defense of this statement.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Relations of Church and State

Schapiro, pp. 116-118, 145-146, 337-346, 391-394
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 136-138, 178-185, 224-233
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 109-113
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 240-252, 348, 351-361, 407-410
Benns, pp. 479-483

The Growth of Tolerance

Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 545-547
Van Loon, *Tolerance*
Barnes, *History and Social Intelligence,* pp. 9-28, 218-226, 584-591
Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 56-73, 179-203
Bury, *History of Freedom of Thought*

Public Education

Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 553-558
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 102, 221-223, 357-358, 314-315, 865-866
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 290-293
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 98-102, 309-313
Reisner, *Nationalism and Education*
Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*
Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. V, 399-430

CHAPTER XV

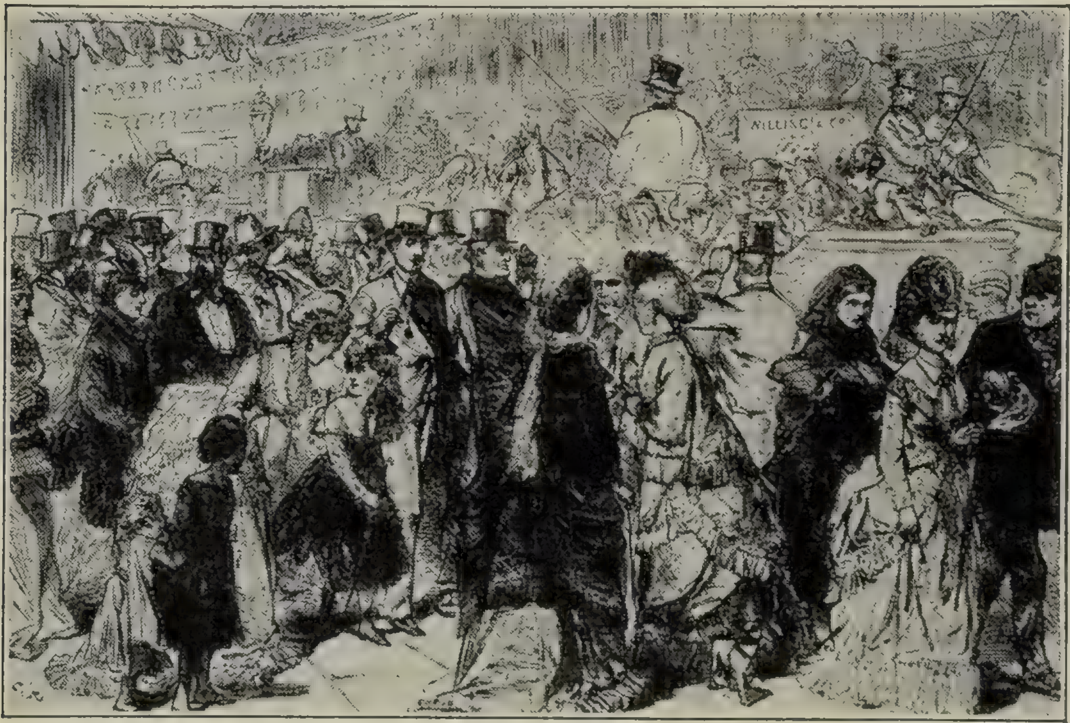
THE ARTS IN MODERN TIMES

A WITTY Englishman has said: "We treat books as we treat the nobility. We learn their titles and then speak of them familiarly." It is not the purpose of this chapter to enable anyone to gain a glib but superficial knowledge of a few names. To learn a list of artists or a few facts about their lives is of little value to anyone.

This short account makes no claim to be complete or exhaustive. A reading of it will in itself give little knowledge of art or literature. It is hoped, however, that it will make more vivid the personalities of the men and women whose works are worthy of study, both in school and out. Their work gives us a better understanding of their times, on which some of them have had a definite influence.

If this chapter helps you to realize that literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, and music are as much a part of history as are wars, parliaments, and tariffs, it will have been of some use. If it leads you to read the works of some of these authors, or look at the pictures of some of these artists, or listen to the music of some of these musicians, and helps you to do so more intelligently, it will have been of even greater value.

The literature, painting, music, and architecture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, rich and varied in content, reflect the spirit and interests of an age of great social and political changes. The upheaval of the French Revolution and the reaction that followed, the coming of the Industrial Revolution with the emergence of the common man, the development of nationalism, the application of the democratic ideal, the remarkable discoveries in science with the consequent unsettling of accepted ideas in the fields of religion and morals, all furnish the rich background for the art and literature of the period. The arts of earlier ages for the most part addressed themselves to the upper classes, and were content to describe the life of those to whom they appealed; the arts of the last hundred years address themselves to a vast multitude. They concern themselves with the comedy and tragedy of workshop and mine, of merchant and artisan, of commerce and industry. They reflect the hopes and despairs, the miseries and joys of the great mass of common people.



Culver Service

Daily Life in Regent Street, London, 1871

These are the sort of people read and written about in the novels of the Victorian Age.

I. Romanticism

The early part of the nineteenth century was the age of the romantic movement in art and literature. Romanticism is a term which is used rather loosely to describe a wide variety of tendencies. It was primarily a reaction against the attempt of the previous generation, inspired by Newton and his fellow scientists, to reduce the world to a system of mechanical laws. It was, in other words, a reaction against rationalism, an attempt to restore emotion and imagination to their place in the world of art and literature. It emphasized the right of the individual to express his own feelings, to search for beauty in his own way, free from formal rules and artificial restrictions. For subjects, artists turned away from the life of courts and aristocrats to everyday life and to nature. As a further reaction against the tendency of the age of reason to look down upon the Middle Ages some of the romanticists tended to glorify the Middle Ages and many artists turned to medieval life for subjects. Just as classicism (see page 78) of the preceding age was a reflection of the absolutism in politics and the artificial social life of the Old Régime, so romanticism was a reflection of the spirit of revolt of the French Revolution.

It is of course impossible to describe all the artistic developments of a period by one term, even by so vague and general a term as romanticism. We cannot classify every artist or writer in some school, nor is it important to do so. Different works of the same artist will often be of entirely different types. Most artists of real greatness refuse to be bound by the limitations of any school. For example, Goethe, the great German poet, has been called both a romanticist and a classicist. Other critics say that he marks the transition from classicism to romanticism. It makes little difference where we classify him so long as we remember him as one of the great poets and great thinkers of all time. Similarly Beethoven has been called both a classicist and a romanticist; we do not need to place him in either category to realize that he has produced some of the world's finest music. Remembering then that the use of terms such as romanticism is merely a convenient way of distinguishing certain characteristics of one period from those of other periods, we find romantic tendencies in all countries and in all fields of art.

II. Realism, Naturalism, Modernism

While romanticism was at its height during the first part of the nineteenth century, its influence persisted throughout the century and even to the present time. Toward the middle of the century a movement called realism developed in French literature and spread to other countries and other fields of art. Realism was a continuation of one phase of romanticism and a revolt against other phases. It continued the idea of taking subjects from everyday life, but revolted against the imaginary and idealistic elements in romanticism. Realism aims to picture life as it really is without glossing over its unpleasant sides or modifying it to conform to some ideal. A group of the realist school who tended to emphasize the harsher and more sordid sides of life and was particularly interested in human motives and emotions, took the name of "naturalists."

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, as education spread and artists and writers increased in number, it became impossible to group them in schools or movements. Life was growing ever more complex, and artistic reactions to life mirrored this complexity. Many artists have continued the realistic tendency to picture life about them as they see it; others have tried to escape from the complexities of the modern world through romantic pictures of life in simpler ages. Modern photography and other mechanical devices have made possible the reproduction of likenesses more exact than the best craftsman can do. Artists, therefore, are released from the responsibility of picturing the world exactly as it is. They are free to follow their own inspiration. Art from being mainly objective has become subjective; it interprets nature instead of imitating it. The term "modernism" is often used to include many tendencies of twentieth-century art which have little in common except a break with traditional standards. A revolt against authority, a willingness to experiment, and a marked individualism are the main characteristics of modernism.

III. Literature

A. English. 1. The romanticists. Poetry was the form of expression most natural to the romanticists and many of England's greatest poets belong to the romantic period. Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Keats, and Coleridge each in his own way illustrates some phase of the romantic movement. Wordsworth is the poet of nature; Shelley and Byron are the rebels against all convention; Keats is the lover of beauty for its own sake; Coleridge is the poet of the mystic and the strange. Scott with his historical novels is the greatest of England's romantic novelists.

2. THE VICTORIANS. The years of Queen Victoria's long reign, 1837-1901, are called the Victorian Age of English literature. It was the age of the political and social domination of the middle class, and bourgeois ideals dominate its literature. Always respectable, often smug, Victorian literature is characterized by high moral purpose and the urge to reform.

The Victorian *par excellence* is the poet, Alfred Tennyson. Tennyson reflects the currents of the time—interest in humanity, in science, and in the attempt to reconcile the older faith and morals with the religious skepticism which developed along with the spread of the doctrine of evolution. Tennyson is the poet not of individualism but of the established order in society, church, and state. He raises his voice in protest against the spirit of unrest and change:

> One God, one law, one element,
> And one far-off divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves.

Robert Browning stands in contrast to Tennyson as a poet primarily interested in the individual. The form and meter of his poetry lack the clearness and beauty of Tennyson's, but he surpasses Tennyson in originality and philosophic insight. His high moral standards stamp him as a true Victorian. His talented wife, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, enjoyed during a much shorter life the favor of a large public. Her "Cry of the Children" is a powerful poem on one of the worst results of the Industrial Revolution.

Rudyard Kipling is commonly regarded as the literary apostle of imperialism. In *Barrack Room Ballads,* and *Departmental Ditties,* and in numerous short stories, he reveals the life and interests of the British soldier at his task of defending the empire. He champions the cause of the British Empire and of imperialism in general in "The Five Nations" and "The White Man's Burden." In his famous "Recessional," he calls attention to the solemn duties and obligations of an enormous empire:

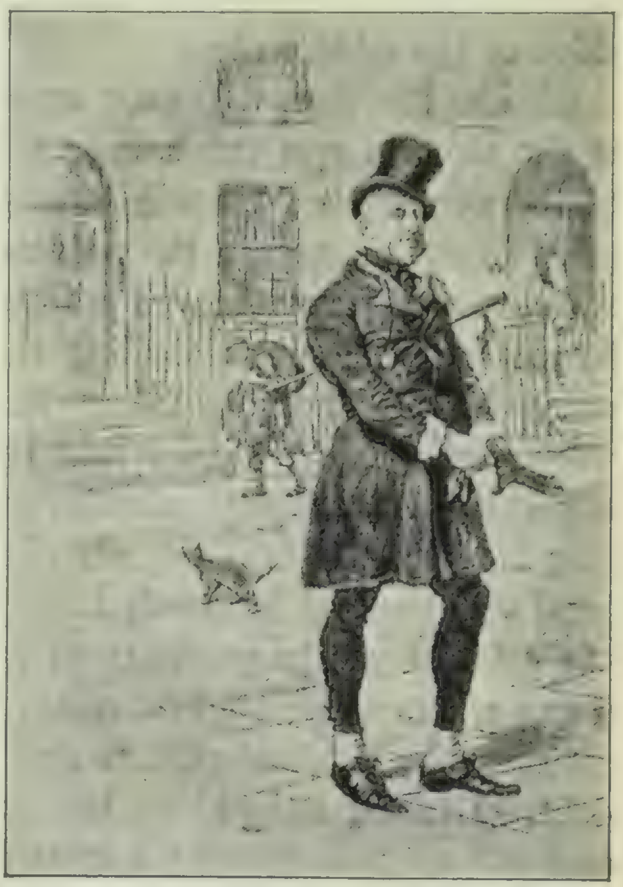
God of our Fathers, known of old—
  Lord of our far-flung battle line—
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
  Dominion over palm and pine.—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Macaulay, Arnold, Carlyle, and Ruskin are representative of the best that Victorian literature produced in the field of history and criticism. All are imbued with the moral earnestness characteristic of the period. Apart from Macaulay's essays, which show his remarkable memory and his brilliant style, his most important works are his *Lays of Ancient Rome* and his *History of England.* Macaulay was an ardent supporter of the Whig party, the party of the middle-class merchants and factory owners. Strong partisanship, which betrays itself in most of his writings, makes his *History of England* of little value as history, but as literature it takes high rank.

Carlyle—biographer, essayist, and historian—was one of the most violent critics of men and society. He believed that the strength and superiority of great men was the dominant factor in the building of progress and civilization, and that these heroic figures should receive the homage of the multitude. Such is the message of *Heroes and Hero Worship.* In *Sartor Resartus,* the tailor retailored, a patchwork of criticism of the shams and foibles of his age, Carlyle gives free rein to satire, trenchant criticism, and denunciation. Especially does he attack the standardized patterns of life and thought which the developing industrialism was fastening upon English society and government. In his famous *French Revolution* Carlyle painted brilliant and vivid pictures of men and events, rather than confining himself to accurate narrative.

Matthew Arnold, son of the famous headmaster of Rugby, enjoyed a reputation as poet, essayist, and literary critic. He attempted to bring to the masses an understanding of his concept of culture—the pursuit of "the best which has been thought and said in the world." He preached against a narrow concept of religion, science, and government and criticized the middle class as "Philistines," because of their complacency and absorption in everyday affairs.

John Ruskin—art critic, essayist, and social reformer—is noted for a beautiful style, a rare love of beauty, and a profound sincerity in all that he wrote. In his early life he devoted himself to the interpretation of painting and architecture, but about the middle of the century, disgusted with the misery and squalor of the poor, he threw himself whole-heartedly into the study of the problems of economic and social reform. While Carlyle and others were content to criticize the evils of industrial society, Ruskin, convinced that commercialization and industrialization had debased culture, set himself to reform conditions. He used his fortune in establishing model tenements and recreation and reading centers; he labored to combine work and education by means of a coöperative guild in which the workers shared the profits of industry. By many of his contemporaries he was regarded as a madman. His views of economics, influenced by his love of beauty, art, and mankind, may be summed up in his definition of wealth: "There is no wealth but life, including all its power of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings." Industry, he believed, should not concern itself with the production of goods for profit, but with the welfare of the community.



Culver Service

MR. WILKINS MICAWBER

Readers of Dickens's *David Copperfield* will recognize Mr. Micawber. He stands in front of his Windsor Terrace house which bears the sign, "Prof. Micawber's Boarding Establishment for Young Ladies."

The novelists of the Victorian Age, like the poets, essayists, and critics, exhibit an interest in reform. Novels were written not only to tell an interesting story but also to expose abuses, suggest reforms, or to portray characters who are wrestling with the problems of the period. In the early Victorian period three novelists are outstanding—Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot. Dickens was the novelist of the working class, Thackeray of the upper class, and Eliot of the middle class.

Charles Dickens, who grew up at the time England was absorbed in the struggle over the Reform Bill of 1832, was the representative of the new spirit. He was interested in democracy; he was interested in the masses, in the poor and unfortunate. His novels were social reform pamphlets. By arousing sympathy for the oppressed, by caricaturing and ridiculing the oppressors, Dickens became a power in the land. In *Oliver Twist,* he attacks conditions in the workhouses; in *Nicholas Nickleby* he exposes the cruelties and inefficiency of the private schools; in *Bleak House* he succeeds in getting his public to laugh at the abuses and delays of the courts and legal traditions of England; in *The Old Curiosity Shop* he portrays the evils of the pawnshops; in *David Copperfield*—considered by many critics to be his best work, and largely autobiographical—he pictures the debtors' prisons and the results of imprisonment for debt. Dickens enjoyed an immense popularity during his lifetime and still remains one of the most popular of the Victorian novelists.

His contemporary and rival for popular acclaim was William Makepeace Thackeray. While Dickens obtained the material for his stories among the lowly and unfortunate, Thackeray portrayed the foibles of the upper classes. Thackeray was a satirist and somewhat pessimistic; Dickens was comical, farcical, pathetic, and grotesque; the one provoked a smile and stirred the intellect; the other provoked tears and laughter and aroused the emotions. Thackeray's best social satires are *Vanity Fair* and *Pendennis.* He portrayed "the few virtues and the many shams of his set with candor and sincerity; his object was never malicious or vindicative, but corrective; he aimed to win or drive men to virtue by exposing the native ugliness of vice."

George Eliot also used the novel as a vehicle for her moral theories. A friend of Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill, she puts into her novels many of the scientific and social ideas which they represented. She was a pioneer in the psychological novel, that is, a novel which portrays the mental processes of its characters.

3. THE MODERNS. In the host of writers of the twentieth century three names stand out: Shaw, Wells, and Galsworthy. They show in their works how changing social conditions affect literature and also how literary men may influence the age in which they live. Although they have never been active in party politics, both Wells and Shaw are socialists. While both have produced literature that most critics hail as great, both are more interested in literature as a means of promoting their social and economic ideas than in literature for its own sake.

Publishers' Photo Service

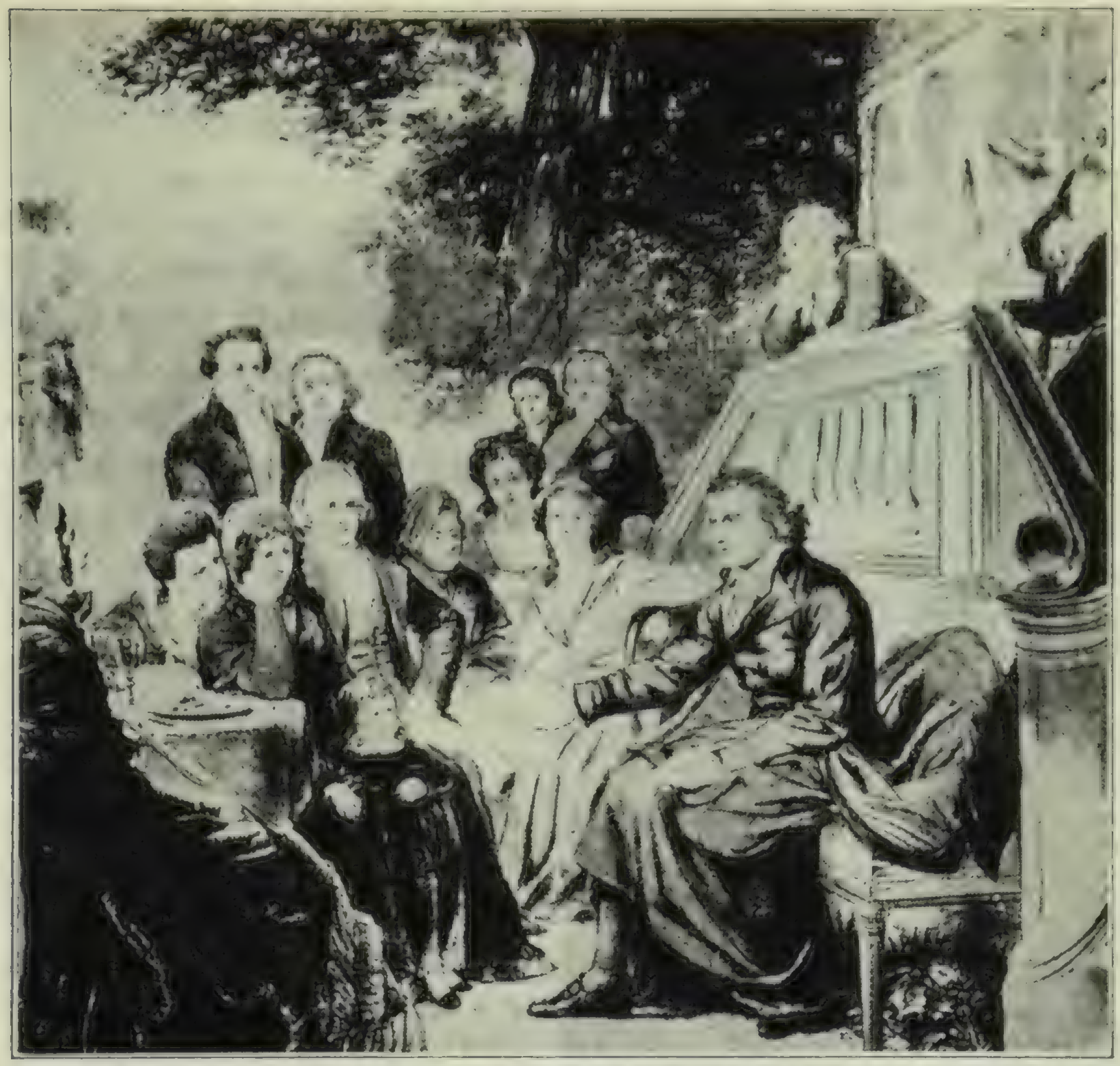
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Mr. Shaw occupies his favorite chair on the veranda of his house at Ayot, St. Lawrence.

George Bernard Shaw is widely known as a dramatist who scoffs at accepted standards. Nearly all of his plays are attacks upon some established convention. *Arms and the Man* is a satire on militarism, a theme that is repeated in his mock treatment of *Napoleon, The Man of Destiny*. In *The Philanderer* and *You Never Can Tell*, he discourses upon the emancipation of woman. *John Bull's Other Island* is an attack upon imperialism; *Androcles and the Lion* is a satire on certain religious beliefs. Shaw's plays did not at first have a wide vogue. He resorted to the expedient of publishing them with elaborate witty prefaces to explain his ideas. As the years have passed Shaw's popularity has increased. He undoubtedly has had a profound influence on the social and moral thinking of his generation; few possess his skill in forcing attention to new points of view and in stimulating a critical attitude toward the traditional.

H. G. Wells has used the novel as Shaw used the play. His thought is influenced by his early scientific studies; the evolutionary concept he has applied to the fields of history, politics, art, civilization, truth, social custom; and he has had great success in popularizing scientific ideas. He is impatient with the planless "muddling" that characterizes society's approach to problems and is constantly urging the application of scientific methods to the study of the world's great problems. He is essentially an optimist hoping for better things, both for the world and the individual. *A Modern Utopia, New Worlds for Old, God the Invisible King,* and *Mr. Britling Sees It Through* are some examples of his novels. Mr. Wells is a prodigious worker and in addition to writing numerous novels and articles and tracts, he has produced an *Outline of History* in which he interprets the whole field of history in the light of his own scientific and sociological principles, an *Outline of Science* in which he reviews the great progress in that field, and *The Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind* in which he discusses our present social and economic problems.

John Galsworthy, unlike Wells, is somewhat of a pessimist. He is a realist who gives attention to minute detail. Galsworthy, winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1932, directed his major attention to the study of class distinctions. *The Forsyte Saga* and *A Modern Comedy* deal with the prosperous middle class; *The Patrician* treats of the aristocracy; the *Country House,* of the lower classes; and *Fraternity* portrays the barriers that class distinction creates. Galsworthy also made use of the drama to present his sociological theories.



From a painting by W. Lindenschmit. Culver Service

SCHILLER (1759-1805) IN WEIMAR

B. German. Germany furnished leaders in philosophy, poetry, and music long before she took any important part in the political or economic life of Europe. Two of the greatest names in all German literature are the poets Schiller and Goethe, who wrote during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. Schiller's plays, based mainly on historical subjects, set a high standard for later writers. Goethe, like Schiller, loved his native Germany but the breadth of his genius and his interests made him a citizen of the world. His deep insight into human nature, as well as his ability to express his thoughts in beautiful form, give his works a universal appeal. His *Faust* ranks with the *Iliad,* the *Divine Comedy,* and *Hamlet* among the world's masterpieces. Both

Goethe and Schiller were aristocratic in temperament but their love of liberty and their insistence on the right of the individual to live his own life free from artificial restrictions made their influence a revolutionary one.

The greatest of the German romanticists was the poet, essayist, and critic, Heinrich Heine. He is known for the beauty of his lyric poems no less than for the bitterness of his irony in his attacks on reaction. He was the apostle of freedom and revolution, the opponent of all forms of repression.

Culver Service

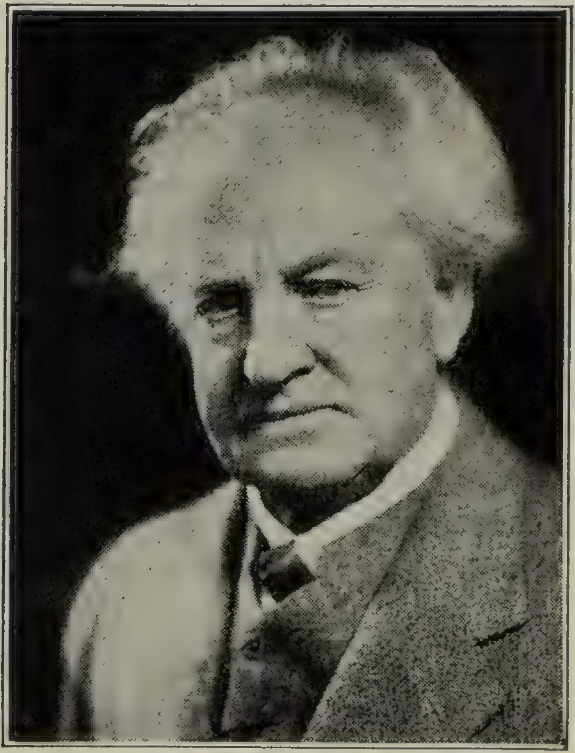
GOETHE, 1749-1832

The first of the great German philosophers was Immanuel Kant. His works, especially his insistence on the moral law as the supreme authority in the world, have influenced all later philosophy. Hegel, who lived through the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon, sympathized with the reactionaries; but his ideas have been the basis for many radical doctrines. In contrast to the *laissez faire* ideas that were developing at the time in England, Hegel exalted the state, claiming that it was superior to the individual. We see the influence of this teaching in Soviet Russia and even in certain types of legislation in this country. He was an opponent of democracy, declaring that democracy was a primitive type of government from which had developed the highest type, monarchy, as exemplified in Prussia. Hegel's theory of the state was accepted by the leaders who formed and ruled the German Empire. It also furnished the starting point for Karl Marx's socialist theories.

Just as Hegel dominated German philosophic thought during the first half of the century, Friedrich Nietzsche dominated it during the last half. Nietzsche was also an opponent of democracy, hating and distrusting the masses. He advocated a government by the strong and powerful, the supermen. He attacked the traditional morality, distinguishing between morality for his supermen and what he called the "slave morality" of Christianity which, he claimed, had weakened men by setting up honesty, humility, and patience as virtues, when in reality, according to his opinion, they were the results of poverty, weakness, and cowardice. To Nietzsche may be traced the theory of some present-day radicals—notably the Russian Bolsheviks—that religion acts as an opiate, a soothing drug, making the masses of men content with their lot in life.

In the field of historical writing Germany produced some of the world's greatest scholars. Von Ranke was one of the first of the modern scientific historians. He searched Europe for source material, original documents which he claimed should furnish the basis for all historical writing. He was concerned primarily with the history of kings and statecraft, and did not pay much attention to the life of the common man. Mommsen, who possessed splendid powers of interpretation, is famous for his great history of Rome. German historical methods have influenced to a large extent the teaching and writing of history in the United States and elsewhere. Many German historians, notably Treitschke, used history as national propaganda to exalt the glories and fortunes of the Hohenzollern dynasty. Under his influence history became synonymous with patriotism; that is, a conscious effort was made by German historians to describe the facts of history in such a way as to develop a loyal devotion to the fatherland and to all things German.

Among the many writers of modern Germany we will mention but three: Hauptmann, Mann, and Remarque. Gerhart Hauptmann, a dramatist of remarkable power, has chosen as a subject for most of his plays the life of the workers. In one of his greatest plays, *The Weavers,* which pictures a revolt among the hand weavers of Silesia in the early days of the Industrial Revolution, he succeeded in writing a powerful drama in which there is no individual hero. Thomas Mann is one of the comparatively few Germans who have gained fame as novelists. In *Buddenbrooks* he describes the decline of an old-fashioned family, unable to adjust itself to changing conditions. In this, as well as his other works, he shows extraordinary powers of character portrayal. Remarque, who as a mere boy fought in the German army in the World War, has written a powerful indictment against war and what many critics regard as the greatest book on the World War in *All Quiet on the Western Front.* His *The Road Back,* which pictures the demoralizing effects of war in post-war Germany, is no less powerful an indictment of war. The tremendous world-wide interest in these books—three and a half million copies of *All Quiet on the Western Front* in the German original and twenty-five translations were sold, while *The Road Back* was published simultaneously in twenty-five countries—seems bound to give them a great influence in promoting world peace.



Keystone View Co.

GERHART HAUPTMANN

C. French. The leader of the French romanticists was Victor Hugo. He was a voluminous writer of essays, plays, poems, and novels. Although he was somewhat superficial and melodramatic, none the less the wide sweep of his imagination, the vivid character of his descriptions, and the skill with which he sketched deep human emotions gave him a large popular following throughout his long life. Even today his readers are still numbered by the thousands throughout the world. *Les Misérables* and the *Hunchback of Notre Dame* are among his greatest novels. Originally a monarchist, he later became a republican and was one of the most bitter opponents of Emperor Louis Napoleon.

An even more voluminous writer than Hugo was the other romantic novelist, Alexandre Dumas. He conducted what has been called a "fiction factory" employing two hundred assistants, and turning out no less than twelve hundred novels. Critics condemn his work as trash, but his *Three Musketeers* and his *Count of Monte Cristo* have held, and still hold, thousands of boys and girls spellbound.

Culver Service

VICTOR HUGO (1802-1885)

Balzac was the first French novelist to portray the everyday life and problems of the middle class. His stories, dealing largely with finance and business intrigue, constitute what one critic has called a bourgeois epic. He gave his novels the significant general title of *The Human Comedy*, for he considered himself as picturing the society of his age. Indeed, they are a storehouse of information on French manners and customs from the time of the Bourbon restoration through the reign of Louis Philippe.

As Balzac marked the transition from romanticism to realism so Flaubert marks the transition from realism to naturalism. His best-known novel, *Madame Bovary*, illustrates his so-called "surgical method" of character analysis. Maupassant, master of the short story, is another of the French realists. The greatest of the naturalists was Emile Zola. His scenes are laid in prosaic places—railroad stations, mines, department stores, markets. He tells his stories with a wealth of detail, often emphasizing the sordid and distasteful. *La Débâcle*, one of his most famous books, deals with the Franco-Prussian War. He is also famous for the courageous fight he made in behalf of Dreyfus. (See page 316.)

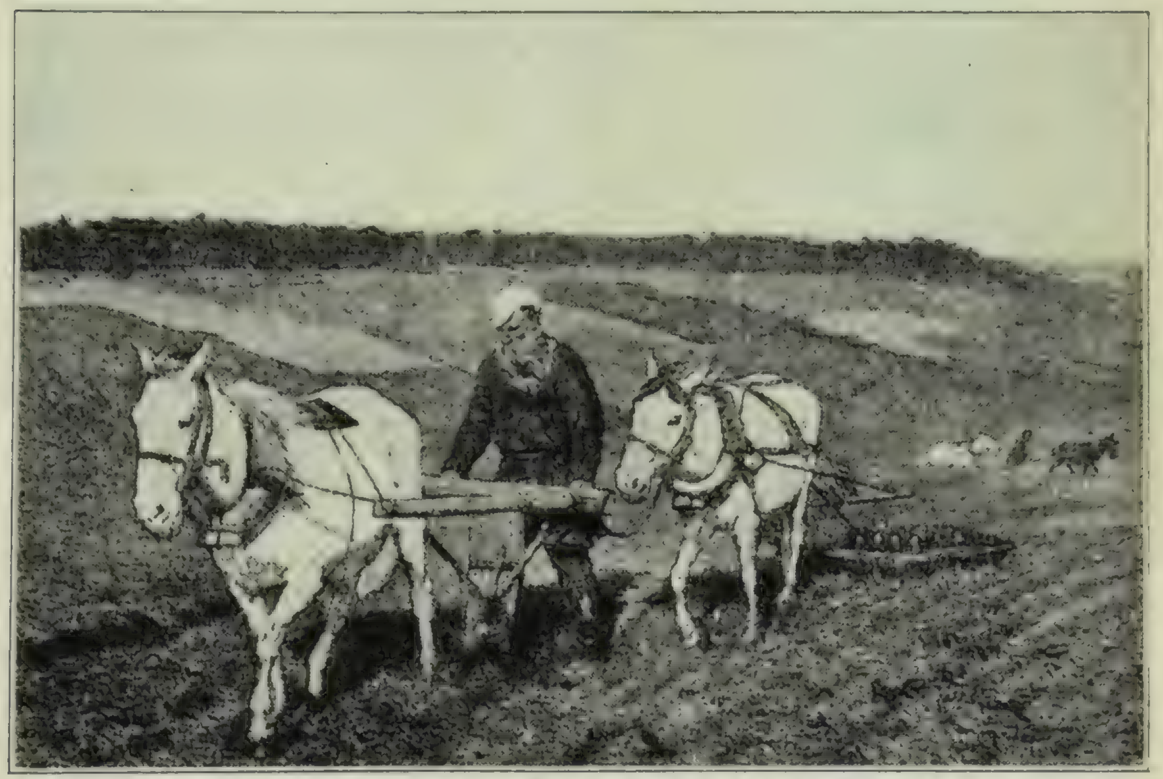
Nineteenth-century France produced many critics and learned scholars—*savants,* as the French call them. Perhaps the best example of this type is Ernest Renan, who combined sound scholarship with a faultless style. He is best known for his rationalistic studies of religious history. His *Life of Jesus* stirred up a tremendous storm in religious circles.

Of the many modern French writers the greatest was undoubtedly Anatole France. A man of broad knowledge and keen discrimination, he was, like Zola, roused to an interest in public affairs by the Dreyfus case. Impressed with the many miseries and injustices in the modern world he used delicate irony and satire to combat them. His *Penguin Island,* like Montesquieu's *Persian Letters,* is a flaming, though always polite, satire on the life of his time. Some idea of his method may be gained from the following brief quotation: "The state, with its majestic sense of justice and equality, forbids the rich man as well as the poor man to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread." "If we had only his books," a critic has said, "we should be able to learn from them his country, his time, and the French language in its most perfect form."

Another great contemporary French writer is Romain Rolland, best known for his monumental novel, *Jean-Christophe.* Rolland stands for a broad internationalism and a devotion to spiritual rather than material values. He is a champion of the oppressed, a foe of intolerance, and particularly of war as the greatest breeder of intolerance.

D. Russian. A group of Russian novelists portrayed with realistic vividness the Russia of the nineteenth century. Probably in no other country have writers so successfully used the novel to describe the country's social and economic conditions and to lay bare its soul. Turgenev, by the simple expedient of describing the daily life of the peasant in the *Memoirs of a Sportsman,* exercised a pronounced influence on the emancipation of the serfs. In *Fathers and Sons* he describes the struggle between the old and the new generation. He uses the word "nihilism," later applied to a political movement in Russia, to describe the dissatisfaction of the younger generation with traditional ideals, although it has no ideals or program of its own.

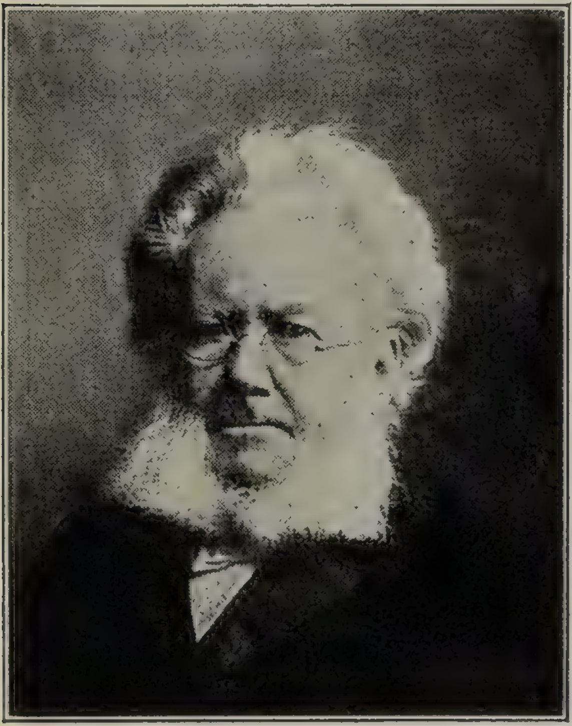
Dostoevski, suffering bitterly because of his own opposition to the czaristic régime, had a profound compassion for all those who suffer. He idealizes human misery and misfortune. His best-known novels are *Crime and Punishment* and *The Brothers Karamazov*. He is regarded as supreme in his analysis of human motive, the master of the psychological novel.



From the painting by Repin. Culver Service

COUNT TOLSTOI PLOWING

Count Leo Tolstoi is the outstanding figure of Russian literature. His novels, elaborating his theories on art, religion, and morality attracted the attention of the whole world. In his later life he became known as a great moral teacher and social reformer. He believed that civilization had failed, that some of the greatest institutions of civilization—the church and the state—debased rather than exalted man. He undertook to help the life of the common peasant by performing the necessary homely tasks himself. He condemned war and preached human brotherhood and unity; he did not believe in violence but in a policy of nonresistance—a policy which Gandhi of India has used with success. *War and Peace* is a powerful novel which deals with conditions in Russia at the time of Napoleon; its theme is the old one—that individuals are but pawns in the game, swept along by the tragedy of war, and powerless to control their destiny. In *Anna Karenina* he elaborates through his characters the thesis that true happiness comes only through rendering service to others.



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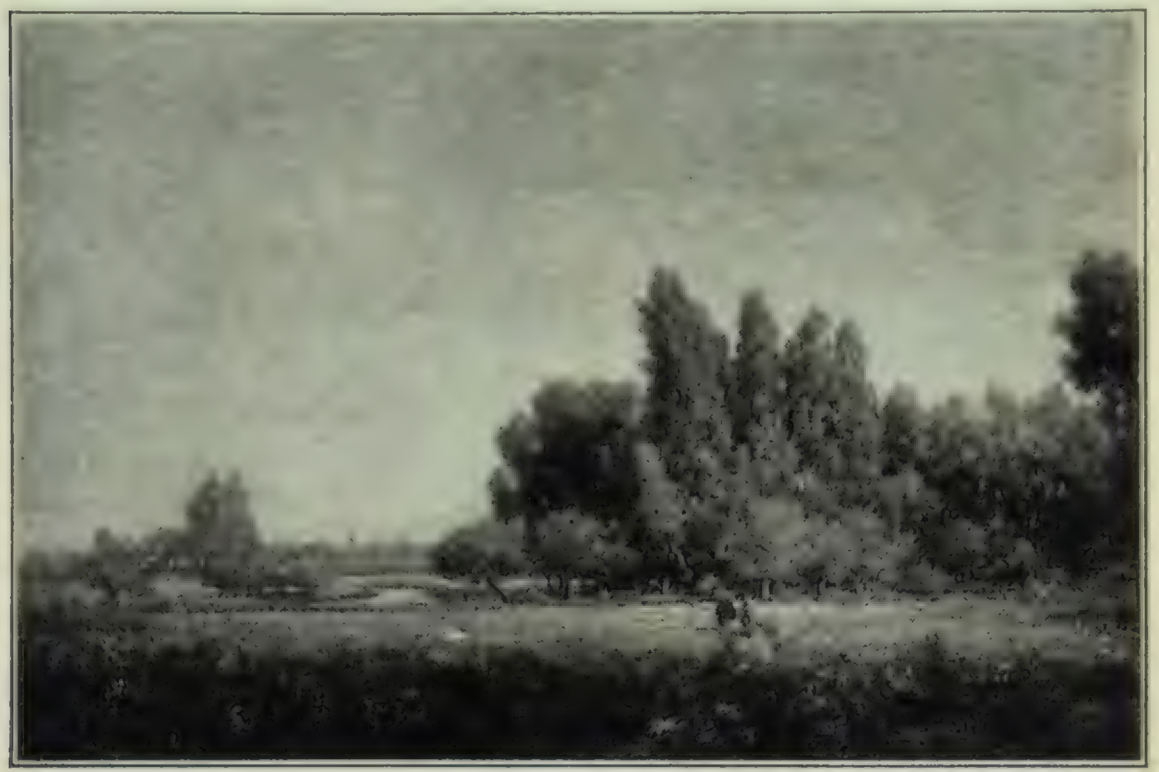
IBSEN

E. Scandinavian. The Norwegian dramatist, Henrik Ibsen, is by many regarded as one of the world's greatest literary figures. Ibsen's views, like those of Shaw, France, and Tolstoi, were unconventional. He gloried in the exposition of sham and of hypocrisy; he contended that democracy fooled the people into believing that they ruled, while as a matter of fact the masses of people were duped by those in power who had selfish ends to serve. He is the great exponent of feminism in the modern drama—several of his plays portray with powerful coloring "the new woman."

IV. PAINTING

Romanticism in painting, as in literature, was characterized by the same reaction against formalism, the same emphasis on imagination and individualism, and the same turning to nature or to the Middle Ages for subjects. Two foremost English painters of the romantic school were Constable and Turner, both of whom painted their native landscapes. In order to gain the vibrating quality of light and air and a sense of movement, they abandoned the old technique of putting on colors smoothly and substituted a rough surface with heavy strokes and dabs of pigment. The work of Constable and Turner served as an inspiration to numerous French painters who carried their ideas further and gave France a dominant position in painting during the last century. The leader of the French romanticists was Delacroix, who broke away from the cold severity of classicism favored by the French Academy. Delacroix took many of his subjects from medieval life, painting scenes of tumultuous movement with the use of rich color. More closely allied to the English landscape painters was the Barbizon group, so-called because they worked together near the little French village of Barbizon. This group painted directly from nature, in the open instead of in the studio as earlier painters had done. The group included Rousseau,

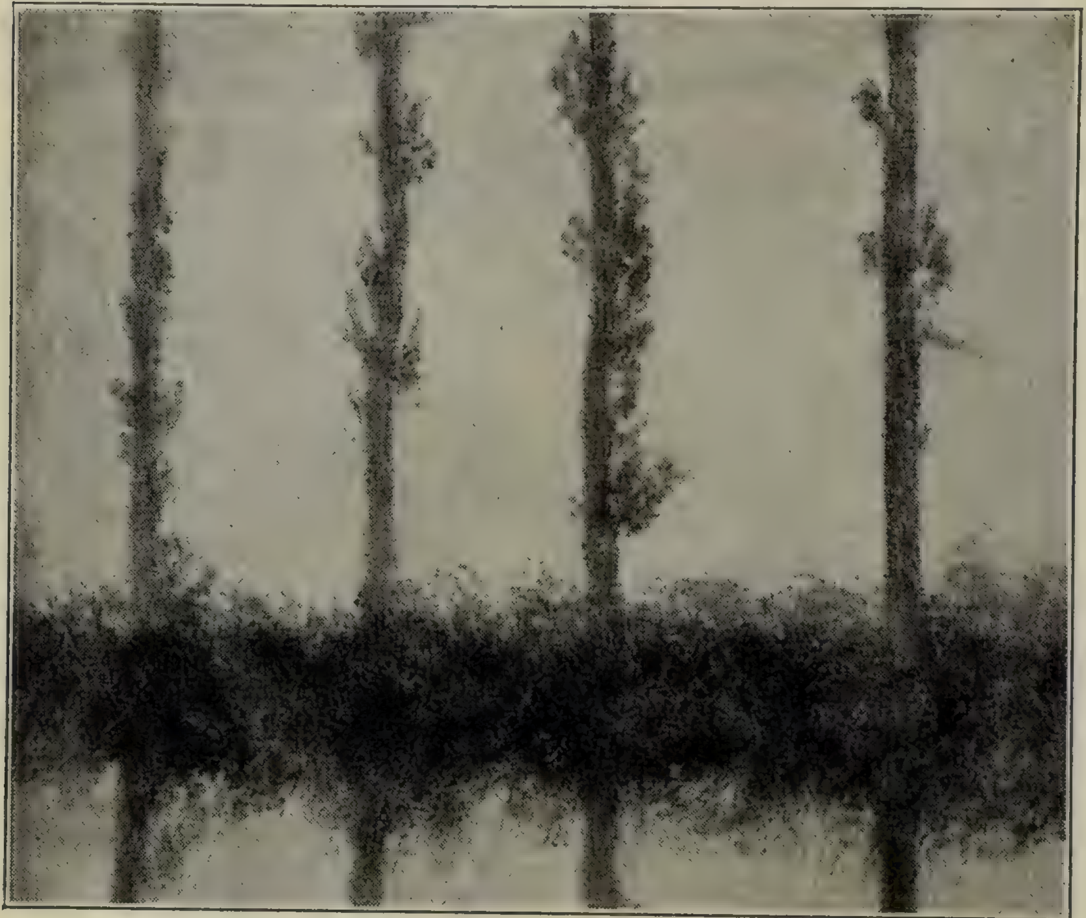


Metropolitan Museum of Art

LANDSCAPE BY THEODORE ROUSSEAU (1812-1867)

Rousseau was a leader in the Romantic Barbizon school. Note the familiar outdoor scene and note how the careful reproduction of detail gives an almost photographic likeness.

Corot, and Millet whose landscapes and peasant scenes are familiar to all of us.

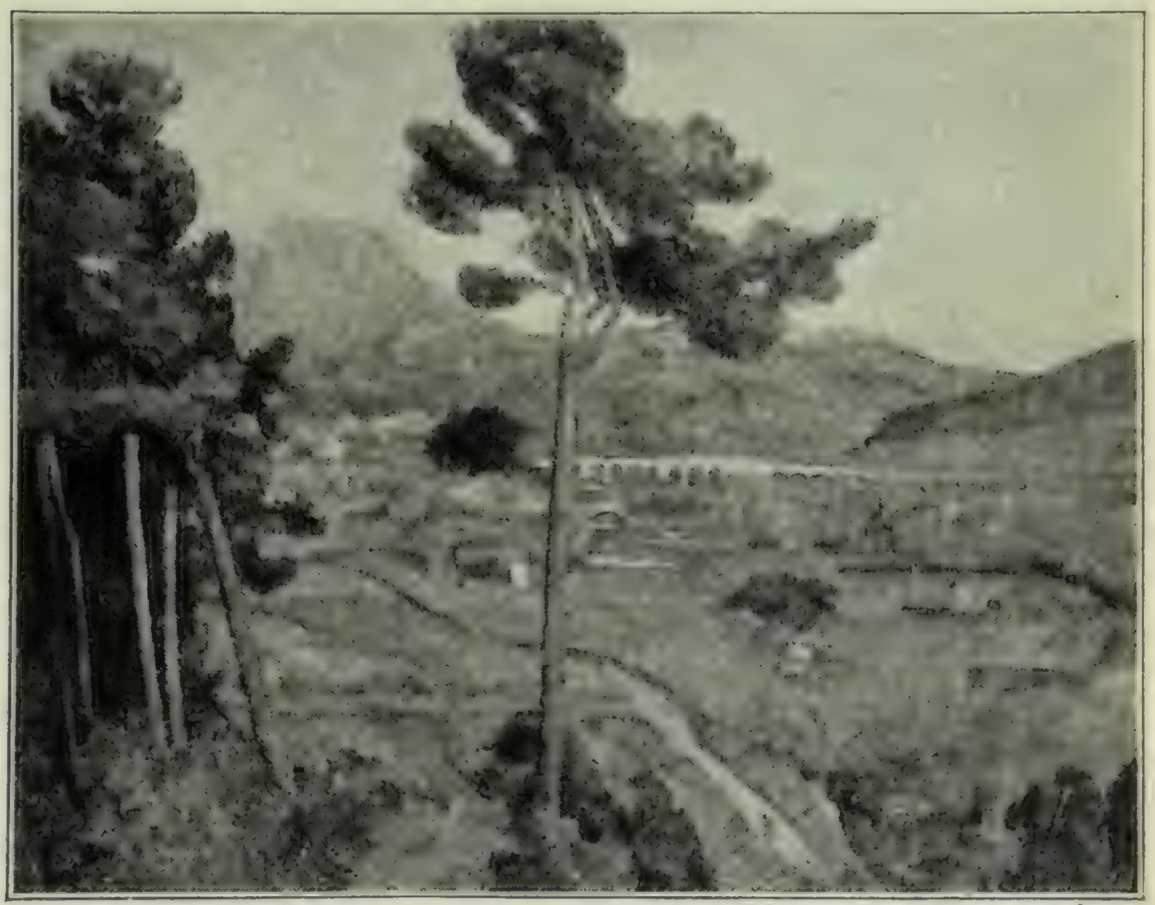


Metropolitan Museum of Art

"The Poplars" by Claude Monet (1840-1926)

Monet was one of the leading impressionists. Note the hazy effect and the lack of sharp outlines as compared with Rousseau's landscape on page 351.

While the work of the Barbizon group attracted many followers, the majority of French painters still followed the older school led by David and Ingres. As a reaction against this "high art" a new group developed which came to be called the impressionists, from the fact that it aimed to reproduce not a photographic likeness but the fleeting impression of a scene. Manet, for example, sometimes painted as many as twenty pictures of the same subject from the same viewpoint in order to catch the elusive changes brought about by different lights and atmospheric conditions. Seen at close range an impressionistic painting seems blurred and indistinct, a mass of colors, but at the proper distance it acquires shape and form. Impressionism corresponds to realism in literature since it deals mainly with scenes from everyday life and endeavors to translate nature in terms of the impression received instead of copying exactly its lines and colors. The leaders of the impressionists were Manet, Monet, Pissarro, and Renoir. They were masters in the use of color and light. They paid little attention to form and design and their pictures usually made little use of imagination.



Metropolitan Museum of Art

LANDSCAPE BY PAUL CÉZANNE (1839-1906)

Cézanne has been called the father of modern painting. Compare this picture with those of Rousseau and Monet, noting the absence of detail and the emphasis on form and design. Cézanne's paintings have power rather than charm.

Cézanne, one of the greatest of modern painters, tried to retain the realistic effects of the impressionist paintings and at the same time give more emphasis to shape and form. His pictures, without losing the color and light effects of the impressionists, have an air of solidity and permanence which those of the impressionists lack. Cézanne and his followers, of whom Van Gogh and Gauguin are among the most prominent, are called the post-impressionists or expressionists. Cézanne has had a great influence on contemporary painting for most of the modernist schools are developments of his ideas.

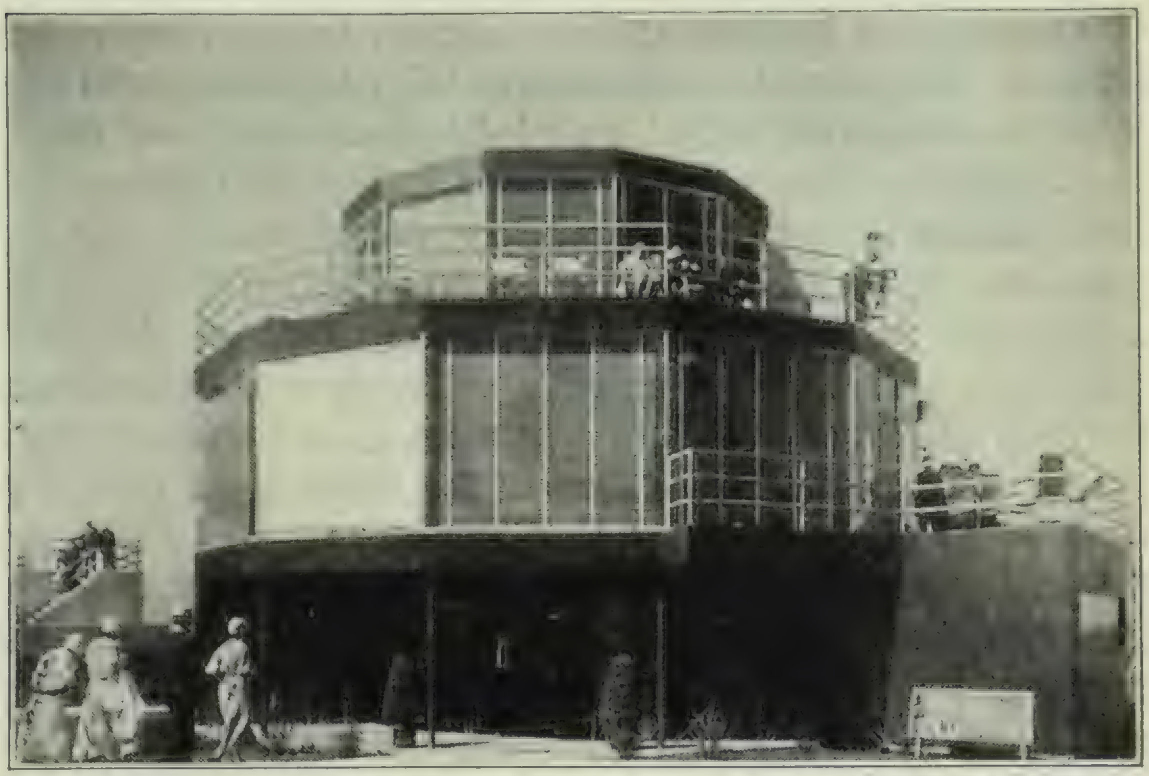
The layman suspects that some who call themselves modernists are trying to hide their lack of real ability to draw under eccentric designs and weird use of color. Others—among them are Matisse and Picasso—are accomplished draftsmen and artists of great ability, who are attempting to carry their ideas to logical conclusion. The cubists attempt to reduce all nature to geometric forms and to represent "what the mind knows and remembers rather than what the eye sees." The futurists—so-called because of the complete break with the past—attempt to picture energy and emotion, not concrete things. Not all modern painters are modernists. A large number of the most popular of contemporary painters are conservatives who are painting realistic pictures along conventional lines.

V. Sculpture

Most of the sculpture of the nineteenth century and much of that of the twentieth is in both form and subject an imitation of that of the Greeks and the Renaissance. The work of the Frenchman, Rodin, marked a turning point in modern sculpture just as that of the impressionists did in modern painting. His realistic figures, suggesting ruggedness, force, and movement, mark a reaction against the smooth surfaces and conventional designs of the classicists. His work has had a great influence on later sculptors. Some of the modern sculptors have carried Rodin's theories to extremes, exaggerating and distorting the human figure to express emotions and abstract ideas. Archipenko, the Lithuanian sculptor, illustrates this tendency toward abstract expression in much of his work, although in other work he has shown himself to be a master of naturalistic representation.

VI. ARCHITECTURE

The last hundred years have seen more building than any other period in history. The Industrial Revolution, the growth of trade, the increase in population, and the increase in wealth have all called for more buildings and new types of buildings. Dwellings—from workers' tenement houses to elaborate homes—factories, stores, warehouses, office buildings, banks, railway terminals, schools, libraries, theaters, churches, hospitals, hotels, museums, government buildings, have all multiplied in number and variety. With all this great amount of building there have been few new ideas developed in architecture. Most architects have been content to imitate styles of former periods—mainly the classic Greek and Roman. This imitation of earlier periods has sometimes resulted in beautiful build-



Kaufmann-Fabry Co.

THE HOUSE OF TOMORROW

The architecture of the buildings of the Century of Progress Exhibition in Chicago in 1933 was entirely in the ultra-modern manner. Dwellings like this are prophesied. Open porches and roof gardens permit outdoor life, while walls of plate glass, which may be shaded by curtains and Venetian blinds, offer a maximum of sunshine indoors.

ings. It has also resulted in hideous buildings, due to the failure to adapt the style to local conditions or to the effort to combine several styles in one building. Many structures have been erected without any regard for beauty or architectural principles.

One important new development has come with the use of structural steel and concrete, which makes it possible to dispense, to a far greater extent than before, with arches and supporting columns. This new method has been applied especially in the erection of skyscrapers. While many architects have followed conventional classic or Gothic designs one school has tried to break away and establish new principles. This school "discovers architectural beauty in the frank expression of structural relations, undisguised by traditional ornament. The function, the locality, the materials, the processes of construction, determine the shape, surfaces, openings, and proportions of the building. The architect's problem is to unite the elements provided by these factors into a harmonious and truthful design." Louis Sullivan, who designed some of the buildings for the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, was the founder of this school. Frank Lloyd Wright is the principal present-day exponent of it. Although it started in the United States, European architects have been more enthusiastic about it than Americans.

VII. Music

The change from the classic tradition in music to the romantic tendencies of the early nineteenth century is represented by the genius of the great German composer, Beethoven. As in other forms of artistic expression, romanticism in music centers around the effort to express the emotions of the individual and to use new forms and new arrangements to accomplish its purpose.

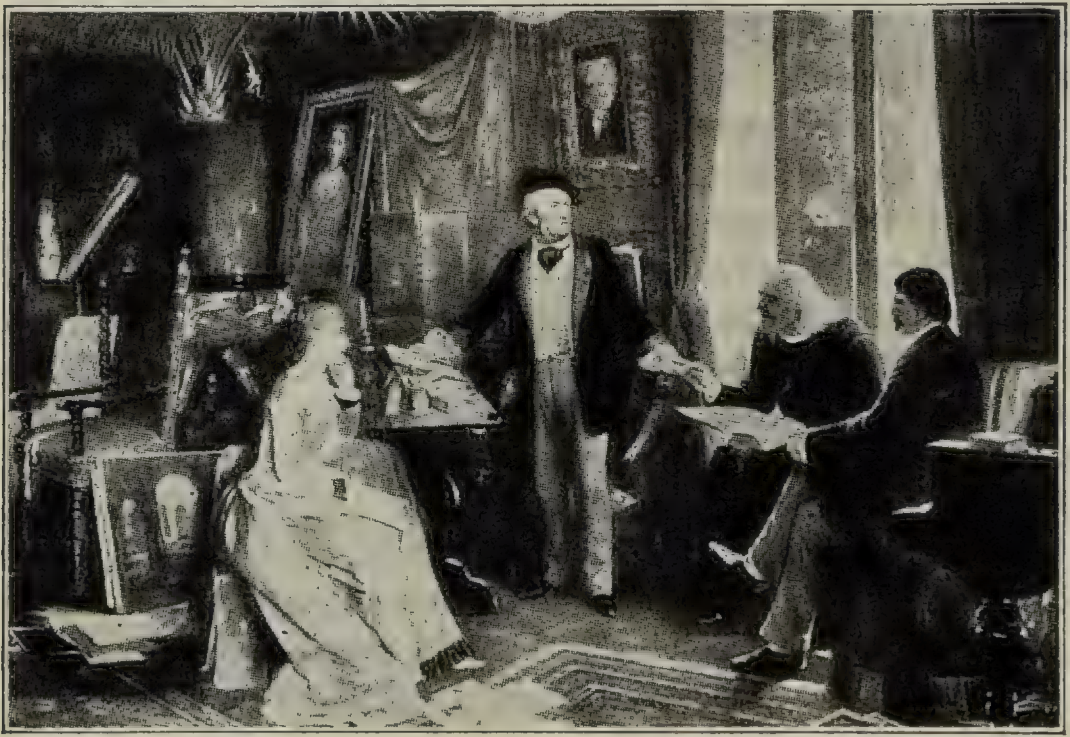
Beethoven, best known for his sonatas and the celebrated *Ninth Symphony,* is recognized as a master of colorful orchestration. Schubert, whose *Unfinished Symphony* enjoys a wide popularity, made his greatest contribution to musical history in the writing of songs. Schumann shares with Schubert a great reputation as a song writer. Both were considerably influenced by the art and literature of their age, and made a conscious effort to put into music the mood suggested by the poems they read. Both brought the use of the pianoforte as an accompaniment for songs to an extraordinary degree of perfection. Mendelssohn, popularly remembered for the *Spring Song*, the *Wedding March* and the overture to *The Midsummer Night's Dream,* is also representative of the romantic tendency.

Chopin is commonly hailed as the greatest composer of piano music. The influence of race and nationality is traceable in his work. His famous *Funeral March* expresses his sorrow over the death of his beloved nation, Poland. Native folklore and dances furnished him with material for his mazurkas and polonaises. The *Hungarian Rhapsodies* of Liszt, pianist and composer, also illustrate the habit of the romanticists to cultivate national melodies and folk dances. As might be expected in a century in which nationalism was so pronounced a force, national traits are present in the works of most of the great composers and artists of the century. Political nationalism was nourished by a musical nationalism; each nationality has tended to create a somewhat distinctive musical style.

For the Scandinavian countries this tendency is illustrated by Grieg; for Bohemia, by Dvorák; for Russia, by Rimsky-Korsakov and Tschaikowsky, whose orchestral compositions are said to portray the "lyric melancholy" that brooded over Russia; for France, by César Franck, Debussy, renowned for the opera *Pelleas and Mélisande,* and by Saint-Saëns; for Italy, by the operas of Verdi; and for Germany, by Wagner, Brahms, and Strauss.

Since music, like painting, requires no skill in languages for its appreciation, its influence is truly international. The composers and artists of one nationality have a profound influence on those of another; thus, for example, the American negro spirituals influenced the work of the Bohemian, Dvorák.

Richard Wagner stands out as the great operatic composer of the century. His great contribution was the use of the orchestra to reflect the dramatic action on the stage; the art of the dramatist and musician were fused. He has been called a "musical scene-painter." Probably his supreme achievement is the orchestral description of emotion. A characteristic of his operas is the use of the *leitmotiv,* or theme which suggests the underlying action of the drama. Wagner has provoked a storm of criticism; his admirers are not agreed as to his greatest work. Some prefer his last opera, *Parsifal,* while others incline to the operas of the great Wagner Cycle or Ring—the four musical dramas based upon his conception of the Nibelungen saga—*Rheingold, Die Walküre, Siegfried, Die Götterdammerung.*



From the painting by Beckmann

A FAMOUS MUSICAL GROUP

Richard Wagner (1813-1883) is standing. At his left is his wife, Cosima, and at the right her father, Franz Liszt (1811-1886). The gentleman at the extreme right is Moriz Rosenthal, a pupil of Liszt.

Richard Strauss is the chief representative of German musical art in the twentieth century. In his orchestration he has added new instruments and found new uses for old ones. He is influenced by the Wagner tradition and ideals; it has also been suggested that he reflects in his music the ideas of the philosopher Nietzsche.

While Wagner was giving new tone and color to German opera, Italian opera achieved great development at the hands of Verdi. Verdi was not affected by the Wagner influence. His great works are *Il Trovatore, Rigoletto, Aïda,* and *Othello.* Mascagni, best known for *Cavaliera Rusticana,* and Puccini, whose popular operas are *La Bohême* and *Madame Butterfly,* have carried on the Verdi tradition. The great difference between Italian opera as personified by Verdi, and German opera as represented by Wagner and Strauss, lies in the fact that Italian opera centers its interest in the voice of the singer, while in German opera the center of interest is the orchestra. Musical critics debate the merits of the two. Italian opera is lyrical, not melodramatic; it appeals more to the emotions than to the intellect. The dispute carried on over these two forms of opera illustrates the influence of nationality on the various forms of art.

Perhaps even so brief an account of the German composers would be incomplete without some reference to John Sebastian Bach, who died twenty years before Beethoven was born. His work, unappreciated—or at least under-appreciated—by his contemporaries, was rediscovered by Beethoven and later musicians and given the high place that it richly deserved. Symphonic music, which received its inspiration from the study of Bach, is peculiar to the modern age. Symphonic music was as novel a creation in culture as was the dynamo in machinery. As accomplishments of civilization, its greatest masterpieces rank with the highest achievements in literature, in architecture, or in painting. And now, modern mechanisms are rivaling the printing press in making the music of the great symphonies popular, as reading was made popular in days gone by.

The advance of the machine age has greatly affected music and extended its scope. The invention of the phonograph, the player-piano, and the radio has contributed much to the improvement of the musical taste of the masses. The machine age has also contributed to the invention and improvement of musical instruments. Modern music makes use of new scales and tone arrangements, and places great emphasis upon rhythm to portray emotions; another modern device is the use of broken chords. The popular American jazz is an accentuation of this tendency. Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue,* a composition which employs some of the jazz technique, is considered by many to possess rare power and beauty.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is meant by "bourgeois ideals" (page 337)?

2. Select passages from some of the English romantic poets whose works you have read and see if you can find "romantic tendencies" in them.

3. What proof can you find in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* that he accepted the scientific ideas of his age?

4. What historical value have the works of Dickens, Thackeray, or Eliot?

5. Does Kipling give a true picture of the results of Imperialism in his works?

6. What evidence can you give that Shaw has had an influence on "the social and moral thinking of his age"?

7. Explain the fact that mobs prevented the showing of the moving picture version of Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* in Germany.

8. What strikes you as the main difference between the pictures of Renaissance artists and those of the impressionists? Which seem to you to be more "realistic"?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Literature

Moody and Lovett, *A History of English Literature*
Macy, *Story of the World's Literature*
Rascoe, *Titans of Literature*
Nitze and Dargan, *A History of French Literature*

Painting

Craven, *Men of Art*
Gardner, *Art Through the Ages*
Magonigle, *The Nature of Painting and History of Art*
Cheyney, *A Primer of Modern Art*
Reinach, *Apollo*

Music

Bekker, *The Story of Music*

SECTION IV

NATIONALISM

CHAPTER XVI. NATIONALISM AS A UNIFYING FORCE
CHAPTER XVII. NATIONALISM AS A DISRUPTIVE FORCE

PREVIEW

Nationalism is one of the most powerful forces in modern history. Like many fundamental concepts, it is not easy to define. But in general by nationalism is meant the desire of certain peoples to group themselves together into a single independent nation and to promote the interests of their group in every way possible. Nationalism has been both a unifying and a disruptive force. In Chapter XI we have noted some examples of economic nationalism, and their unfortunate effects on international relations. In this section we shall learn how nationalism has tended to bring together into one nation peoples who for centuries lacked unity. We give our attention especially to the story of the German and Italian peoples, not because these peoples furnish the only illustration of how nationalism worked as a unifying force but because they serve as convenient and typical examples. We shall then turn our attention to a study of how nationalism has tended to break up old empires and see how subject nationalities have emerged as independent political units, leaving the older empires crumbled or shrunk in size.

Since nationalism weaves its influence through the whole of modern history, we shall have to leave to other sections the full unfolding of its importance. But once we grasp the meaning and significance of nationalism, we shall be able to find numerous illustrations of its influence—how it arouses enthusiasm for imperialism; how it leads backward countries to oppose imperialism; how it causes wars; and how it acts as a check to international organization, disarmament, and peace.

CHAPTER XVI

NATIONALISM AS A UNIFYING FORCE

I. What Is Nationalism?

A nationality is a group of people closely bound together by ties of mutual interest such as a territory to which natural boundaries give geographic unity, a common language, a common racial origin, a common culture, common economic or religious interests, common traditions and ideals. Usually several of these factors are present, but not all of them need be. The essential basis of nationality is the desire of the group to promote their mutual interests as one people. Most nationalities feel that their interests can best be promoted by securing political independence. If a nationality succeeds in establishing its sovereignty and independence, we call it a nation or a national state. A nationality ruled by some stronger group is sometimes referred to as a "submerged" or "subject" or "oppressed" nationality. Thus, for example, it is customary to speak of the Polish people during the nineteenth century as a "subject nationality." After the World War, the Poles succeeded in creating their own national state.

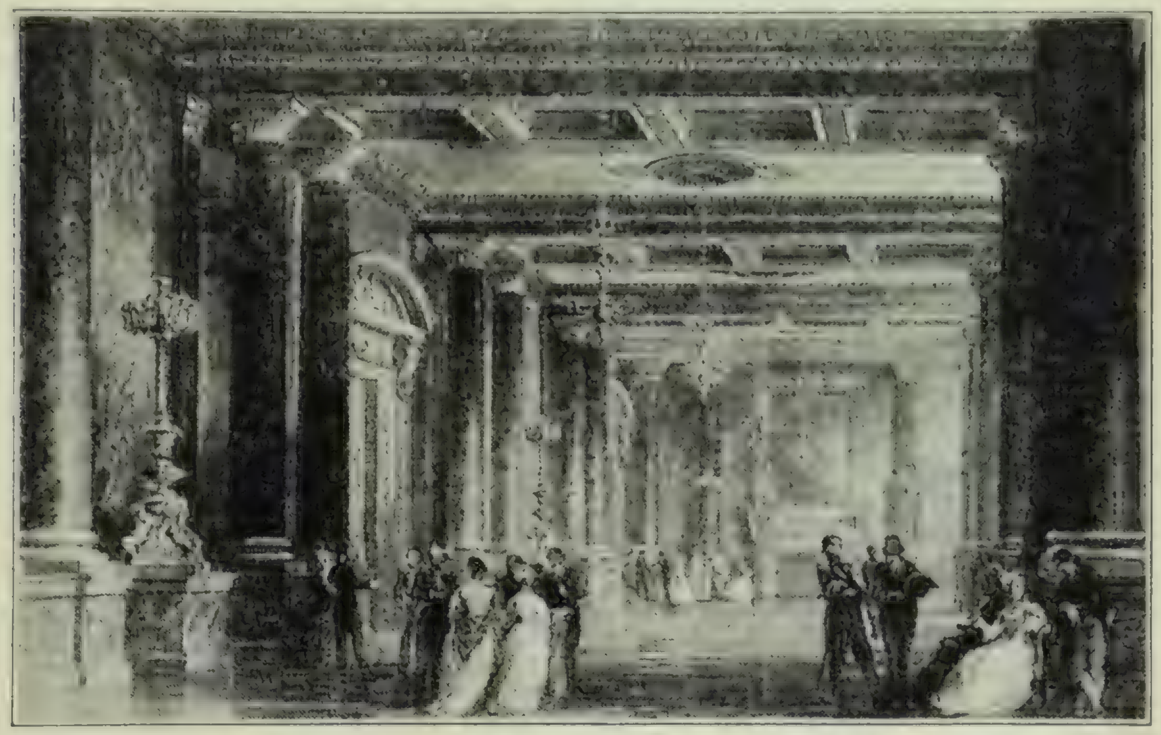
Nationalism may be defined as the feeling of intense loyalty to the nationality—a feeling of triumphant pride in the achievements of the group, a willingness to subordinate individual interests to group interests, and the urgent desire to promote the interests of the group at whatever cost. Some people make a distinction between nationalism and patriotism, but practically they are the same thing. Extreme nationalists who boast of the power of their nation and urge large armies and navies and even war for the sake of exalting national prestige are sometimes referred to as "jingoes" or "chauvinists."

II. How Did Nationalism Develop?

We have learned that national states began to develop during the Middle Ages. Feudalism was based on the idea of personal loyalty, the loyalty of the vassal to the lord. As kings made themselves supreme over the feudal lords, the idea of loyalty to the king took the place of loyalty to the immediate lord. The growth of trade and the growth of a middle class who looked more and more to the king for protection increased the strength of the kings and the strength of national feeling. The national state developed in response to economic need. It was not until the French Revolution that nationalism as we know it began to take shape. The Revolutionists preached the doctrine of democracy—sovereignty of the people—attacked the king, limited his powers, and finally abolished the office. In place of loyalty to the king there grew up the idea of loyalty to the nation as a whole. The foreign wars took away from *fraternité* much of the international significance that the philosophers attached to it; it came to mean the brotherhood of all Frenchmen rather than the brotherhood of all men. Patriotism at times seems to become most vigorous when turned to action against some alien. Instead of "love of country" it might in many instances almost better be called "hatred of foreigners."

A stirring nationalism carried France through the trying days of the Revolution and enabled her untrained volunteers to defeat the best armies of Europe. The glory of Napoleon's conquest served to intensify this burning enthusiasm. From France, aided by Napoleon's armies, nationalism spread all over Europe. Napoleon, while proclaiming his devotions to revolutionary principles, showed his contempt for nationalism by annexing Italians and Germans to France and by putting foreigners on half the thrones of Europe. This, however, stimulated rather than crushed nationalism, and the rise of national feeling was an important factor in his downfall. In its settlements the Congress of Vienna ignored nationalism, but could not crush it. Nationalism was a cause of the revolutions in Poland and Belgium in 1830 and of the general upheaval in the Austrian dominions in 1848. (See pages 194, 198.)

Since 1848 nationalism has become more intense. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the unifying force of nationalism manifested itself in the creation of a united Germany and a united Italy. Since Napoleon III of France played a considerable part in the unification of both Italy and Germany, we shall understand these movements better if we stop to summarize the history of France from 1848 to 1870.



From a contemporary print. OROC

THE SALON OF LOUIS PHILIPPE, FONTAINEBLEAU

III. THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

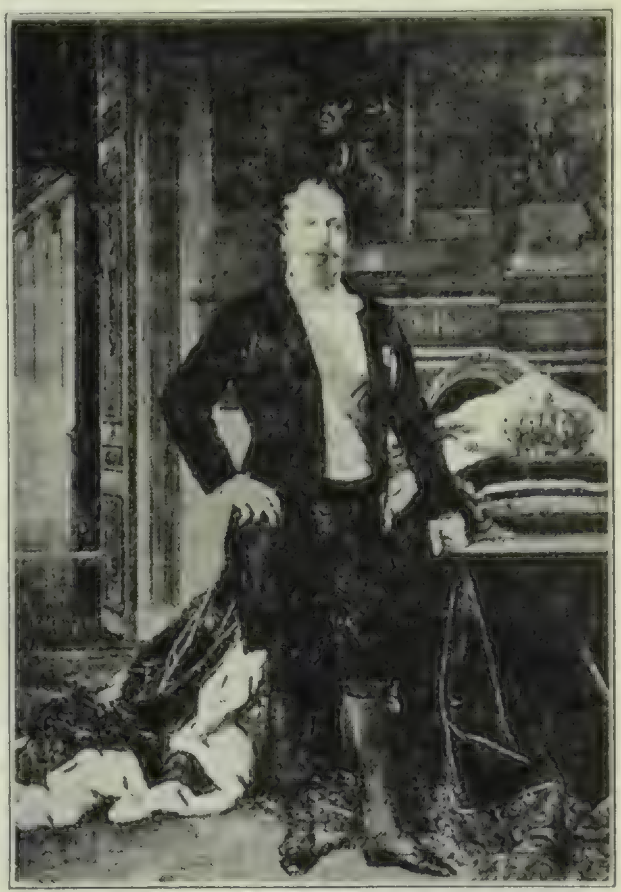
Let us recall that in the provisional government set up after the overthrow of Louis Philippe in 1848 there were two factions, the bourgeois republicans and the workers led by Louis Blanc. (See page 196.) The Constituent Assembly, controlled by the bourgeoisie, suppressed the revolt of the workers, and drew up a constitution for the Republic providing for a president to be elected for a term of four years by universal suffrage. The man who was chosen president by an overwhelming majority was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte—a nephew of the first Napoleon.

A. Louis Napoleon, President of France. The glamour that surrounded the name of Napoleon was a factor in the election of Louis Napoleon, for in the years following the death of the great Napoleon a legend had grown up that he had been a champion of the people whom the despots of Europe had prevented from accomplishing his task. Louis Napoleon had done much to foster this legend by a book, *Napoleonic Ideas,* which he published in 1839. Memories of Napoleon I were further revived the next year when his remains were brought to France and buried with pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Seine. Louis Napoleon's early life, which was spent mostly in exile from France, had been a series of adventures. Twice he had tried unsuccessfully to start revolutions in France, but in 1848 he was living quietly in England when events offered him his opportunity.

Once in control of the presidency of the second French Republic, Louis Napoleon set about the task of winning the title of emperor. He courted the favor of the army. He won the support of the clergy and large numbers of the peasantry by aiding the pope to return to Rome and by a new educational law which virtually reëstablished clerical control over the schools. His presidency was a period of great industrial activity and expanding business enterprise. The president put himself forward as the foster father of this prosperity. The bourgeoisie and the peasantry gave him their wholehearted support.

B. Louis Napoleon becomes emperor. The constitution of the Second Republic provided that the president's term of office was four years and that he could not be reëlected. In December, 1851, Napoleon decided that the time was opportune to risk a *coup d'état.* He imprisoned some of his opponents, stationed soldiers in the legislative chamber, and proclaimed the dissolution of the Assembly. Napoleon, posing as the champion of democracy against a reactionary assembly, announced the reëstablishment of universal suffrage and ordered a new election. He asked the people, by means of a plebiscite, to grant him power to adopt a constitution extending the president's term of office to ten years and making the cabinet responsible to him. The vote in his favor was 7,750,000; that against him, 600,000. There was a little bloodshed, but for the most part the *coup d'état* was a quiet affair.

Just as the first Napoleon had gained supreme control after his *coup d'état* in 1799 by the constitution of the Consulate, so his nephew fifty years afterward imitated him; but Louis Napoleon did not wait four years to take the imperial title. He had his effigy placed upon the coins and made an elaborate tour of the country to test out popular sentiment, taking along with him a loyal retinue who at the right moment would start the cheering, "Long live the emperor." The subservient Senate submitted to a vote of the people the question as to whether or not the empire should be restored. By an overwhelming vote they approved the change. On December 2, 1852, just one year after his *coup d'état*, the Second French Republic was transformed into the Second French Empire, and President Louis Napoleon became Napoleon III, Emperor of the French. He called himself Napoleon III, maintaining the fiction that Napoleon I's son had succeeded him as Napoleon II and that after his death in 1832 Louis Napoleon had become the legitimate ruler.

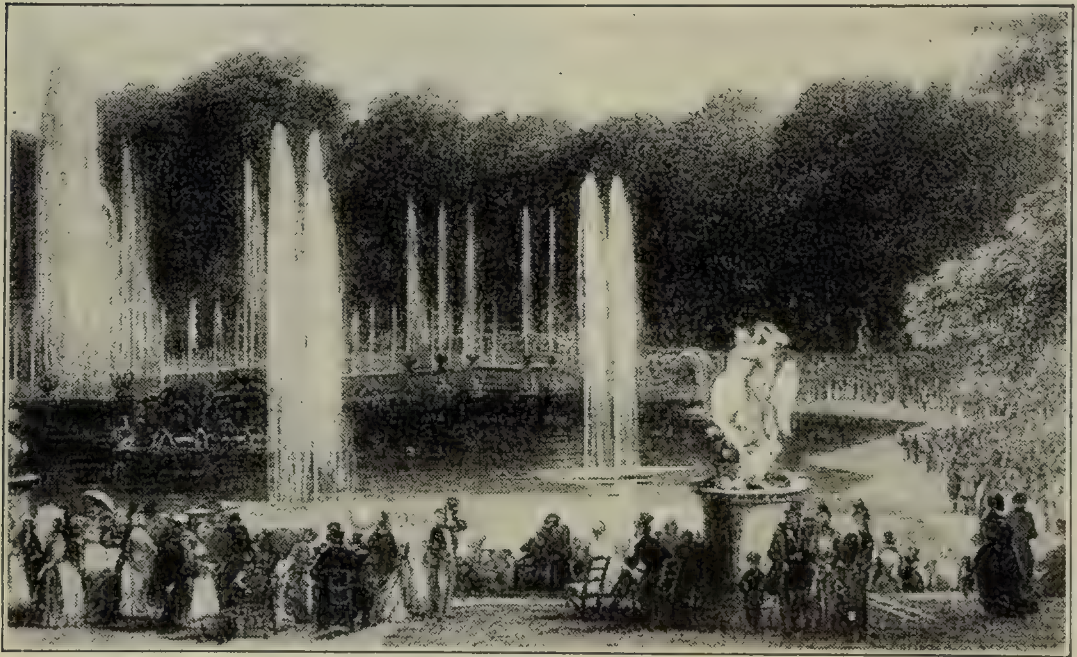


From the painting by Alex Cabanel. Culver Service

NAPOLEON III

Louis Napoleon was a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte. He was president of the Second French Republic, 1848-1852, and emperor of the Second French Empire, 1852-1871.

C. The Second Empire. 1. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT. The Second French Empire lasted from 1852 to 1870. It was a period of great industrial expansion. Public works which provided employment for many men were undertaken; harbors and roads were improved; corporations were organized in large numbers; steamship companies were subsidized, and encouragement was given to railroad construction, about eight thousand miles of new railways being built. The foreign commerce of France multiplied threefold; steel production was ten times greater in 1869 than twenty years before; about three times as much coal was produced in 1870 as in 1850. Paris was rebuilt and beautified. It became the Mecca of travelers and amusement seekers.



From a contemporary print. *OROC*

A SCENE OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

The playing of the fountains at Versailles has always been a spectacular event.

Napoleon's successful colonial ventures strengthened him still more with the bourgeoisie, who profited from the new markets which were opened up for goods and capital. The conquest of Algiers, begun by Louis Philippe, was completed; islands in the Pacific were occupied; commercial concessions were acquired in China; and a protectorate established in Annam and Cochin China, later to become French Indo-China.

Besides the enthusiastic support of the bourgeoisie, Napoleon, for the first part of his reign, had that of the Catholic Church, which he continued to shower with special favors. He also pretended a great interest in the workingmen. Hospitals and asylums were liberally endowed; the government gave its support to accident and sickness insurance societies; coöperative societies were legalized and trade unions partially so; the right of workers to strike was recognized. Napoleon loved to be called the "emperor of the workingmen."

While large groups of the population were thus led to support Napoleon, there was always an undercurrent of opposition, led by liberal republicans, because of his autocratic methods. In spite of continued prosperity this opposition grew. His foreign policy, moreover, weakened his hold upon various groups, one after another, and finally led to his downfall.

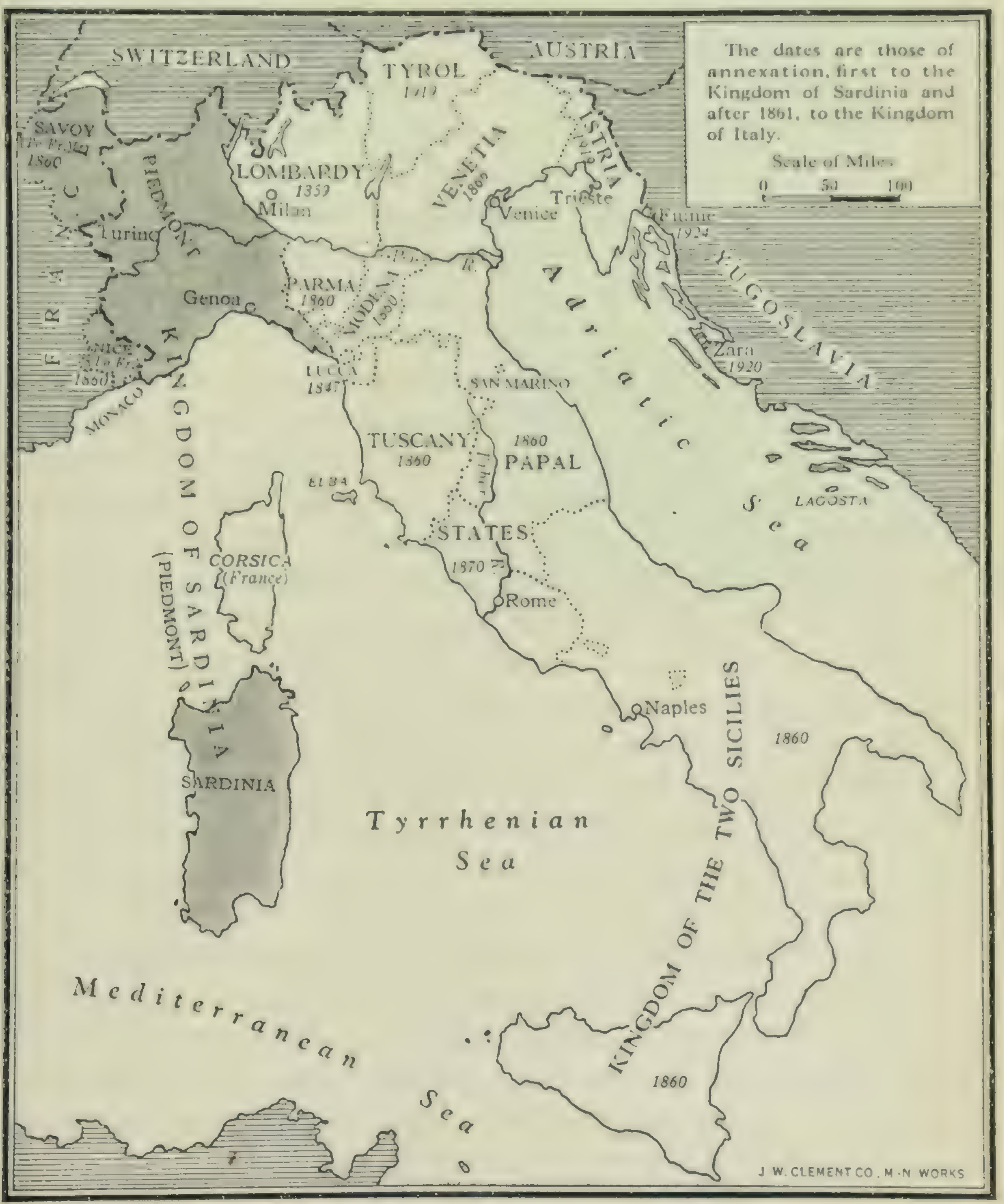
2. Foreign policies. Napoleon had proclaimed, "The empire means peace." "France longs for peace and if France is satisfied the world is tranquil." The first part of his reign coincided with the close of the long period of peace which Europe enjoyed after 1815, but in the closing years of the empire there were several important wars, in each of which Napoleon played a decreasingly glorious part. Napoleon's great weakness was that he could never forget that he was his uncle's nephew. He dreamed of conquests which would make his empire rival that of the first Napoleon. Then, too, he realized that he was a usurper and felt that he must continually be doing something spectacular to quiet opposition.

In pursuit of her century-long ambition to acquire Constantinople, Russia, in 1853, began war on Turkey—the Crimean War. England, for reasons of her own, joined Turkey. Napoleon disliked the Russian czar, who had been slow to welcome him into the family of European sovereigns. Moreover, he desired to strengthen his hold on the French Catholics by posing as the protector of the Roman Catholics in the sultan's dominions. Accordingly, he joined England and the alliance against Russia was completed by the entrance of Piedmont, anxious for prestige as a European power. Russia was defeated. France gained nothing directly, but the peace congress was held at Paris and Napoleon pictured himself as the arbiter of Europe. His later wars and his final downfall are closely interwoven with the history of the unification of Italy and Germany and will be dealt with in that connection.

IV. The Unification of Italy

A. Foundations of Italian nationalism. The inhabitants of Italy were of the same race and spoke the same language, though in many dialects; but since the time of the barbaric warriors, no one tribe or ruler had been able to get complete control of the entire peninsula. Italy's patriots could only glory in her wondrous past. And what a past she had! Italy had been the seat of ancient Rome's imperial grandeur. She had been the center of the great universal church of the Middle Ages. From the thirteenth century to the sixteenth the cities of northern Italy had been the leaders in European civilization. The names of Dante, Petrarch, da Vinci, Michelangelo still shed glory on all Italians. The conquests of Napoleon I had far-reaching effects on Italy. The reactionary rulers were driven out, serfdom was abolished, and equality of all citizens before the law had been established by the Napoleonic Code. During Napoleon's régime Italy was practically united for the first time since Roman days. The Congress of Vienna, however, undid Napoleon's work by restoring the old rulers. Italy became again, in the language of Metternich, a geographical expression. (See pages 162 and 180.)

If we examine the map of Italy as it was in 1815 after the Congress of Vienna we see these states: (1) In the northwest, the kingdom of Piedmont, which, because it also owned the large island of Sardinia in the Mediterranean, was often called the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont or simply Sardinia. (2) In the north central and eastern portion were the states of Lombardy and Venetia, parts of the Austrian empire. (3) South of these states were the Duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, ruled over by Austrian princes. (4) In the center of the peninsula were the States of the Church, embracing the Romagna, the Marches, Umbria, and Rome, ruled over by the pope as temporal ruler. (5) In the south was the large kingdom of The Two Sicilies, ruled by a Bourbon under Austrian protection. With the exception of the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont and the Papal States all Italy was directly or indirectly under Austrian control. The House of Savoy which ruled Piedmont was the only purely Italian ruling family in Italy.


SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
TYROL 1919
SAVOY (To Fr.) 1860
FRANCE
PIEDMONT
LOMBARDY 1859
Milan
Turin
VENETIA 1866
ISTRIA 1919
Trieste
Venice
Fiume 1924
JUGOSLAVIA
Genoa
PARMA 1860
MODENA 1860
NICE (To Fr.) 1860
MONACO
LUCCA 1847
SAN MARINO
Adriatic Sea
Zara 1920
TUSCANY 1860
1860 PAPAL STATES
1870
ELBA
CORSICA (France)
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA (PIEDMONT)
Rome
LAGOSTA
Naples
SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
1860
Tyrrhenian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
1860
Scale of Miles
0 50 100
J. W. CLEMENT CO. M-N WORKS

The dates are those of annexation, first to the Kingdom of Sardinia and after 1861, to the Kingdom of Italy.

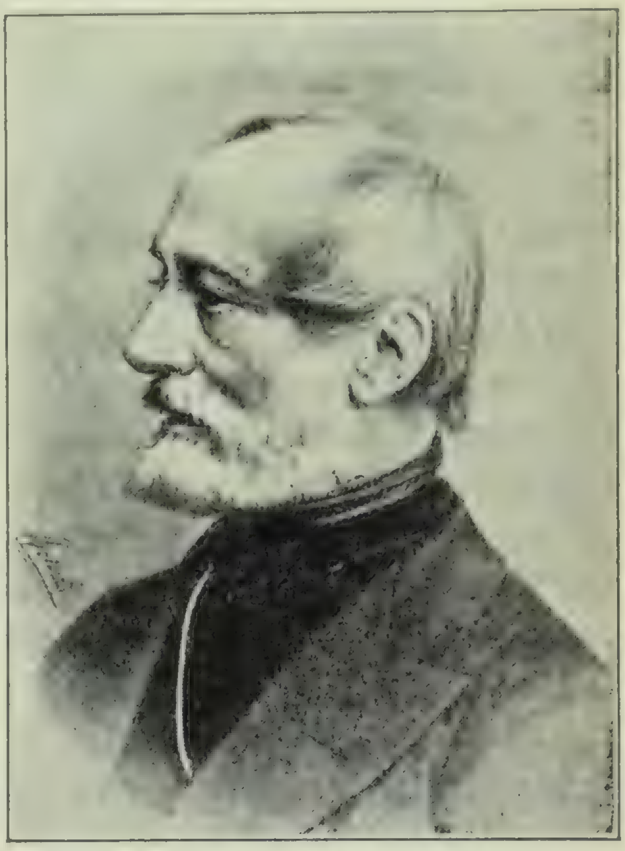
Steps in Italian Unification, 1859-1924

B. Obstacles to Italian unity. Before Italy could hope to be a united nation she had several obstacles to overcome. The petty rulers, most of whom were inefficient and tyrannical, were bitter enemies of nationalism and democracy, both of which were ardently desired by most Italian patriots. Austria realized that the growth of either Italian nationalism or democracy would be fatal to her interests in Italy. As we have seen, Austrian armies, with the authority of the Quadruple Alliance, put down revolutions in Naples and Piedmont in 1821. Similar uprisings in 1831 in Modena, Parma, and the Papal States were suppressed by Austria. Austria's hold must be broken before Italy could be unified.

Another serious obstacle to Italian unification was the papacy Ever since the eighth century the papacy had claimed as its own the central portion of Italy. The popes claimed that this authority over independent territory or "temporal jurisdiction," as it is called, was necessary to insure to the church its independence of action in dealing with its religious interests in many countries. The popes, therefore, were consistent opponents of Italian nationalism. Without Rome and without the center of the peninsula there could be no Italian nation. When we recall that the bulk of the Italian population were members of the Roman Catholic Church and that many felt that their national patriotism was in conflict with their religion, we can realize how great an obstacle the papacy and the Papal States were to the creation of a united Italy.

C. Mazzini. Italy found in Giuseppe Mazzini, fiery enthusiast and zealous crusader, the great propagandist of Italian unity. He was the guiding spirit of the *Risorgimento* (Resurrection), as the movement to free Italy from the evils of oppression and dissension is called. Mazzini (1805-1872) was born of a middle-class family at Genoa. His father was a university professor, and Mazzini studied law. As a young man he joined the *Carbonari,* a secret society formed to combat reaction and rouse Italian nationalism. He took part in the uprising of 1830 and was jailed. After his release from prison he abandoned the *Carbonari,* convinced that its violent methods were impractical, and organized a new movement called "Young Italy," made up of ardent intellectuals devoted to the cause of republicanism and union. Mazzini's dreams were of a great democratic republic that would unite all Italians. Young Italy fired the enthusiasm of hundreds that the *Carbonari* never reached. Mazzini was too much of the dreamer, too much of the fiery crusader to achieve practical results; but his work was a necessary preliminary to prepare men's minds for unity.

D. The Revolution of 1848. When the revolutionary movement of 1848 swept over Europe uprisings occurred throughout the Italian peninsula. Reactionary rulers were forced to grant constitutions. In Rome, Pope Pius IX, although he had shown sympathy with liberal ideas, was forced to flee, and a republic was established under the leadership of Mazzini. Lombardy and Venetia declared their independence of Austria and expelled Austrian troops. Charles Albert of Piedmont granted a liberal constitution and took command of the armies to defend Lombardy and Venetia and drive the Austrians out of all Italy. The tide soon turned, however. The other states, jealous of Piedmont, were half-hearted in their support and Piedmont's armies were overwhelmed by Austria. Reactionary rulers regained power and repudiated the constitutions. With the aid of a French army the pope was restored and, disheartened by his experience with revolution, became the implacable opponent of all radical ideas. Reaction seemed complete but the revolution had one result of importance for Italy's future. Piedmont stood out as the leading state of Italy. She had shown herself willing to make sacrifices for Italian unity and the liberal constitution granted by Charles Albert was maintained by his son, Victor Emmanuel II, in spite of Austria's


Giuseppe Mazzini

efforts to have it repudiated. Under the leadership of Victor Emmanuel and his able minister, Cavour, Piedmont brought about Italian unification.

E. Cavour. Camille Benso, Count di Cavour, born of a noble Piedmontese family in 1810, devoted his early life to the leisurely study of politics and economics. He traveled much throughout Europe, particularly in England, where he made a careful study of her parliamentary system which he greatly admired. In 1850 he was appointed minister of commerce and two years later prime minister of Piedmont—a position which he held, except for a brief interruption, until his death in 1861.

1. How Cavour made Piedmont a model state. As minister of commerce and prime minister, Cavour set about the task of making Piedmont a model state, economically and politically. Realizing that active support must come from the bourgeoisie, he did all that he could to promote their interests. He concluded favorable commercial treaties with European governments, thereby stimulating commerce and industry. Railway construction was encouraged in order to bind the country together as well as to facilitate the transportation of goods. He subsidized shipping; he encouraged by favorable legislation the construction of factories and the improvement of agriculture. Inequalities of taxation were removed and the finances of the country were put on a sound basis. Cavour's foreign policy was so bold and spectacular that we are inclined to underestimate the value of his internal improvements, but without progressive internal reforms his foreign policy would have been of little avail.

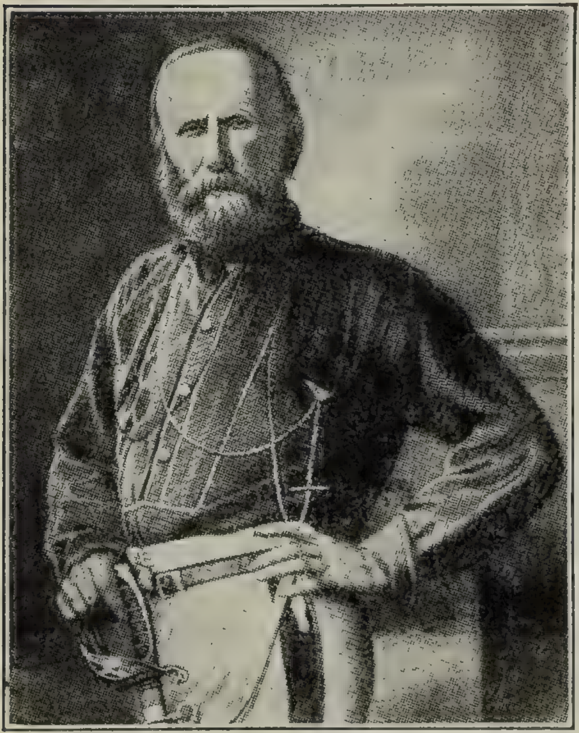
2. Cavour's foreign policy. The aim of Cavour's foreign policy was to get an ally to aid in driving Austria out of Italy. Napoleon III, who had been a member of the *Carbonari* and who, like his uncle, the first Napoleon, was quite willing to pose as the champion of oppressed nationality, seemed to be the most prominent prospect. When the Crimean War broke out, Cavour boldly decided to join cause with England, France, and Turkey. By the treaty of Paris, Piedmont obtained nothing; but the conference gave the brilliant Cavour the opportunity to impress upon the assembled peace commissioners the importance of Piedmont and the fact that the

presence of Austria south of the Alps was a constant menace to the peace of Europe. Two years later, in 1858, Cavour was able to induce Napoleon III to enter into an alliance. Cavour and Napoleon agreed that, if Piedmont could provoke Austria to attack her, France would lend a hand and receive Savoy and Nice as her reward, while Piedmont was to acquire Lombardy-Venetia and be converted into the kingdom of Northern Italy.

By mobilizing the Piedmontese army Cavour so alarmed Austria that she declared war. Napoleon III rushed to the assistance of Piedmont. The allies invaded Lombardy and won victories at Magenta and Solferino. The war provoked a tumultuous outburst of national feeling. In the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany and in the Romagna (northeastern section of the Papal States) popular uprisings caused the expulsion of Austrian dukes and local officials.

The real enthusiasm manifested by the people for the cause of Piedmont alarmed Napoleon III; he soon came to realize that he had helped to start a conflagration that he could not control. It was no part of his scheme that Victor Emmanuel should extend his sway over all Italy. He also feared that the war would prove more costly in blood and money than he had anticipated and therefore concluded an armistice with Austria. Cavour was for continuing the war single-handed, but the wise and sane counsel of Victor Emmanuel prevailed. After negotiations the following results were embodied in a group of peace treaties: (1) France obtained Savoy and Nice. (2) Piedmont obtained Lombardy. (3) Piedmont was allowed to annex Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Romagna, after the people by large majorities had voted for annexation.

F. Garibaldi. Shortly after this settlement had been effected there developed a popular uprising against the Bourbon despot who ruled The Two Sicilies. Here Garibaldi, the most romantic of all the heroes of Italian unification, played his part. Born in Nice in 1807, Garibaldi had served in the Sardinian navy, joined Young Italy, and was condemned to death for taking part in one of Mazzini's republican plots. Escaping to South America for ten years he continued his crusade for liberty in various revolutions there. He returned to Italy to fight with Charles Albert against Austria in 1848 and the next year bravely but vainly defended Mazzini's Roman Republic against the French troops. Driven from Italy again, he went to New York, where he worked for a time as a candle-maker on Staten Island and later acted as captain of a ship trading with South America. In 1854 he returned to Italy and lived in retirement on the island of Caprera.



Keystone View Co.

Giuseppe Garibaldi

A thoroughgoing republican, Garibaldi came to realize that the only hope of Italian unity lay in the house of Savoy. When news came of the revolution in Naples he boldly decided on a private expedition of his own to aid the revolutionists. The magic of his name soon brought a force of adventurers around him, and, publicly denounced but privately encouraged by Cavour, he set sail from Genoa May 5, 1860, with about a thousand "Red Shirts." In a few weeks he was master of Sicily and crossed over to the mainland, where he was received with enthusiasm. He entered Naples in triumph and might easily have made himself dictator of southern Italy. Putting patriotism above his own glory he agreed to a plebiscite, which proved the popular desire for annexation to Piedmont. The government of The Two Sicilies was turned over to Victor Emmanuel, and king and liberator enjoyed a common triumph in the streets of Naples.

G. Victor Emmanuel becomes king of Italy. In the midst of Garibaldi's victories Cavour had ordered the occupation of the Papal States except the city of Rome, and as a result Umbria and the Marches were also added to the rapidly enlarging kingdom of Piedmont. Thus it was that in the years 1859-1861 Piedmont had expanded until it embraced all of the Italian peninsula except Venetia (which still belonged to Austria) and the Papal territory about the city of Rome. In 1859 Piedmont was a kingdom of five million people; in 1861 it governed twenty-two million. Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of king of Italy in March of 1861. Within a few months Cavour, whose genius had directed the movement for Italian unity, died.

H. The completion of Italian unification. The story of the completion of Italian unity is linked with the unification of Germany and the World War of 1914. In planning war upon Austria Bismarck wanted to divide the forces of Austria and so was willing to have the new Italy as an ally. When war broke out between Austria and Prussia in 1866, Italy was defeated by the Austrian forces, but Austria was completely crushed and humiliated by Prussia and so at the end of the brief war could not object to Italy receiving the reward for her participation—Venetia.

Four years later, during the Franco-Prussian War, when dire necessity made it imperative for France to have all available troops, she withdrew her garrison stationed at Rome for the protection of the pope. Victor Emmanuel launched a successful attack upon the Papal guards and, despite the protests and appeals of the pope, captured Rome; a plebiscite was held and, as in the case of The Two Sicilies and Venetia, the people voted for union with Italy. In July of 1871 eternal Rome became the capital of a united Italy.

I. Italian nationalism since 1870. 1. NATIONALISM AIDS IMPERIALISM. Italian nationalism did not die out with unification—rather, it increased. The new state lacked rich natural resources. It had been weakened by years of misrule and the wars of unification and was burdened with the debts of the component states which it had taken over. Nevertheless, Italy's leaders were determined that she should play the part of a great power. Ambitious plans for a colonial empire and for a large army and navy were carried out, and nationalism was the instrument by which the over-taxed citizens were persuaded to pay the bills. There were still Italians living under Austrian rule in Trent, Trieste, and other places along the border. Ardent patriots declared that unification would not be complete until this *Italia Irredenta* (Unredeemed Italy) was brought under the Italian flag.

When the World War broke out, Italy was allied with Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance. She refused, however, to support the Alliance, proclaiming her neutrality. She finally joined the Allies after they had promised to give her the Trentino, the Southern Tyrol, Trieste, Northern Dalmatia, and the islands near it, together with other concessions.

2. The dispute over Fiume. At the Peace Conference, Italy obtained her reward by receiving *Italia Irredenta*—Trentino and Trieste. When the Peace Conference attempted to dispose of the Adriatic Coast, a conflict developed between the nationalistic claims of Italy and the new state of Yugoslavia; for Italy demanded that she be given the important port of Fiume. The Yugoslavs resisted vigorously for they wanted this valuable outlet to the sea. The Italian poet-adventurer, Gabriele d'Annunzio, seized Fiume and declared that he was holding it for Italy, as once Garibaldi had acquired Naples for Italy. The Italian government repudiated his actions, but finally in 1920, by the treaty of Rapallo, the differences between Italy and Yugoslavia were adjusted. Zaro, Istria, and a strip of the Dalmatian coast extending from Istria to Fiume were given to Italy, while the rest of the Dalmatian coast went to Yugoslavia. Fiume was made an international port, but in 1924 Italy was given complete sovereignty over Fiume, and Yugoslavia obtained the small neighboring port of Baros.

3. Fascism. In a later chapter we shall deal in some detail with the rise of Fascism in Italy after the war. Fascism is essentially a nationalistic movement. Mussolini has depended mainly on nationalism to lead the Italian people to submit to his dictatorship. His speeches are filled with references to Italy's former greatness and promises that under his leadership Italy will play the part to which she is destined by her high ideals and former glories.

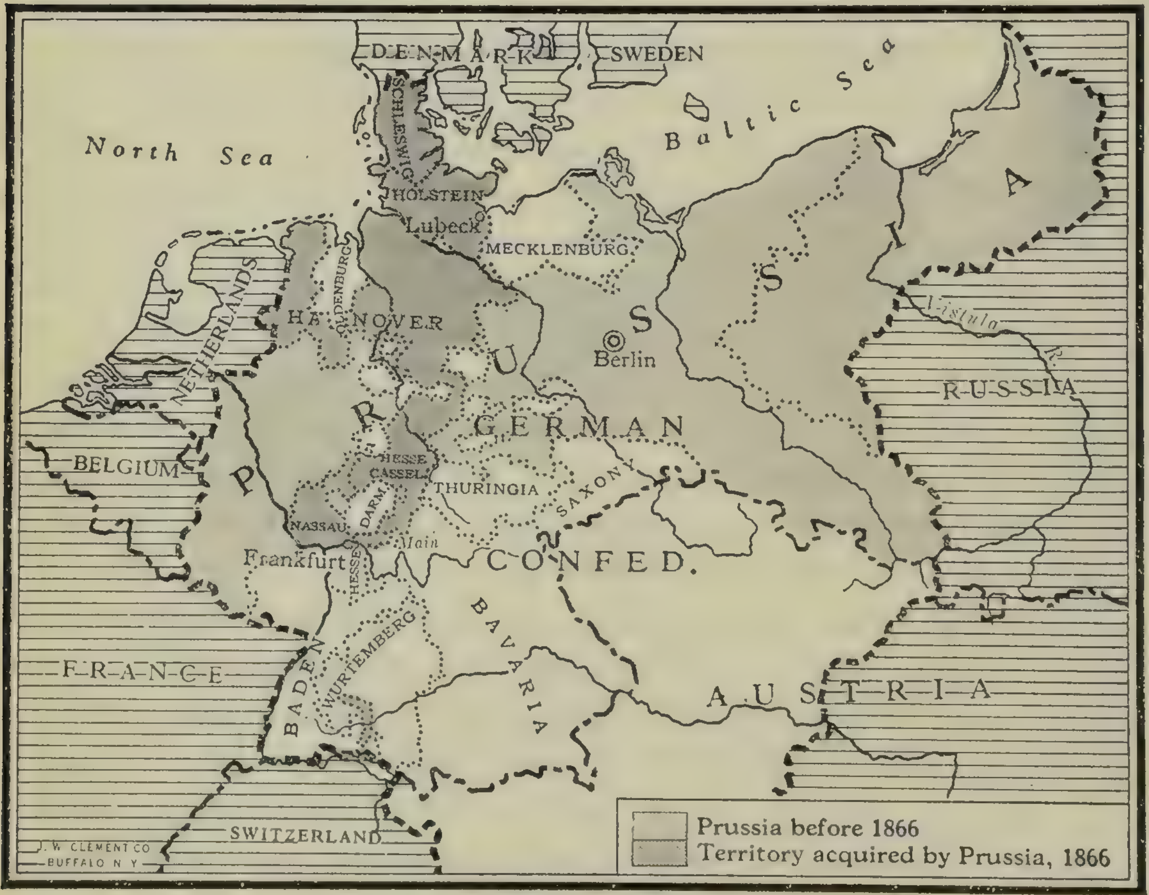
Thus, Italy's history illustrates the power of nationalism both for good and for evil. Under Mazzini and Cavour early Italian nationalism was a liberalizing force. It roused Italians to a sense of their common culture and their glorious past, overthrew despotic governments, furthered democracy, improved economic conditions, and gave all Italians a better life. Later Italian nationalism has sometimes been of the extreme type; it completely subordinates the interest of the individual to the welfare of the state. At times it has disregarded the aspirations of other nations and has been used to rouse hatred for other nations, even at the risk of war.

V. THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

A. Foundations of German nationalism. Although Germany, like Italy, remained a geographical expression until the last half of the nineteenth century, she possessed from earliest times many of the essential characteristics of a nation. The blood of many peoples had been mixed with that of the original German tribes, but all Germans thought of themselves as one race; they spoke the same language; they had common traditions; all alike gloried in the great deeds of their early kings. In the tenth century, when France and England were starting on the road to national statehood, Otto the Great formed the Holy Roman Empire. This constituted for centuries a loose bond of union among the German states, but it was not a national union since it at first included Italians as well as Germans. As a matter of fact the formation of the Holy Roman Empire hindered rather than helped the unification of both Germany and Italy, since the kings, in their effort to rule both, failed to get control over the feudal lords of either.

While Germany, at the opening of the nineteenth century, was weak politically and poor economically, her poets, philosophers, scholars, and musicians had put her in the foremost rank in culture. Schiller and Goethe in literature, Kant and Fichte in philosophy, Bach, Handel, Haydn, and Mozart in music had won international fame. Pride in the achievements of these great Germans helped to build up the spirit of nationalism in all Germans.

B. The influence of Napoleon. At the time of the French Revolution, the Germanies consisted of more than three hundred states, varying in size from the strong states of Prussia and Austria to the tiny realms of the knights, some of them no larger than a good-sized farm. The Holy Roman Emperor had only the most nominal control over these practically independent states. Napoleon really started German unification when he forced the emperor of Austria, who was also emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, to cede all the territory west of the Rhine to France. This action wiped out nearly a hundred small states. Moreover the emperor promised to pay back the more powerful princes who had lost territory by giving them other territory within the Empire. Since there was no unoccupied territory within the empire, this meant that many of the petty rulers, especially the bishops and abbots, had their lands taken from them and given to the more powerful princes. By this process the total number of German states was reduced to less than a hundred.


DENMARK
SWEDEN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
Lubeck
MECKLENBURG
OLDENBURG
HANOVER
NETHERLANDS
PRUSSIA
Berlin
Vistula R.
RUSSIA
GERMAN CONFED.
BELGIUM
HESSE CASSEL
THURINGIA
SAXONY
NASSAU
DARM.
Main
Frankfurt
HESSE
BAVARIA
WURTEMBERG
BADEN
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
J. W. CLEMENT CO BUFFALO N. Y.
Prussia before 1866
Territory acquired by Prussia, 1866

GERMANY BEFORE UNIFICATION

A little later Napoleon informed the emperor that he would no longer recognize the Holy Roman Empire. Accordingly on August

6, 1806, Francis II renounced his title of Holy Roman Emperor and the ancient empire ceased to exist. The same year Napoleon formed the Confederation of the Rhine with himself as "protector" and later added all the important German states except Austria and Prussia to it. The reduction in the number of German states and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine were steps toward the unification of Germany, but of even more importance was the spread of reforms in the states controlled by Napoleon. The Code Napoléon was put into effect, feudalism was abolished, the principles of legal equality and religious toleration were established.

The humiliating terms which Napoleon imposed on Prussia after the defeat at Jena (see page 161) resulted in a great outburst of national feeling which rejuvenated Prussia and prepared her to take the leading part in German unification. As a means of arousing the people against the conqueror, the Prussian government carried through a program of far-reaching reforms. Serfdom was abolished; a law which made it impossible for nobles, citizens, and peasants to acquire each other's lands was done away with; occupations were opened to individuals of every class. The government was reorganized and strengthened and local self-government was granted to Prussian towns and villages. An army reorganization committee under the leadership of Scharnhorst re-formed the Prussian army. Compulsory military service was introduced and high commands were taken away from the incompetent nobility. The spirit of Napoleon's demand that the Prussian army should be limited to forty-two thousand men was evaded, for as soon as that number had been trained they would be discharged and a new group would be called to the colors. This started the development of a system of compulsory universal military training which has been the curse of Europe ever since.

These reforms aroused a truly national feeling among the people of Prussia. It was helped by the organization of secret patriotic societies, by the writing and speeches of philosophers and literary men, and lastly by the introduction of thorough educational reform, including the founding of the great university of Berlin. Rejuvenated Prussia, conscious of its strength and power, was instrumental in bringing about the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig and Waterloo.

The Congress of Vienna abolished Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine and most of his reforms with it, but they did not restore the Holy Roman Empire or reëstablish the small states. They formed the German Confederation of thirty-eight states with a diet made up of representatives of the rulers but no executive head. It was a league of rulers, not of peoples, in which each state remained independent. This weak union was another step toward unification but there were many obstacles to overcome before Germany could become one national state.

C. Obstacles to unification. First, there were sharp religious differences; in the north, where the majority of the people were Protestants, Lutheranism was usually the state religion; in the south German states—Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg—the Roman Catholic religion was predominant. Second, the political traditions of the south and west were different from those in the north and east. In the south and west the people had eagerly welcomed the revolutionary reforms of Napoleon, becoming devoted to the ideas of equality, popular sovereignty, and constitutional control of the monarchy. In the north, and particularly in Prussia, although serfdom had been abolished and many legal reforms introduced, the tradition was that of autocracy, enlightened despotism, divine right monarchy. Third, the chief economic interest of the east was agricultural; great landed proprietors, called Junkers, formed an extremely conservative group in control of politics, business, and religion. The west, which had most of the mineral resources of Germany, was destined to become the great manufacturing center. Fourth, the independent states were jealous of their sovereignty, loath to surrender their rights and privileges.

Finally, there was the difficulty which divided German nationalists themselves: should national unity be achieved under the leadership of Austria or Prussia? These were the two most powerful German states and inevitable rivals for the dominant place in German affairs. Either would prefer to see Germany remain disunited than united under the leadership of her rival. A further complicating factor was that Austria ruled over many non-German peoples—Italians, Poles, Rumanians, Magyars, Croats, Slovenes, Czechs, and Slovaks. These non-German peoples had been excluded from the German Confederation of 1815 but Austria was determined to include them in any unified state which she controlled.

D. Growth of nationalism after 1815. The national feeling which had developed in Prussia in Napoleon's time had little connection with liberalism; the Prussian reforms were carried out by an autocratic government. After Napoleon's overthrow national feeling did not die out but spread to all the German states and became more liberal. This was especially true of the young men who wanted constitutional government and freedom of speech and press as well as national unity. Students formed a society, the *Burschenschaft*, which united the students of the universities of all Germany in a league for liberty and union. The activities of the students were suppressed by the reactionary rulers under Metternich's influence, but nationalism survived and found many supporters among the intellectual classes.

1. CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. The poems of Arndt and Heine kept up the pride of Germans in their culture and directly appealed to nationalism. The educational system of Prussia and some of the other states, from primary school through the university, was directed to the task of instilling in the German youth a love of fatherland. History and philosophy were used to prove that the Germans were a great people, deprived of their rightful place among the nations of the world. Prussian historians not infrequently departed from the scientific habits of research which they had helped to introduce to eulogize past German greatness and to vision a still more powerful Germany under Prussian leadership. Several scholars attempted to prove the superiority of the German language and race; the philosopher Hegel tried to show that the progress of civilization was to find its truest expression in the German people. This constant cultivation of a new worship for Germany's past and of patriotic hope of a glorious future, this continuous propaganda of press and university, of book and pamphlet, was, of course, an important factor in preparing the way for the formation of the German Empire.

2. The Revolution of 1848. The liberals had their great chance to bring about unification under their own auspices in 1848, and failed. Frederick William IV of Prussia agreed to grant a constitution and his example was followed by several other kings. National feeling forced the calling of a meeting at Frankfort to draft a constitution for a united Germany. In this Frankfort Assembly, as it is called, the liberals had a majority, but they spent so much time in debate that before the constitution was drafted the revolutionary movement had spent its force and the reactionaries were again in control in Vienna and Berlin. The proposed constitution had the bitter opposition of Austria, not only because it was liberal but also because it excluded Austria's non-German territories from the union and provided that the king of Prussia be the executive head as hereditary emperor. The weak Prussian king refused the offer, partly because it came from a revolutionary body and partly because it was opposed by Austria.

Although about twenty-eight of the smaller states had agreed to accept the constitution, the opposition of Austria and Prussia made its success impossible. Disappointment was bitter, for the Germans had expected much. Many of the more radical engaged in a fruitless attempt to establish a republic. Many leaders were forced into exile, large numbers of German republicans migrating to the United States. The main result of the Revolution of 1848 was to discourage democratic reform and to prepare the way for Bismarck.

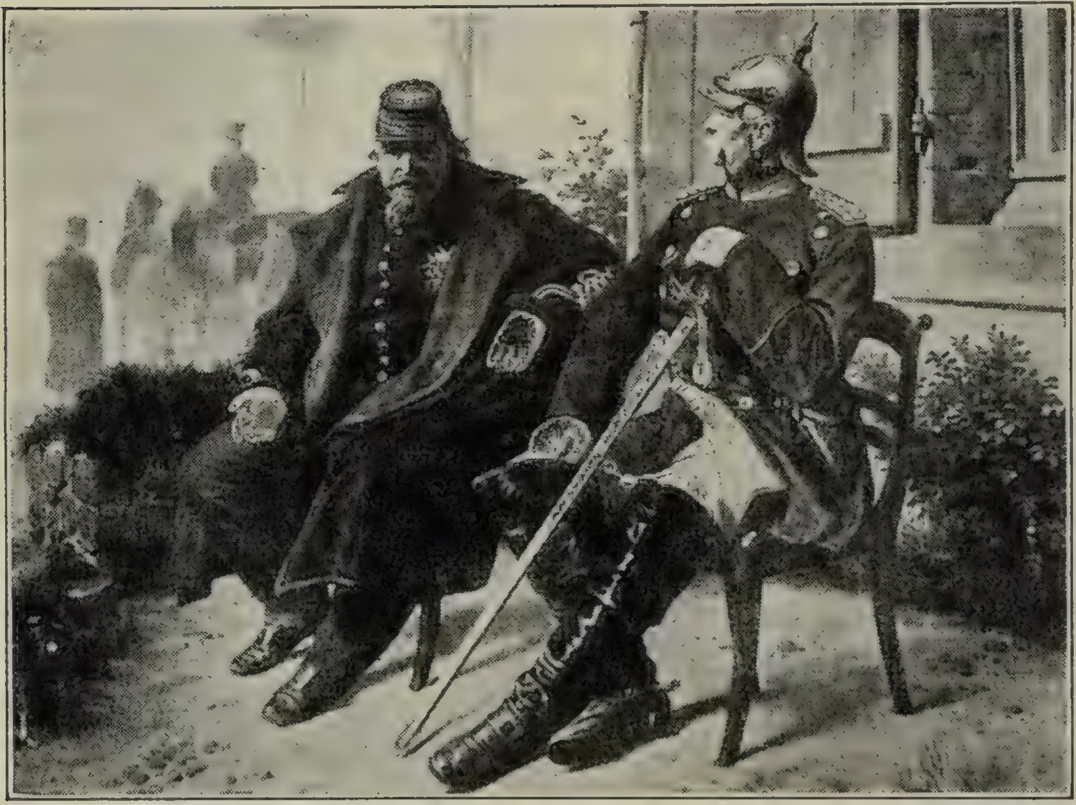
3. The Zollverein. In the struggle between Prussia and Austria for leadership Prussia had acquired an important advantage by the creation of a *Zollverein,* or tariff union, under her leadership. In 1815, each of the thirty-eight German states had their own external tariffs and some of them had a complicated system of internal tariffs, which naturally interfered with the normal development of trade and heightened mutual jealousies. In 1818 Prussia introduced the policy of forcing smaller neighboring states to accept free trade arrangements with her and to maintain a common tariff, administered by Prussia, against all other states. By 1834 the Prussian Zollverein included seventeen states; by 1852 all the Germanic states were enrolled in the Prussian union except the three free cities of

Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, the Mecklenberg provinces, and, of course, Austria. This economic union of the Germanies had a quite obvious bearing on the problem of political union. It developed the habit of mutual trust and coöperation; it tended to centralize administrative control; it enlisted the sympathy of business men.

Contemporaneous with the gradual formation of the tariff union was the slow spread of the Industrial Revolution in the Germanies. Railroads were built, telegraph lines were opened, mineral resources were exploited, new machinery and new factories started to increase the industrial output of the Germanic states. These changes naturally aroused the bourgeoisie to demand a better political and administrative system. Lack of uniformity in law, a variety of burdensome taxes, complicated restrictions on trade, and a top-heavy bureaucratic system interfered with normal trade conditions and placed the German business man under a handicap.

E. Bismarck completes unification. 1. THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE MAN. When William I became king of Prussia in 1861 there began a new era in Prussian affairs. In character and action William I resembled the stronger Hohenzollerns of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was a soldier, gloried in his army, and wanted to see it the best trained and best equipped in Europe. As part of a scheme of reorganization and improvement of the army he wanted to increase the yearly levy of troops from forty-five to sixty-three thousand and to lengthen the term of service in the reserve from two to four years. But an enlarged army meant increased taxes and the king found the parliament in sharp opposition to him. The king was about to give in to the stubborn opposition of parliament—he even contemplated abdication—when his military advisers suggested that he name as his first minister a conservative of the conservatives and entrust to him the task of "taming" the rebellious parliament. Otto von Bismarck was the man chosen to find a way out of the difficulty.

Bismarck belonged to the Junker class, the rich Prussian landlords from whom most of the civil and military officials of Prussia were chosen. Born in 1815, he grew up during the period when Metternich's ideals were dominant in Europe. In college he was the typical young Junker, devoting more time to drinking and carousing than to his studies. As he grew older, however, he became more serious and the conservative prejudices of his class became with him settled convictions. He ridiculed the democratic ideals of the Frankfort Assembly and was one of two in the Prussian Diet who refused a vote of thanks to the king for granting the constitution. As Prussian delegate in the Diet of the German Confederation he became impressed with the importance of German unification and with the irrepressible conflict between Prussia and Austria. Later he served as ambassador to Russia, where he won the friendship of the czar, a valuable asset in his later career. Then he went as ambassador to Paris, where he had an opportunity to study the character of Na-



From an engraving by Camphausen. Keystone View Co.

Napoleon III and Bismarck

Napoleon and his army were taken prisoners by the Germans at Sedan, September, 1870. Bismarck's carriage is waiting in the background, ready to escort his prisoner to King William.

poleon III. When he became William I's chief minister in 1862 he was firmly devoted to the ideals of divine right monarchy, autocracy, and the Lutheran State Church. He believed that the unification of Germany meant the Prussianization of Germany.

Bismarck's method of dealing with parliamentary opposition to the increase in the size of the army was simple and typical of the man. The ordinary method of argument, entreaty, and compromise having failed, he took the bold step of ignoring parliament altogether. Without the consent of the legislature the army was increased and taxes were levied. Although this was contrary to the constitution, Bismarck correctly prophesied that if his policy turned out to be successful the people would be willing to forgive and forget his high-handed defiance of the constitution. His bold policy may be summed up in his own words, "Not by speeches and resolutions of majorities are the great questions of the time decided—that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood." Militarism and autocracy were in the saddle.

2. PRUSSIA STRENGTHENED INTERNALLY. Bismarck was a statesman of vision and a skilled administrator as well as an overbearing leader and the cleverest diplomat of his time. During his ministry reforms begun by William I were ably carried out. Railroads were built with an eye to their military as well as their economic value. Trade and agriculture were encouraged. Economy ruled in all departments and inefficiency was tolerated nowhere. Bismarck did much to make "Prussian efficiency" proverbial. Prussia became the model state of Germany much as Piedmont had been the model state in Italy, but with the important difference that Cavour tried always to strengthen parliament and develop responsible government along with efficient government; Bismarck scorned parliament and worked entirely through a bureaucracy responsible to himself.

3. THE WARS FOR UNIFICATION. (*a*) *The Danish War.* Bismarck saw clearly that if Prussia was to dominate the new Germany, Austria must be eliminated. He made his plans accordingly. In 1864 he joined with Austria in a war against Denmark to prevent the king of Denmark from incorporating Schleswig and Holstein into the Danish Kingdom. The Danish king was compelled to cede the

provinces to Austria and Prussia jointly. A quarrel soon developed over the control of the provinces. A war broke out between Austria and Prussia in 1866 which was in reality a war to determine which should assume the leadership of the German states.

(*b*) *The Austro-Prussian War.* In preparing for this war, Bismarck realized that many of the smaller German states would side with Austria and so, a few months before, he had made an alliance with Italy promising her Venetia in return for assistance. In the brief "Seven Weeks' War" Prussia quickly demonstrated the results of long years of military training and preparation. The Prussian victory at Sadowa (or Königgrätz) was so decisive that Austria, although her armies were successful in the fighting against Italy, sued for peace without delay. Having accomplished his main object, Bismarck was as ready for peace as he had been for war. Before Europe had time to realize what had happened, Austria had accepted Bismarck's terms and signed the Treaty of Prague.

Apart from the loss of Venetia to Italy, and Holstein to Prussia, Austria suffered no loss of territory. Her greatest humiliation was the fact that she was excluded from the German Confederation and forced to grant Prussia a free hand in reorganizing the Germanies. Bismarck rounded out Prussian territory by annexing Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort, and the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, through which there was later dug the famous Kaiser Wilhelm Ship Canal which connected the Baltic with the North Sea. The Danes of Schleswig objected to this incorporation with Prussia, but Bismarck quieted them with the promise that they would be allowed to vote on the question of union with Denmark. This promise was unfulfilled until the close of the World War, when a plebiscite was held in Schleswig. The northern part then voted to return to Denmark but the southern part, about two-thirds of the whole territory, decided to remain a part of Germany.

Bismarck organized the North German Confederation, composed of the German states north of the River Main. Its constitution gave Prussia a dominant position and was so framed that with little alteration it could become the constitution of the German Empire when the influence of national patriotism had induced the south German states to join. By granting universal suffrage the crafty Bismarck seemed to be making concessions to the liberals. In Prussia Bismarck restored the constitution which he had ignored since 1862 and asked for a bill of indemnity for his unconstitutional acts. It was granted. He had guessed right in supposing that, following a victorious war, the liberals would be so full of patriotic enthusiasm that they would be willing to forget how he had trampled upon their principles.

(*c*) *The Franco-Prussian War.* Although the four German states south of the River Main—Baden, Bavaria, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt—continued as members of the Zollverein, they refused to join the North German Confederation. Tactfully, Bismarck did not force the issue. In the event of a war—say with France—Bismarck felt sure that they would seek union with the Confederation. By alarming them with stories of French aggression, he was able to negotiate secret treaties in which they promised to assist Prussia if she were attacked by a foreign foe.

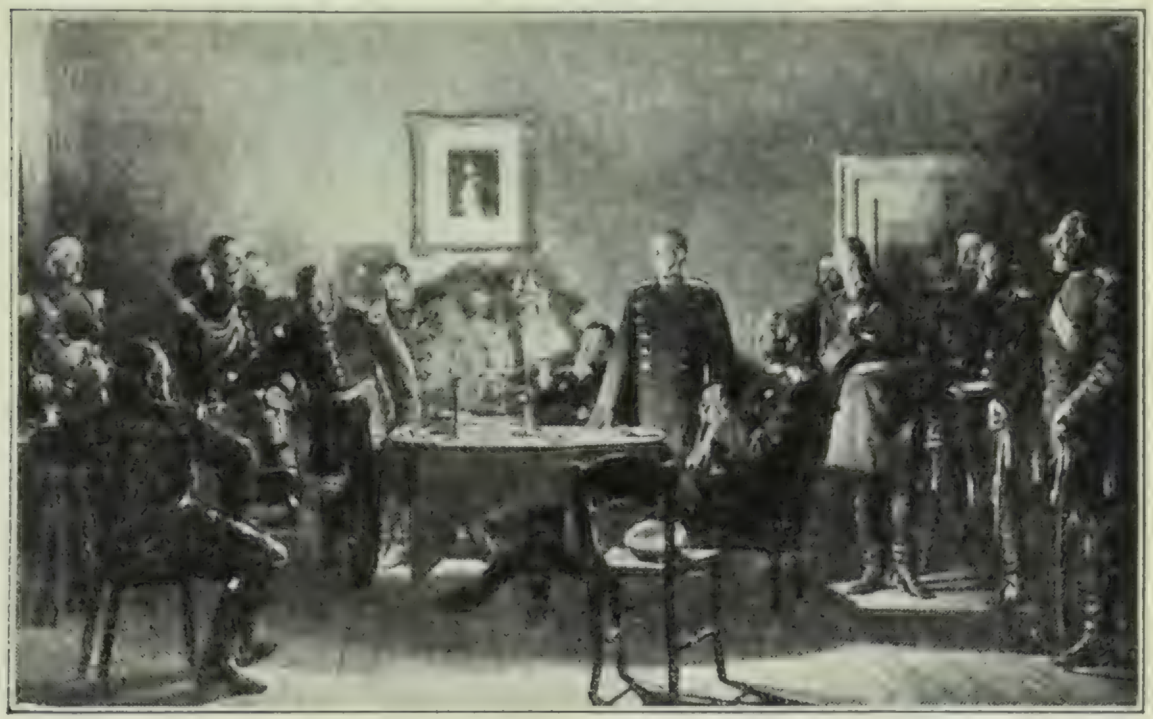
Bismarck needed a foreign war, preferably with France, to complete the work of unification he had begun. Napoleon III also felt that a foreign war would quiet his critics and bolster up his waning prestige. The war of 1859 in alliance with Piedmont had marked a turn in Napoleon's fortunes. The Catholics had opposed the Italian alliance from the first because they saw in a united Italy a threat to the temporal power of the pope. The liberals were disgusted with Napoleon's desertion of the cause of Italian nationalism at a critical moment. The nationalists thought that he had missed a chance to add to the glory of France. In an attempt to conciliate all factions by winning glory for France, Napoleon developed a grandiose scheme of building up an empire in America. He attempted to establish his tool, Maximilian of Austria, on the throne of Mexico. But, when the United States government at the close of the Civil War protested vigorously against the presence of French troops in Mexico, Napoleon bowed to the inevitable, withdrew the French troops from Mexico, and left Maximilian to his fate—to be shot by Mexican republicans. The Mexican expedition was a complete fiasco. Criticism of Napoleon III became open and bitter.

His public attempts to liberalize the government by granting greater freedom of speech only made his opponents more bold. The French republicans began to demand the reëstablishment of a republic.

The crushing of Austria by Prussia's well-drilled armies filled Napoleon's cup of bitterness. Would Prussia at the head of the new North German Confederation, with the strongest army in Europe, displace France as the leading continental power? French jingoes set up the cry, "Revenge for Sadowa"—meaning that France must secure territory and prestige to offset Prussia's gains. Napoleon was blamed for all of France's woes. His star was rapidly waning, and he listened to the jingoes.

He came to believe that a war with Prussia was both inevitable and desirable; it would prevent the emergence of a strong state to the east of France; it would satisfy French patriots and reëstablish himself in the esteem of the country. With both France and Prussia looking for trouble, it was not long before an excuse was found. It came from an unexpected quarter. The Spanish throne being vacant, was offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of the Prussian king. Napoleon, fearing a possible union of the thrones of Spain and Prussia, objected and Leopold withdrew his candidacy. Flushed with diplomatic victory, Napoleon went one step further and sent an ambassador to demand from the king of Prussia, who was staying at Ems at that time, that never in the future would a Hohenzollern become king of Spain. The king refused to yield to this request, and sent an account of his interview with the French ambassador to Bismarck. That crafty statesman published the king's message after editing it in such a way that a German would think that the French ambassador had insulted his king, and a Frenchman would think that the Prussian king had insulted his ambassador. Later Bismarck boasted that he had intended this "Ems Dispatch," as the altered message is known, to act as a "red flag to the Gallic bull." It produced the desired effect. France declared war on Prussia. Once again Bismarck appeared to be fighting a defensive war. The south German states, fired with patriotic fervor, rallied to the support of Prussia.

Prussia's efficient army invaded France and in August, 1870, besieged one French army at Metz; in September they captured Napoleon III at Sedan and began a four-months' siege of Paris. Paris capitulated in January, 1871. In May of the same year, the treaty of Frankfort terminated the war. Within ten months France had been crushed.

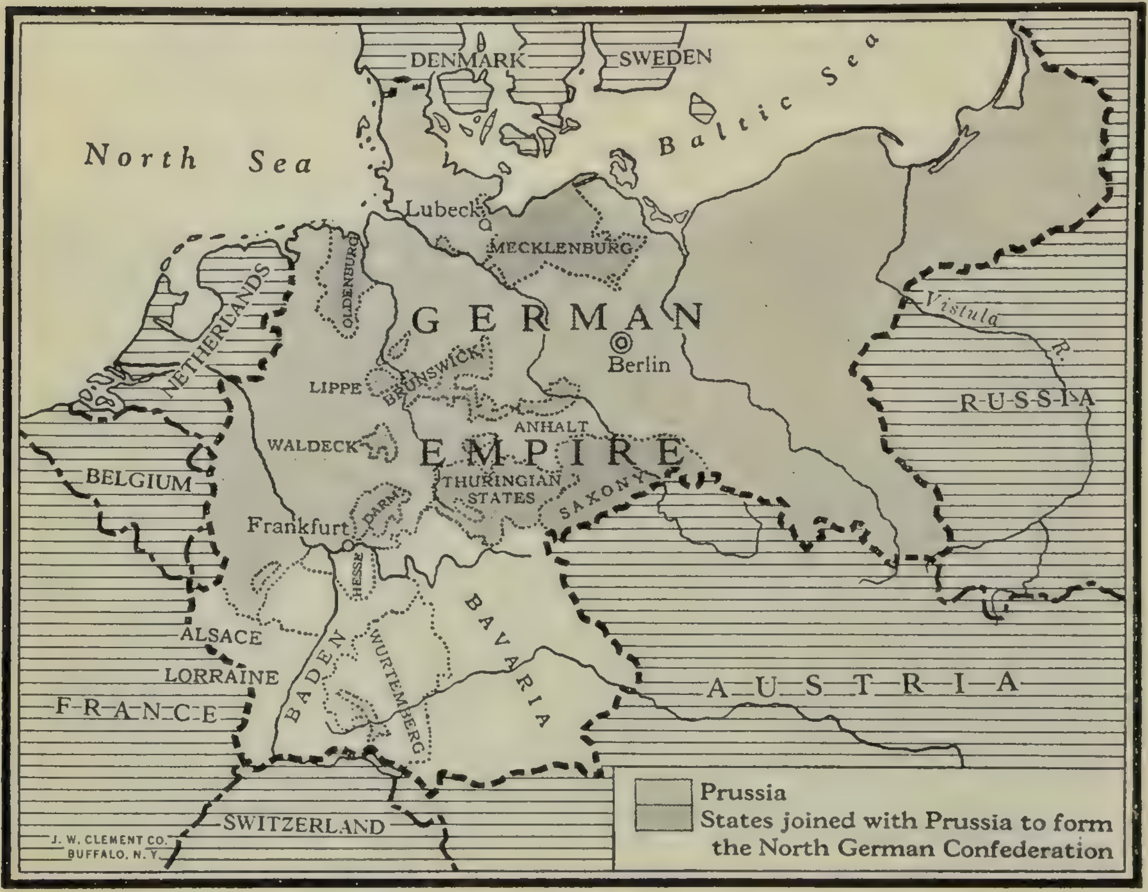


From the painting by Anton von Werner. Keystone View Co.

THE CAPITULATION AT SEDAN

Bismarck is seated at the right. Von Moltke is standing by the table next to him.

By the treaty of Frankfort, France was forced to cede Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia. France never forgave Germany for the loss of these provinces, which were important because of their strategic location and their rich deposits of coal and iron. Their redemption became a rallying point for all French nationalists. Alsace-Lorraine was one of the sore spots which kept the bitterness between France and Germany alive and helped bring on the World War. France also had to agree to pay an indemnity equal to a billion dollars. Bismarck considered this indemnity so heavy that he thought it would cripple France for years to come. German troops were to remain on French soil until the indemnity was paid. Much to the surprise of the Germans, the French paid off the indemnity in short order and by 1873 the last of the Prussian soldiers left French soil.


DENMARK
SWEDEN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Lubeck
MECKLENBURG
OLDENBURG
NETHERLANDS
GERMAN EMPIRE
Berlin
BRUNSWICK
LIPPE
ANHALT
WALDECK
THURINGIAN STATES
SAXONY
BELGIUM
Frankfurt
DARM.
HESSE
BAVARIA
ALSACE
LORRAINE
BADEN
WURTEMBERG
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Vistula R.
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA
Prussia
States joined with Prussia to form the North German Confederation
J. W. CLEMENT CO. BUFFALO, N.Y.

Germany After Unification

As we have seen elsewhere the Italians took advantage of the war to destroy the last vestige of the temporal sovereignty of the pope by seizing Rome. The Second French Empire could not survive the sting of defeat and, after a struggle, the third French Republic came into existence. The south German states—Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt—entered the North German Confederation, whose name was now changed to the German Empire. In the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on January 18, 1871, the new German Empire was proclaimed. King William of Prussia now became emperor of a united Germany. Bismarck had accomplished his task—Germany was united and Germany was Prussianized.

F. German nationalism since 1870. German nationalism did not die out when unification was completed; rather it became more intense. Bismarck made use of it to consolidate the newly established empire by the adoption of uniform codes of law and by increasing the powers of the central government at the expense of the states. Nationalism was back of the attempts, only partly successful, to "Germanize" the non-German elements of the population—French in Alsace-Lorraine, Poles in Posen, Danes in Schleswig. German officials were appointed to local positions in these territories. German was the only official language and only German was allowed to be taught in the schools.

When Germany became a great industrial and commercial nation and began to build up a colonial empire and a large navy, it was nationalism which bound the people together in support of these policies. Clever appeals to nationalism by Emperor William II kept his autocratic power intact at a time when democracy was spreading in other countries. The teaching of patriotism was considered one of the main functions of the public school system. The competition for markets, particularly with England, intensified national feeling. Labor legislation and social insurance made the workers feel that they had a definite stake in the government. (See page 282.) As we shall see, nationalism, directly and indirectly, was one of the main causes of the World War and German nationalism must bear its fair share of the responsibility, though by no means the sole responsibility, for this disaster.

The peace treaties following the World War recognized the principle of nationalism in depriving Germany and Austria of their non-German populations, but they violated nationalism in denying Germany and Austria the right to combine into one state without the unanimous consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Despite this prohibition of the union of Austria and Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, there is a strong nationalist movement known as *Anschluss* to merge the small German state of Austria with the German Republic.

Following the World War those who wished to reëstablish the monarchy took the name Nationalists and tried to discredit the republic by dwelling on the former glories of Germany and the humiliations suffered in the Treaty of Versailles. The Nationalist party, tied up as it was with the monarchists, made little headway, but the continued hard times in Germany, intensified by the depression of 1930, made the German people ready to listen to anyone who promised relief. Adolf Hitler, leader of the German Nazis (National Socialists), used nationalism cleverly to bring himself into power. Appealing to memories of Germany's former greatness, declaring that all her suffering was due to the Treaty of Versailles, and asserting that Germany's only salvation lay in rearming and repudiating her obligations to the Allies. He gradually undermined the loyalty to the republic. We shall study the Hitlerite régime in Chapter XX. Here it is important to remember that Hitlerism is essentially a nationalist movement.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Which of the "ties of mutual interest" mentioned on page 363 did Italy have before unification? Germany?

2. What did Metternich mean when he said that Italy was a "geographic expression"?

3. Which do you consider did the most important work for Italian unification—Cavour, Mazzini, or Garibaldi? Give reasons.

4. "Italy's history from 1848 to the present illustrates the power of nationalism both for good and for evil." Explain.

5. Compare the character, methods, and work done for their respective countries by Cavour and Bismarck.

6. In the Franco-Prussian War both Germans and French thought they were fighting a defensive war. Which was right?

7. Sum up the advantages of unification to Italy. To Germany.

8. Explain the statement that "the second French Empire was both progressive and repressive."

9. "Napoleon I both made and ruined Napoleon III." Explain.

10. What evidence can you find in this chapter to support the statement that Bismarck was the "cleverest diplomat of his time"?

11. "Nationalism is often the tool of selfish interests." Give facts to prove or disprove this statement.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Nationalism

Schapiro, pp. 53-55
Hayes, Vol. II, p. 65
Moon, pp. 32-34
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 545, 547
Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism,* Chaps. I and II
Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 1-35, 73-123

The Second French Republic and the Second Empire

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 149-163
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 144-151, 228-238
Schapiro, pp. 190-194, 206-221
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 73-95
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 166-188

The Unification of Italy

Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 115-136
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 26-29, 165-169, 255-268
Schapiro, pp. 221-231
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 163-175
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 349-352, 360-362
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 188-208

The Unification of Germany

Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 142-165
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 17-26, 151-165, 238-255
Schapiro, pp. 101-113, 231-255
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 180-211
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 352-360
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 208-233

CHAPTER XVII

NATIONALISM AS A DISRUPTIVE FORCE

I. The Break-up of Austria-Hungary

A. The peoples under the control of the Hapsburgs. In Italy and Germany nationalism acted as a unifying force, uniting kindred peoples in one strong national state. In Austria-Hungary, that empire of many races and languages, it acted as a disruptive force, finally breaking up the empire into several small national states. After the Congress of Vienna there were in the territories ruled by Austria four main national groups: (1) the Germans, centering around Vienna and inhabiting Austria proper; (2) the Magyars, inhabiting Hungary, who years before had wedged themselves in between different Slavic Groups; (3) the Italians, of northern Italy and along the Adriatic shore line; and (4) the Slavs, to the north and south of Austria and Hungary. Of these Slavic people there were numerous branches, each struggling for independence. In Bohemia and Moravia were the Czechs; eastward were the Slovaks. Northeastward along the Russian border were the Poles; to the southeast along the Adriatic coast were Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, commonly referred to as Yugo or south Slavs, because separated from the northern Slavic tribes by Hungary. Magyars, Czechs, and Poles had memories of an independent past and these, as well as Italians, Rumanians, and Yugoslavs, felt the waves of nationalism that surged over Europe in the wake of the French Revolution. The difficulties of the Germans, who made up only about one-fourth of the total population, in keeping the subject races in check help to explain why Austria under Metternich was the foremost exponent of absolutism and the most bitter opponent of nationalism during the first half of the nineteenth century.

For a time in 1848 nationalism triumphed (see page 198) in Hungary and Bohemia, but both provinces had racial problems of their own and internal dissension helped the government forces regain control. Nationalism still lived, however, to plague the Austrian rulers. In 1859 the prestige of the government was weakened by the defeat by France and Sardinia and the consequent loss of Lombardy. In order to avert a revolution the emperor, Francis Joseph, granted a constitution in 1861.

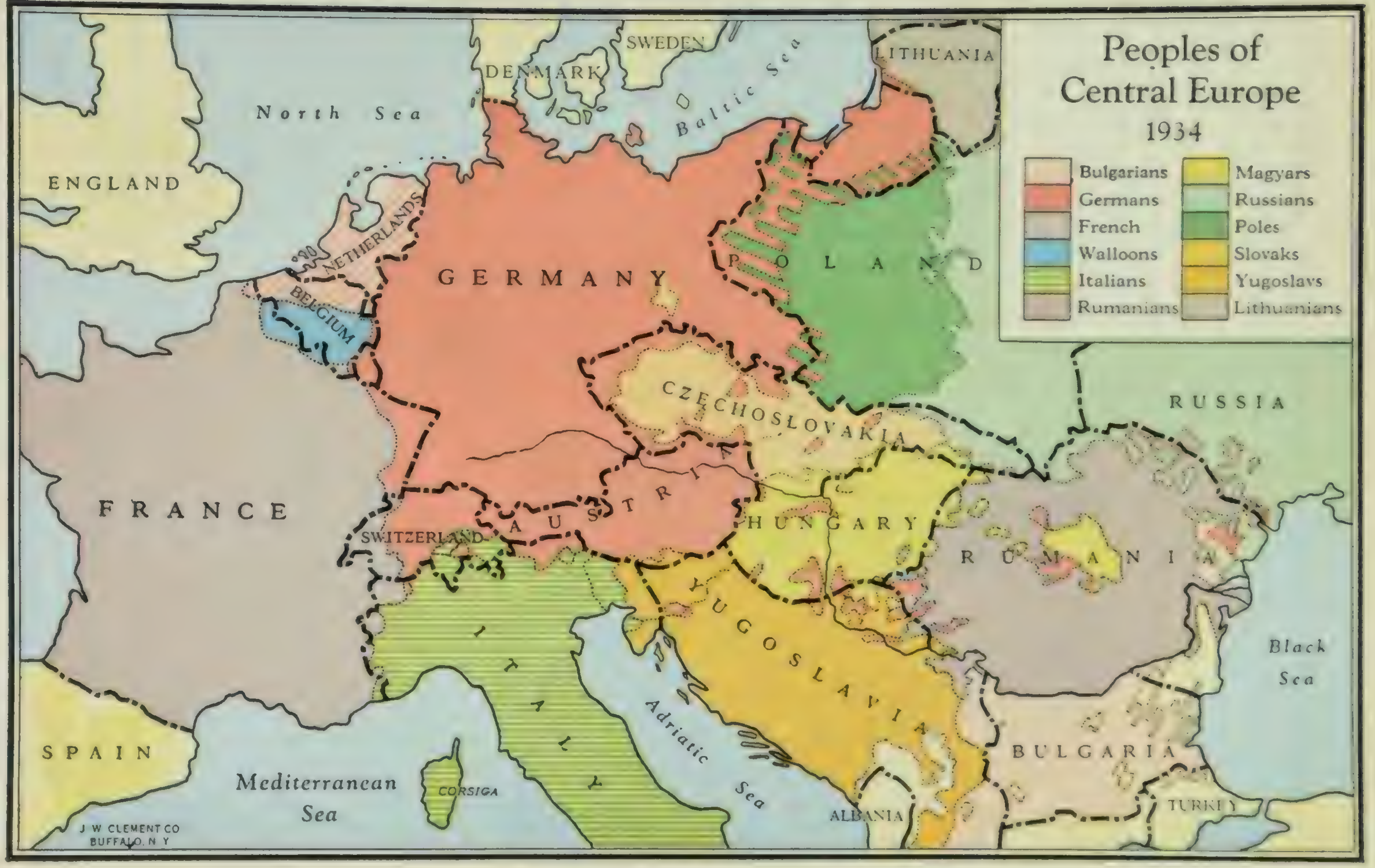
This constitution, illiberal as it was, offered an improvement over the arbitrary system that had existed, but the Hungarians refused to accept it. They objected to it because it made Hungary a mere province instead of recognizing her as a distinct nation. They felt that by accepting it they would forfeit their claims to something better. Their leader, Francis Deák, proposed a plan of federation which, while still leaving Hungary in the empire, would grant her control of her own affairs. Austria refused to yield and a deadlock resulted.

B. The formation of the dual monarchy. By the Seven Weeks' War of 1866 Austria lost Venetia and Holstein and was expelled from the German Confederation. Since she had lost her influence in German affairs she became more interested in her non-German possessions, realizing that some concession was necessary to keep them loyal. An agreement was reached between the emperor and Deák and a new constitution, the *Ausgleich,* or Compromise, was promulgated in 1867. By the *Ausgleich* the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary was established. Each country was to have its own official language and its own government entirely distinct from the other except that they were to have the same sovereign—called emperor in Austria and king in Hungary. Foreign affairs, war, and finance for both were to be administered by a joint ministry. These three departments were to be controlled by the "Delegations," committees of sixty members from each of the two parliaments. The "Delegations" were to sit separately, alternately at Vienna and Budapest, and in case of disagreement were to sit together for a vote without debate.

Austria continued to be governed under the constitution of 1861, slightly modified in 1867. The parliament was controlled by the upper classes until 1906, when universal manhood suffrage was granted. In Hungary the constitution of 1848 was revived. It provided for a ministry responsible to a parliament of two houses, one hereditary, the other elected by property owners. This illiberal constitution, in which only one citizen in twenty had the right to vote, remained in effect until 1918.

C. Subject nationalities in the dual monarchy. The Compromise of 1867 did not end the bitter rivalry between Hungarian Magyars and German Austrians. An Independence Party arose in Hungary which demanded economic independence for Hungary and the complete Magyarization of the Hungarian army. In spite of jealousy and bitterness, however, the two countries managed to present a united front on foreign affairs and the unique dual monarchy held together until the general break-up after the World War.

Beside the rivalry of Magyars and Germans the dual monarchy had plenty of other racial problems. Austria had Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and Italians who outnumbered the Germans nearly two to one. Half the population of Hungary was made up of non-Magyar peoples—Rumanians, Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Ruthenians. In both countries suffrage requirements were so arranged as to favor the ruling race. For the most part in both countries all other domestic questions were subordinated to that of keeping down the racial minorities. Parties were formed mainly on racial lines. In Austria each of the seventeen provinces had its own diet with considerable power over local affairs and a relatively liberal policy was followed toward the minority groups, especially the Czechs. The ancient German university of Prague was divided into a German and a Czech university, the Czech language was taught in the public schools, and Czechs were appointed to high positions. Hungary pursued a less liberal policy toward her subject races than did Austria. A policy of "Magyarization" was carried on throughout the kingdom. Only the Magyar language was permitted in the public schols, non-Magyar newspapers and magazines were suppressed; even signs in railroad stations and other public places had to be in Magyar.



Peoples of Central Europe 1934

Bulgarians
Germans
French
Walloons
Italians
Rumanians
Magyars
Russians
Poles
Slovaks
Yugoslavs
Lithuanians
ENGLAND
North Sea
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Baltic Sea
LITHUANIA
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
GERMANY
POLAND
RUSSIA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
TURKEY
SPAIN
Mediterranean Sea
CORSICA
J W CLEMENT CO
BUFFALO, N Y

In spite of repression, nationalism persisted and grew in strength. The recognition of the independence of Serbia and Rumania in 1878 brought complications to the dual monarchy. Serbia was made up of Slavic peoples closely related to the Slavs of southern Austria. In Transylvania there were many Rumanians. In both these new states nationalism was strong. Each wanted to annex neighboring peoples of their own race and carried on propaganda toward this end. Austria realized that in order to preserve her empire Serbia must be kept from expanding. We shall see how Austria blocked Serbia from getting an outlet to the sea by annexing Bosnia in 1908 and by the creation of Albania in 1912, how Serbian bitterness against Austria led to the murder of the archduke in 1914, and how Austria's determination to put an end to Serbian plots brought on the World War. (See pages 678-682.)

Publishers' Photo Service

A STREET IN PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Powder Tower in the background was built by Vladislav in 1475 as part of the city's fortifications.

D. Triumph of nationalism in the World War. In the World War the various subject nationalities remained nominally loyal to the dual monarchy, but their half-hearted support hampered Austria, weakened her military forces, and hastened her final collapse in 1918. In the peace treaties nationalism triumphed. Austria became a purely German state. Most of the Magyars were united in the independent state of Hungary. The Czechs and the Slovaks in the north were united in the new state of Czechoslovakia. The Slavic peoples in the south were united with Serbia and Montenegro to form the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, commonly called Yugoslavia. (The name "Yugoslavia" was officially adopted in 1929.) Rumania received a large slice of former Hungarian territory including Transylvania. Italy obtained "Italia Irredenta," while resurrected Poland secured Galicia. (See map on page 736.)

Although the treaties satisfied the demands of the more powerful national groups, no lines could be drawn which would divide the territory on a purely national basis. The treaties, therefore, while solving many national problems, created many new ones. Moreover the old empire had been an almost self-sufficient economic unit, the mines and forests of Bohemia and Slovakia and the rich fields of Hungary furnishing raw materials and food to the great industrial and commercial city of Vienna, and receiving manufactured goods in return. This economic unity was completely upset by the new national boundaries. The new states, guided by jealous nationalism, put up high tariff barriers against their neighbors which delayed economic recovery. The fate of Austria-Hungary furnishes a striking example of the dangers as well as of the benefits of nationalism.

II. The Break-up of the Turkish Empire

A. Nationalities in the Turkish Empire. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries the empire of the Ottoman Turks grew until it included all of Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, northern Africa, the Balkan peninsula, and the shores of the Black Sea, and was a constant threat to the territories of the Austrian Hapsburgs. The sultan was also caliph, the ecclesiastical head of all Islam—the followers of Mohammed. During the next two centuries the vast empire shrank until in 1914 the sultan had left only his Asiatic territories and a small strip adjoining Constantinople in Europe. Six Balkan states had risen in place of the Turkish Empire in Europe—Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Albania. One of the principal reasons for the rise of these new states was nationalism.

The population of the Balkans is made up of a confused mixture of peoples. Most of them are Slavs, related to the Russians and Poles. There are also descendants of the ancient Greeks; Bulgars, an Asiatic tribe like the Turks; descendants of the Romans in Rumania, the site of the Roman colony of Dacia; Albanians, a tribe of mountaineers whose origin is uncertain; Gypsies; and Jews. Nationalism, which was so powerful in Europe, naturally spread to the Balkans. Legends of a glorious past were revived by Greeks, Rumanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and Bulgars. Old languages were revived and national literatures sprang up. National churches, Greek Orthodox in doctrine and ritual but autonomous in government, were organized. Turkish misgovernment fanned the flames of nationalism.

Wide World Photos

THE FORMER KING FEISAL OF IRAQ (LEFT) WITH MUSTAFHA KEMAL, PRESIDENT OF TURKEY

The Turkish government was thoroughly inefficient and corrupt. All offices were for sale and officials used their positions to enrich themselves. Tax collectors were allowed to keep all over a certain amount that they could get from the impoverished people. Bands of outlaws preyed on the people without fear of punishment. Added to all this was cruel religious persecution, the Mohammedan ruling class considering it a religious duty to maltreat the orthodox Christians who made up the bulk of the Balkan population.

B. The interests of the great powers. In addition to nationalism and Turkish misgovernment the interference of the stronger European nations was another reason for the break-up of the Turkish Empire. Lying as it did at the gateway between Europe and Asia, the empire of the Turks was a prize which all the great powers looked upon with envious eyes. The nation which controlled the Dardanelles and the Isthmus of Suez controlled the main routes to the East. Moreover, most of the Turkish Empire consisted of undeveloped lands which would make markets and fields for investment for imperialistic nations. The powers which could not hope to gain this territory, or a part of it, for themselves were determined that it should not fall into the hands of their rivals. The rivalries and intrigues of the great powers in the Near East, as this region is called, will be described in the chapter on international relations. (See page 659.) We should remember, however, that these rivalries were of great help to the Balkan states in their nationalistic ambitions.

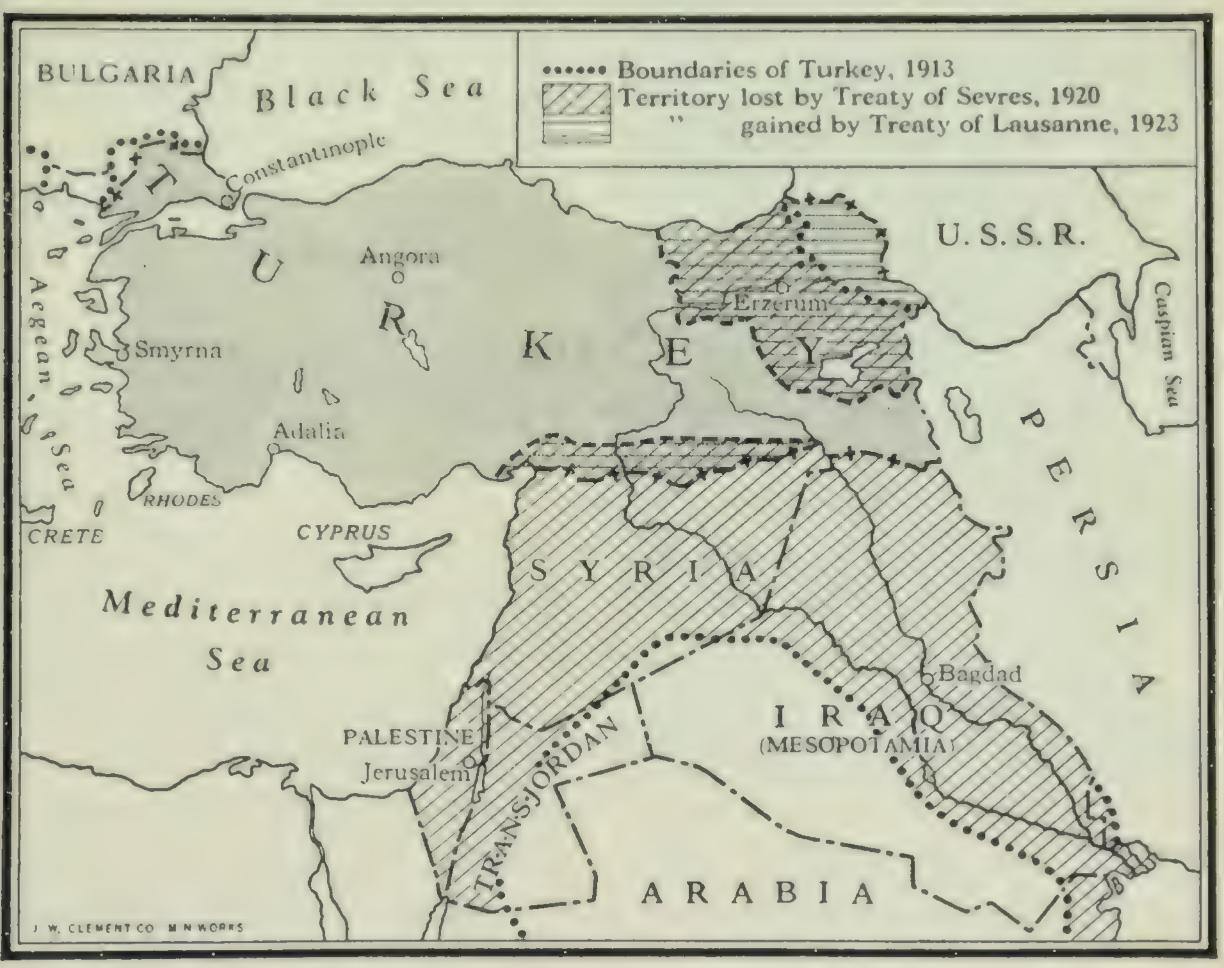
C. How the Balkan states achieved independence. Most of the Balkan states went through the same stages on their road to statehood. Originally they were governed as provinces of the Turkish Empire. By a long series of uprisings and revolts, one after another they gained autonomy; that is, they were given the right to govern themselves in local affairs but still remained subject to the sultan of Turkey and had a Turkish governor. Finally they forced Turkey to recognize their independence. We shall outline the rise of the different states only in briefest outline.

The first Balkan nation to gain autonomy was little Montenegro, in 1799, after revolts which had been practically continuous for centuries. Soon after, Serbia broke out in revolt and was given self-government in 1830, but with Turkish troops still in her fortresses. We have already told of the Greek war of independence, in which Russia finally threw off Metternich's domination and aided the Greeks, and how England and France, unwilling to see Russia gain an advantage, coöperated. (See page 190.) A German prince, Otto of Bavaria, was established as king of Greece in 1832, but more than four million Greeks in Epirus, Thessaly, Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean Sea still remained under Turkish control. Rumania was formed by the union of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, whose autonomy had been recognized at the time Greece won her independence.

In the years following 1870 growing nationalism and persecution of Christians by the Turks led to revolts throughout the Balkans. Russia intervened against Turkey, defeated her, and forced her to sign the treaty of San Stefano. The other great powers forced some changes in this treaty at the Congress of Berlin (1878) but in the revised treaty Turkey recognized the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, while part of Bulgaria was made autonomous. (See pages 661-663.) In the following years national feeling remained strong, unifying the Balkan states and making them ambitious to extend their boundaries. The Turkish Revolution of 1908 gave them an opportunity. Bulgaria proclaimed her independence and in 1912 Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, and Bulgaria united to drive Turkey out of Europe and divide her territory among themselves. The story of these years is closely connected with the imperialistic rivalries of the great powers that resulted in the World War and will be told in more detail in that connection. (See page 675.)

III. HOW NATIONALISM HAS STRENGTHENED MODERN TURKEY

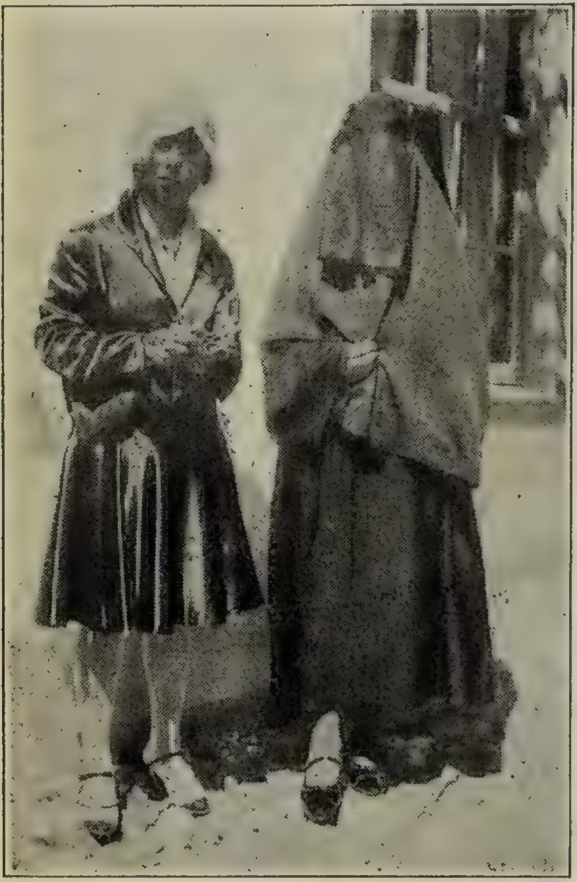
A. Turkish nationalists force a revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. This brief survey helps us to see the disruptive force of nationalism. Since the World War, however, nationalism has had a unifying force on Turkey. We shall see later how the force of imperialism ultimately dragged Turkey and all the Balkan states into the World War. Turkey and Bulgaria fought on the side of Germany and Austria, while the others sided with France and England. By the peace settlement Bulgaria lost territory to her neighbors and the sultan of Turkey was forced to sign the Treaty of Sèvres, which reduced Turkey to a small state in Asia Minor. This humiliating treaty, which even limited Turkey's sovereignty over Constantinople, aroused the national spirit of the Turks. Turkish nationalists demanded a complete revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. This feeling of nationalism was also nurtured by the Greek invasion of Turkey in the years immediately following the war. Under the able leadership of Mustapha Kemal the Turks put up a spirited defense. Aided by the dissensions which developed because of the conflicting ambitions of the English and French, who were giving assistance to the Greeks, Turkish armies were successful in defeating the Greeks and in forcing the Allies to substitute the treaty of Lausanne for the Treaty of Sèvres. By the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey recovered control of Constantinople (now called Istanboul) and was freed from the restrictions of the Sèvres treaty. Thanks to Kemal and a triumphant nationalism, Turkey alone of the defeated nations was able to negotiate a favorable treaty with the victors and escape the payment of any indemnity.



•••••• Boundaries of Turkey, 1913
▨ Territory lost by Treaty of Sevres, 1920
" gained by Treaty of Lausanne, 1923
BULGARIA
Black Sea
Constantinople
TURKEY
Angora
Smyrna
Adalia
Erzerum
Aegean Sea
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Mediterranean Sea
SYRIA
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
TRANSJORDAN
IRAQ
(MESOPOTAMIA)
Bagdad
ARABIA
PERSIA
U. S. S. R.
Caspian Sea
J. W. CLEMENT CO. M N WORKS

Changes in Turkish Territory

Under the vigorous leadership of Kemal, Turkey has enjoyed comparative peace, recovered rapidly, and begun the long process of modernizing her institutions and customs. The caliphate was abolished, effecting the separation of church and state, the capitol was transferred from Constantinople to Angora, the Western calendar was introduced, Western methods of dress substituted for oriental, and the Arabic alphabet replaced by the Roman. The position of women has been improved by the abolition of polygamy and by allowing women to vote in municipal elections and to hold local offices. In 1925 a democratic constitution was adopted providing for universal male suffrage and a president elected for a four-year term. Kemal has been president ever since the adoption of the constitution and, although he rejected a plan to make him president for life, he exercises practically dictatorial powers.



OROC

THE OLD AND THE NEW IN TURKEY

The modernization of women's clothes began in Turkey about 1925 when skirts were short. Those who dared adopt Western styles therefore caused an even greater stir than might have been the case a few years earlier or later. The young women were much criticized, as nearly all women over twenty throughout the country had always been heavily veiled.

IV. NATIONALISM EXTENDS ITS INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

We have described in some detail the way in which nationalism acted as a unifying force in Germany and Italy and as a disruptive force in Austria-Hungary. We could multiply examples, for during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries nationalism has made itself felt in all parts of the world. In the United States it developed rapidly after the War of 1812, held the expanding nation together, and prevented its disruption in the Civil War. It was largely responsible for the growth of the new republics of Latin America from the ruins of the former great empires of Spain and

Portugal. Nationalism helped Japan to transform herself in a few years from a backward feudal empire into one of the most powerful of modern states.

V. INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD WAR ON NATIONALISM

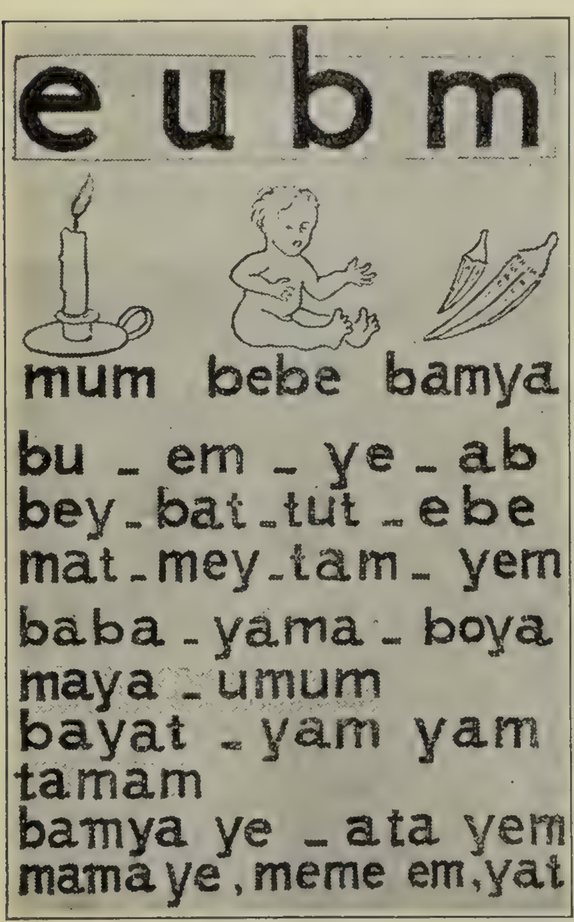
We shall see in later chapters how nationalism helped bring on the World War, how nationalism in the guise of self-determination for small nations became one of the issues of the conflict, and how nationalism—that of the victors at least—prevailed in the peace treaties. Besides breaking up Austria-Hungary into small states and taking the non-German peoples from Germany, the peace treaties strengthened nationalism by the reëstablishment of Poland, by the recognition of Finland's independence and by the creation of the Baltic States—Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—from territory formerly governed by Russia. This creation of new states and redrawing of national boundary lines by no means solved the problem of nationalism. Germans in the Italian Tyrol, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, Slavs in Hungary, Magyars and Slavs in Rumania are a few of the new national minorities. Each of these relatively large groups of people of the same race and language is under the control of a government alien to it in race and often alien in customs and ideas.

OROC

SELLING THE NEW ALPHABET

Turkish newspapers carry a grammar and spelling lesson in each issue, and the alphabet is sold on the street corners. People everywhere are going back to childhood days and learning A B C's from illustrated primers and alphabet charts.

By the peace treaties and other agreements made since, the League of Nations is given supervision over the protection of minorities. Many believe that the confusion of races and nationalities scattered over central and eastern Europe can never be settled by remaking national boundaries, and that a satisfactory solution can be reached only through a growth of internationalism and international control. (See map on page 399.)


e u b m
mum bebe bamya
bu - em - ye - ab
bey - bat - tut - ebe
mat - mey - tam - yem
baba - yama - boya
maya - umum
bayat - yam yam
tamam
bamya ye - ata yem
mama ye, meme em, yat

OROC

KEMAL'S "NEW ALPHABET"

The phonetic alphabet of twenty-eight letters is practically our English alphabet, plus an extra character each to represent *sh* and *ch*. "Baby" is pronounced "bebe." The figure at the right, the "bamya," is what we know as okra.

Outside of Europe since the war, the growth of nationalism has been no less striking. Notable has been the revival of Jewish nationalism by the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In Persia, Arabia, and Turkey we find nationalism at work. China is in the throes of a nationalist revolution. Everywhere nationalism is in conflict with imperialism. Its effects on the British Empire may be seen in the increased freedom of action for the dominions, in the establishment of the Irish Free State, and in the strong nationalist movements in Egypt and India.

The world-wide economic depression which started in 1929 has led to an intensification of economic nationalism. Faced by falling prices, disorganized currency, unemployment, and widespread suffering, all nations have grasped at any straws that seemed to offer a chance of helping their own peoples, regardless of the effect on other peoples. Tariffs have been raised to new heights; campaigns to buy only home products have been instituted; immigration has been checked. The effect of these policies has been, temporarily at least, to make the situation worse instead of better. The world's trade for 1932 was only half that of 1928.

VI. PRAISEWORTHY AND DANGEROUS ASPECTS OF MODERN NATIONALISM

We shall study many of these manifestations of nationalism in later chapters in their relations to other movements. We may at this point, however, profitably inquire as to the effects of nationalism in the world today. Are these effects, on the whole, good or bad? Nationalism is loyalty, and loyalty is one of the oldest and finest human characteristics. Without it society could not endure. We are all familiar with one form of loyalty—school spirit. We know that school spirit—love for our school, and loyalty to its traditions and ideals—is a fine thing. It stimulates students to do their best, to work for the good of the school, to maintain high standards in scholarship and athletics. We also know that school spirit may be abused. When loyalty to his school makes a student forget the rights of other schools, makes him feel contempt or hatred for other schools, makes him believe that foul play in a game or cheating in an examination is justified if it enables his school to surpass another school, then school spirit is a bad and dangerous thing.

So it is with nationalism. No nation can be great unless its citizens are loyal to it, respect its ideals and traditions, and are willing to sacrifice themselves to promote its best interests. Nationalism, by uniting kindred peoples and stimulating a healthy rivalry, has done much to promote art and literature, good government, and higher standards of living. Too often, however, love of country has taken the form of suspicion and hatred of other countries. It has led to a belief that one's own country is always right, that it is so superior to other countries that it is justified in forcing its ideas on them. As Americans, we can see the danger of such a slogan as *Deutschland über alles* ("Germany above everything") but fail to see the danger of "America first." This sort of nationalism, stirred up by selfish interests, has been a most fertile cause of war.

Today scientific inventions—the steamboat, the railroad, the airplane, the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio—have made the world a relatively small place, and have made many of our most important problems international rather than national. Many people believe that these international problems can be solved only by approaching them from an international point of view, by building up international means of control. Nationalism, manifested in reluctance of national governments to surrender any of their powers to international organizations like the League of Nations and the World Court, is the most serious obstacle to the development of international coöperation. Nationalism, jealous and suspicious of other nations, is today the most serious obstacle to disarmament and world peace.

Throughout history there has been a steady widening of group loyalties. The primitive family, the clan, the tribe, the city-state, the feudal state, the national state, have each in turn developed to claim the loyalty of the individual as changing conditions made wider organizations necessary. Loyalty to each new group has not destroyed loyalty to the other groups, rather it has enriched other loyalties and given them new meaning. Is it possible that the time has come for a new loyalty, loyalty to all mankind, to take its place at the head of all our loyalties? Can we, while remaining loyal to our families, our neighborhoods, our cities, our states, and our nation, also be loyal members of the world society?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. "The fate of Austria-Hungary furnishes a striking example of the dangers as well as of the benefits of nationalism." Do you agree with this statement? Explain.

2. How would a growth of international control help solve the problem of nationalism among the people of southeastern Europe?

3. How has the Industrial Revolution made extreme nationalism more dangerous?

4. Explain how protective tariffs are a manifestation of nationalism.

5. "Nationalism grows on attempts to repress it." Show how this is true of Austria-Hungary and the Turkish Empire.

6. "My country, may she ever be right, but right or wrong, my country." Is this a sound position for a patriotic citizen to take?

7. Can a good patriot be at the same time a good internationalist? Give reasons.

8. Samuel Johnson said, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." What did he mean by this? Do you agree with him?

9. In a recent speech Senator Borah said that internationalism had failed and that the United States needed a stronger nationalism. Do you agree with him? Give reasons.

10. Since the depression started in 1929 some people in the United States have urged that we stop trading with other countries and produce everything that we need at home. Is this program of extreme economic nationalism possible for the United States? Is it practicable? Give reasons for your answer.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Nationalism in the Hapsburg Empire

- Schapiro, pp. 194-205, 420-431
- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 123-144, 426-435
- Benns, pp. 122-140
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 165-176
- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 169-173, 243-246, 326-330
- Magruder, pp. 325-354
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 379-394

Nationalism in the Balkans and elsewhere

- Schapiro, pp. 154-162, 469-487, 313-319, 786-788
- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 319-331, 490-539
- Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 300-306, 336-338, 382-406
- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 352-396, 446-469
- Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 381-396, 431-443
- Magruder, pp. 390-412
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 552-581, 637-653
- Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 203-231

Bowman, *The New World,* Chaps. 14-22, 25-30
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 113-133, 202-242
Gewehr, *Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans,* pp. 3-78

Nationalism and the World War

Schapiro, pp. 792-819, 824
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 610-624, 662-668
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 765-770, 776-779, 843-853
Benns, pp. 247-252, 283-305, 402-416, 497-587
Moon, pp. 267-273
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 804-914, 995-1009
Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 35-55
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 562-599

An Appraisal of Nationalism

Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism,* Chap. VIII

SECTION V

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

Chapter XVIII. England—A Democratic Monarchy
Chapter XIX. France—A Conservative Republic
Chapter XX. Germany—a Reactionary Empire, Democratic Republic, Dictatorship
Chapter XXI. Russia—Absolute Monarchy and Communist Commonwealth
Chapter XXII. Italy—Limited Monarchy and Fascist State
Chapter XXIII. Democracy's Position in the Modern World

PREVIEW

"Democracy" means literally "government by the people." In the great nations of modern times, with tens of millions of people scattered over wide areas, with conflicting interests and complex problems of all sorts, how are the people to govern? How can their will be known? How can it be enforced when it is known? Statesmen have attempted to answer these questions in various ways—have tried to arrive at democracy by various roads. A perfect democratic government has not yet been attained, but the ideal has persisted and grown in strength. The essentials of democratic government may be summed up as follows: (1) Law is the expression of the popular will and should be made only by representatives of the people, elected by universal suffrage. (2) The law should be administered by officials responsible to the people. (3) Courts of justice should be unbiased and open to all on equal terms. (4) Where there is a conflict of opinion the will of the majority must prevail.

The political developments of the past one hundred and fifty years have been many and varied, but, viewing the period as a whole, the growth of democracy has been one of its most striking features. This growth has not been steady or even. There have been checks and periods of reaction; some countries have lagged far behind the leaders; but just as absolutism was the characteristic political feature of the Old Régime, democracy is characteristic of the modern age.

In previous sections we have traced the beginnings of Parliament in England, the rise of democratic ideas, and their spread as a result of the French Revolution. It is our purpose in this section to study the growth of democracy in the principal countries of Europe, mainly since 1870. We shall see democracy gradually being accepted everywhere until the World War; we shall see a spread of democratic ideas as a result of the World War; but at the same time we shall see the whole democratic ideal questioned in three great countries, Germany, Italy and Russia. By studying the experience of Europe and the way European governments function we should be able to form an intelligent opinion on the difficult questions: Is democracy the ideal type of government? How can democracy best be attained?

CHAPTER XVIII

ENGLAND—A DEMOCRATIC MONARCHY

In dealing with the development of democracy it is fitting that we begin with England, for it was in England that the theory of modern democracy originated and it was in England that a parliament, a fundamental element in all democratic governments, first developed. It is true that England, although she had a parliament, was not democratic in the eighteenth century and that for the early part of the nineteenth she lagged behind some of her neighbors. There has, however, been a notable growth of democracy in England during the last century, until today England has one of the most democratic governments in the world, serving as a model for many others. It is the boast of Englishmen that changes in their country have come about through evolution, not through revolution. Since the Bloodless Revolution of 1689, momentous changes have been made but they have been made peacefully and legally. Progress has been slow but steady. Before taking up the changes that have taken place in England we shall review briefly the origins of democratic ideas.

I. Beginnings of Democratic Ideas

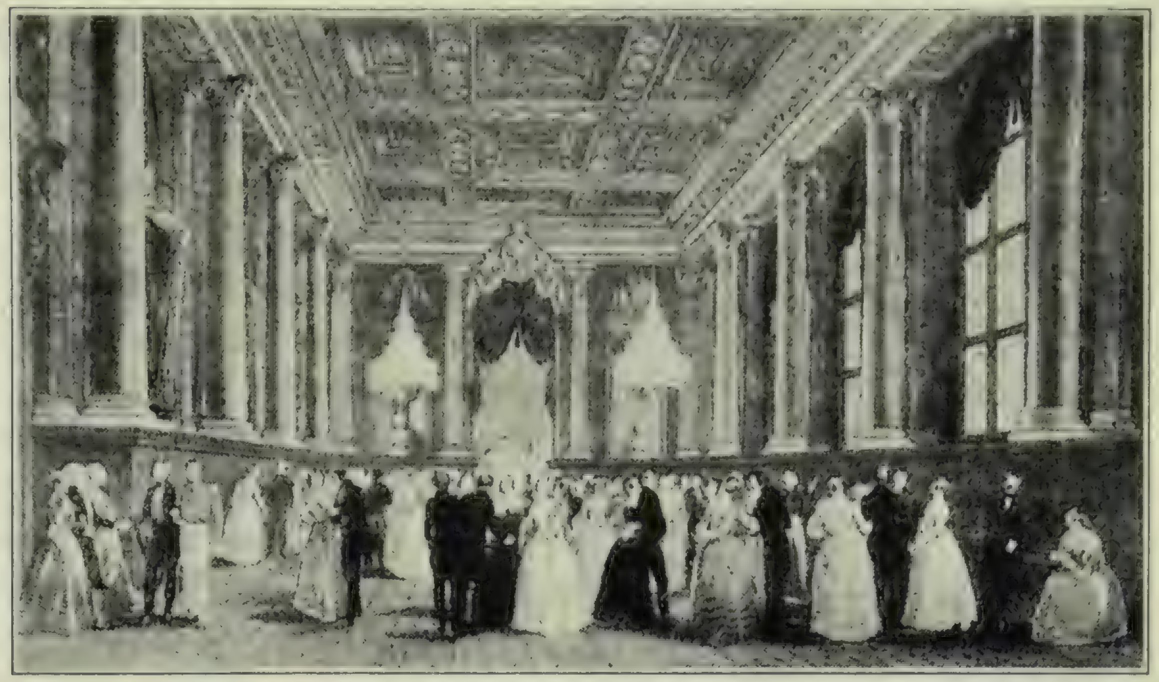
The theoretical basis for democracy was laid by the writers of the intellectual revolution of the eighteenth century. John Locke declared that governments were not of divine origin, but that men were born with certain natural rights and that governments were established by agreement to protect these rights. Consequently when governments failed to safeguard these rights they should be overthrown. This theory of popular sovereignty was developed and interpreted by Montesquieu and especially by Rousseau in his *Social Contract.*

The first official declaration of the ideals of popular sovereignty came when the American colonies, determined to throw off their allegiance to England, turned to the arguments of Locke and Rousseau for justification. The ringing statements of the Declaration of Independence—"all men are created equal," "governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"—have become immortal. The adoption of the Constitution of the United States marked another important step in the development of democracy. It was a written document, in which the powers and duties of the officials and the rights of the people were clearly stated. It was founded on the principle of popular sovereignty—"We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution." It expressly prohibited the creation of a nobility. It established certain fundamental rights of the people with which Congress could not interfere. On the theory that the absolute power of the kings in European governments was due to combining all powers in the person of the king, it provided for a division of powers between legislative, executive, and judicial departments.

The French Revolution, however, had a more direct effect in arousing and spreading democratic ideas in Europe. The ideals of the Revolution were stated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and given substance by the reforms of the National Assembly and the Convention. (See pages 135-147.) Although France was unable to establish a permanent democratic government at the time, and although many of the reforms were overthrown by the reaction that followed, the Old Régime was never restored. The principles were definitely established that the law was the expression of the will of the nation with which even the king could not interfere, that the people through their representatives had the right to a voice in the government, that all men were equal before the law.

We have seen how Napoleon, using the revolutionary principles to further his own ends, nevertheless helped to preserve those principles. His armies carried the slogan of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" all over Europe. Written constitutions based on the principle of popular sovereignty sprang up in the lands that he conquered;

feudalism and privileged classes were abolished. Although these reforms were short-lived in most cases, the ideas which they represented could not be crushed. "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" became the slogan for the liberal movements which broke out afresh in 1830 and 1848. (See pages 191, 195.)



Culver Service

GOLDSMITH'S HALL ON A BALL NIGHT

This is probably typical of the big formal parties held in London in the early part of Queen Victoria's reign.

II. ENGLAND'S EVOLUTION TO DEMOCRACY

A. Undemocratic features of England's government in 1800. 1. LIMITED SUFFRAGE. We have seen in a previous chapter that the French philosophers of the eighteenth century held up England as a model government, since it was in England alone that the power of the king was limited by Parliament and by tradition. In spite of her Parliament and cabinet and her system of common law, however, England was not a democratic country. (See pages 83-92.) The cabinet and Parliament, it is true, had taken over most of the king's power. The cabinet was selected from the majority party in Parliament and stayed in power only so long as it controlled a majority. All laws were prepared by the cabinet and must be approved by both houses of Parliament. The House of Lords was a hereditary and aristocratic body; the House of Commons represented only the wealthy. The failure of the House of Commons to represent the people was due to three things—limited suffrage, unfair distribution of seats, and corruption. The districts from which representatives were elected to the House of Commons were of two kinds—boroughs or towns, and counties. In the county districts only those might vote who owned land which produced an annual income of forty shillings. There was no uniform rule as to who might vote in the towns but in most cases the members of Parliament were chosen by the mayor and council who were usually a self-perpetuating body. It is estimated that out of a total of six million adult males in the United Kingdom in 1830 less than half a million had the right to vote.

Publishers' Photo Service

PARLIAMENT AND SIR ROBERT PEEL

Two staunch symbols of English government. "Big Ben," the clock in the tower, is perhaps equally famous.

Besides the property qualifications for voters and higher ones for office holders, there were religious restrictions on office holding. The Toleration Act of 1689 allowed dissenters, as non-Anglican Protestants were called, to worship as they pleased and the harsh laws against Catholics still on the statute books were not enforced, but the Corporation Act barred all but Anglicans from holding local office and the Test Act kept Catholics from sitting in Parliament. Parliament frequently, by a special indemnity, allowed dissenters to hold local office.

2. UNFAIR REPRESENTATION. Another factor that made Parliament unrepresentative was the uneven distribution of its members

over various parts of the country. As we have seen, the House of Commons grew up gradually, the king summoning representatives from such county districts and boroughs as he saw fit. The sending of members to Parliament finally came to be considered a right, and those districts which originally sent representatives to Parliament continued to do so. In 1800 no new districts had been added for nearly one hundred fifty years, and in these years there had been great growth and most unusual shifts in population due to the development of trade and manufacture. Many of the boroughs, which had at one time been flourishing towns, had lost population until there were several with populations of less than fifty and some with no population at all, which were still represented in Parliament. (It was possible for a district with no population to be represented in Parliament since there was no precedent in England, as there is in the United States, that a representative should reside in the district which he represented. The man who owned land in a depopulated district could, then, appoint a member of Parliament from anywhere in England to represent that district.) These boroughs, since they had "rotted," were called "rotten boroughs." They were usually controlled by a landlord who sold the seat in Parliament to the highest bidder. At the same time large cities, such as Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, had no representatives in Parliament, except that they were each a part of some county district.

3. CORRUPTION. There was no provision for secrecy in voting. Elections were held in the open air with the sheriff presiding and the voters expressing their preference by shouting or raising hands. A roll call might be demanded, in which case each voter signed his name in the poll book where everyone might see for whom he had voted. This system made the control of elections by powerful local lords easy, since few would dare to vote contrary to the will of one who might ruin them economically. It also made the buying of votes easy, a practice which was common throughout England. Some districts had fixed prices for votes; sometimes a candidate would advertise the price he was willing to pay. This vote buying was but one phase of the corruption which existed everywhere in political life and which, together with restricted suffrage and unfair repre-

sentation, made nominally liberal England a stronghold of conservatism. Bad economic and social conditions emphasized the need for reform. (See pages 181, 260.)

B. The French Revolution delays reform. Progressive Englishmen had realized for years the need for reform, and agitation was begun even before the French Revolution. The excesses of the radicals in France, however, scared many of the reformers and gave the conservatives an excuse for opposing the changes on the ground that they were steps toward revolution. Another much-used argument against reform was that England, the most progressive country in Europe, did not need it. The demand continued, however, and grew more insistent as the bourgeoisie and the workers increased in strength.

The existing system of limited suffrage and rotten boroughs favored the landlords who were the backbone of the Tory party and enabled the Tories to remain in power in Parliament continuously from 1790 to 1831. (See page 181.) To quiet the demands for radical changes the Tories, in the twenties, passed several minor but important reforms, among them some reductions in the harsh penalties of the criminal code, the legalization of trade unions, and the removal of political disabilities from Catholics and Dissenters. The reformers realized, however, that a reform of Parliament was necessary before any other thoroughgoing reform could be passed, and so all efforts were directed toward that end.

C. The Reform Bill of 1832 gives vote to the middle class. In 1831 the Whigs came into power in the House of Commons and after a bitter struggle a reform bill was passed. This "Great Reform Bill" did not establish a democracy in England, but it was an important first step. It put the middle class in power. It changed the distribution of the seats in the Commons, taking representatives away from the rotten boroughs and giving them to the new industrial cities. Property qualifications for voters in the counties were reduced. In the boroughs the right to vote was given to all "ten-pound householders"—that is, all who lived in houses worth ten pounds rent a year. In all, some 230,000 more people were now entitled to vote; about one person out of every twenty-two could now vote instead of one out of every thirty-two.

D. Reforms resulting from the bill of 1832. By putting the bourgeoisie in power the bill of 1832 paved the way for a series of reforms on a wide variety of subjects. In 1835 the Municipal Reform Act was passed giving rate payers the right to elect city councils (local taxes in England are called "rates").

In 1833 a bill providing for the gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire became law after considerable agitation by the great abolitionist, Wilberforce. In 1833 the first great Factory Act, limiting child labor, was passed. In 1834 a new "poor law" was passed making the use of public lands for the relief of poverty more systematic. In 1833 England made the first appropriation of public funds for education. Under the influence of Richard Hill, Parliament in 1840 enacted a law providing for a uniform two-cent rate for carrying mail to any part of the United Kingdom—the so-called penny post. Formerly the charge had varied with the size and weight of the letter and the distance it was carried. During the same period steps were taken to reform the prisons and the criminal law. In 1820 the death penalty had been abolished for the crime of stealing five shillings or more; gradually, under the influence of the humanitarian spirit of the age, the death penalty was abolished except for murder, piracy, and treason. Better prisons were built and better treatment was given the prisoner.

E. The Chartist movement. Although demonstrations by the workers and the fear of what they might do if the bill were not passed had helped force the Reform Bill of 1832 through Parliament, the workers got no direct benefit from the bill. They were bitter that their efforts had enfranchised their employers but not themselves, and their bitterness was kept alive by the high prices which, thanks to the Corn Laws, they had to pay for food. Agitation for further reform continued but the leaders of both parties declared that the bill of 1832 was "final." The workers drew up their demands in the form of a charter, of which the following six points are the most important: (1) universal male suffrage; (2) a secret ballot; (3) the abolition of property qualifications for members of Parliament; (4) an annual Parliament; (5) salary for members of Parliament; and (6) equal electoral districts. The Chartist movement, as this demand for political reform came to be called, continued for more than a decade but finally collapsed in 1848 when a great army, which was supposed to present a petition with five million signers to Parliament, failed to materialize. Although it ended in a fiasco it had its effect on both the ruling classes and the people themselves. While England has been characteristically slow in making changes, today the whole Chartist program is an essential part of the British political system.

F. The bill of 1867 gives vote to city workers. With the Chartist movement dead, the workers turned to trade unionism with renewed zeal. The growth of trade unions fostered the desire for reform and forced it upon the attention of both parties. In 1858 the Conservatives, under Disraeli's influence, passed a bill admitting Jews to Parliament and another abolishing all property qualifications for members of Parliament. Disraeli was convinced that a further extension of suffrage was bound to come and determined that his party should have the credit for it. Since most of the factory owners were Liberals between whom and the workers there was a division of economic interest, Disraeli hoped that by granting the workers the franchise he would win them over permanently to the Conservative party. In 1867 he finally succeeded in getting the second great reform bill passed.

By the bill of 1867 the financial requirements for voters in the counties were materially reduced, but it was in the boroughs that the main change was made. Here the vote was given to all householders, and also to lodgers who paid for unfurnished rooms as much as ten pounds a year. (The bill of 1832 had included house renters but not renters of lodgings.) The general effect of the bill was to enfranchise city workers, over a million new voters being added to the lists. With this enfranchisement of the bulk of city workers England was well on the road to democracy. Various unenfranchised groups began to demand the ballot, but before listening to them reformers turned their attention to a reform in the method of voting.

G. The Australian ballot adopted. In 1872 a law was passed substituting the Australian ballot for the old system of oral voting, which fostered corruption by making it possible for the political boss or the voter's landlord to know how he voted. Under the Australian system the government prints an official ballot containing the names of all candidates. The voter indicates his choice in a private booth by checking the names of those for whom he wishes to vote. The act also prohibited various electoral offenses and began the regulation of campaign expenses. An act of 1883 further regulated electoral procedure, fixed punishments for various forms of bribery and set up a sliding scale of allowable expenditures for candidates, depending upon the size of the constituency.

H. The bill of 1884 gives vote to farm laborers. The act of 1867 still left the working classes in the rural districts without the vote. This was remedied in 1884 by a bill making the requirements for voting the same in all constituencies. Henceforth any male citizen over twenty-one could vote for members of Parliament if he occupied a house or a part of a house used as a separate dwelling, if he occupied lodgings worth ten pounds a year in rent, if he owned land worth forty shillings a year in rent, if he was a graduate of a university, or if he had any one of various complicated requirements surviving from previous bills.

The law of 1884 remained practically unchanged until 1918, although there was plenty of criticism of it, especially after 1900. The electoral law was most complicated, only lawyers being able to interpret its more obscure provisions. Several classes, such as domestic servants who lived in the homes of their employers and students and other young men who lived with their parents without paying rent, were not allowed to vote. Approximately two million males over twenty-one out of the ten million in the country had no vote. Under the plural voting law, as the system which allowed a man to vote in every constituency in which he could qualify was called, more than half a million had the right to vote more than once; a few who owned land in various parts of the country had as many as twenty votes. Then, too, due to shifts in population, great discrepancies were developing in the size of parliamentary districts.

In 1912 the largest district having 55,950 voters had no more representation than the smallest with 1,690. More important than all these was the growing demand for woman suffrage.

I. The woman suffrage movement. The woman suffrage movement was but one phase of the woman's movement or feminism which developed during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century women were in a subordinate position throughout the world as compared to men. Their place was thought to be "in the home"; they had no part in government, industry, business, or religion. Higher institutions of learning were closed to them, and since they were considered to be of inferior mentality their education was almost entirely neglected. The property of a woman became her husband's on marriage and all children legally belonged to him. A few voices were raised in protest from time to time, notable among them that of Mary Wollstonecraft, who, toward the close of the eighteenth century, wrote *Vindication of the Rights of Women,* demanding complete equality for women in every sphere of life. The Industrial Revolution, however, which took women from the home and put them into the factories, had far more influence in bringing about a change in women's position than did the protests of reformers. Once women became economically independent, civil, social, and legal rights were bound to follow. The struggle for women's rights was a long and slow one, not yet completed. The Scandinavian countries, Denmark and Norway, were the first to grant women substantial rights, including the suffrage. In England they gradually won their right to an education and to admission to most of the professions. In 1882 an act gave a married woman the right to hold property in her own name, and one of 1886 gave her equal control with the father over the children.

About the middle of the century demands began to be heard in England for woman suffrage. John Stuart Mill, one of the earliest and most prominent exponents of women's rights, proposed a woman suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill of 1867, but the proposal was treated as a joke and overwhelmingly defeated. Desultory agitation continued for a generation when the ever increasing number of women in the professions and in industry made the issue more immediate. In 1903 Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and her two daughters, Christabel and Sylvia, organized the Women's Social and Political Union, which resolved to bring the question before the people by militant methods. The "militant suffragettes" kept the suffrage movement in the headlines of the newspapers for a decade, their methods increasing in violence as time went on. They heckled speakers, disturbed public meetings and even meetings of Parliament, broke windows, cut telegraph wires, destroyed treasures in museums and set fire to buildings. When arrested, they made use of the "hunger strike" as a means of protest and publicity. Their methods undoubtedly brought the issue before the public but at the same time created a great deal of opposition.

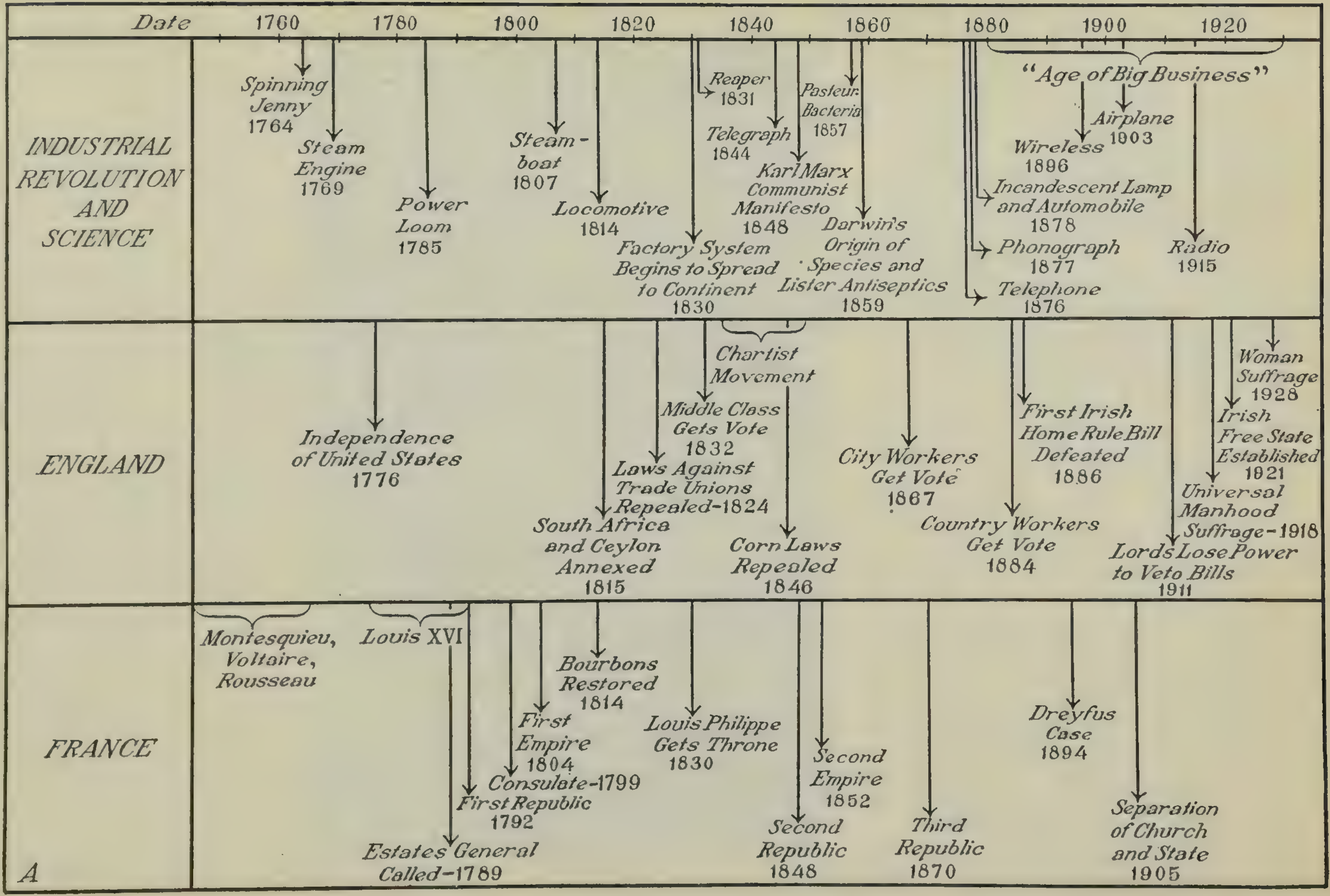
VOTES FOR WOMEN
WAKEFIELD
FIELD

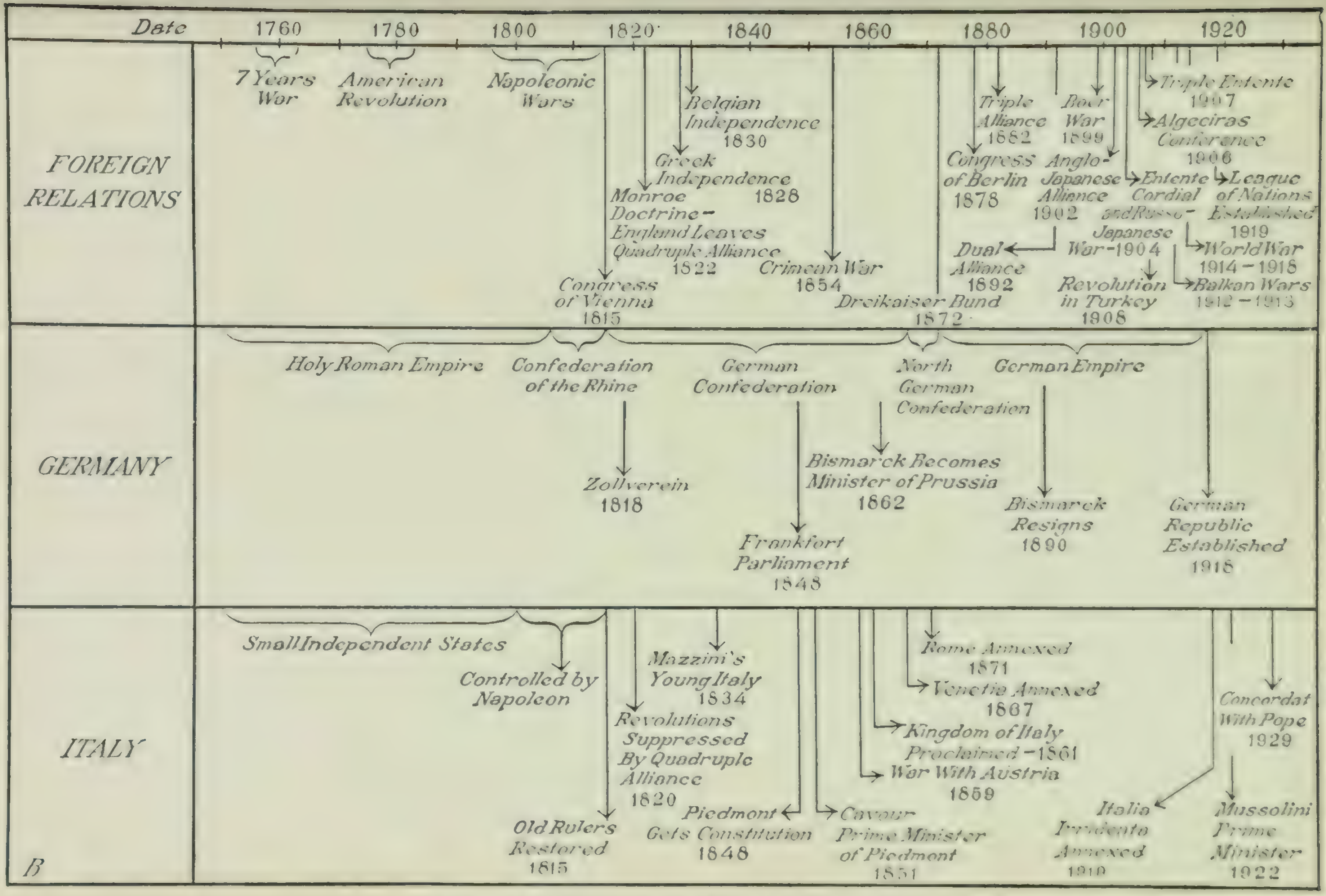
Paul Thompson

"The Wakefield Pilgrims"

A group of non-militant suffragettes entering Hyde Park for a demonstration meeting. This was in 1909.

J. The act of 1918 gives vote to all men and some women. The outbreak of the war in 1914 interrupted consideration of various bills changing the electoral law. It was the war, however, which eventually made some action necessary and led to the act of 1918. All classes had been called upon to fight or work for their country


Date
1760
1780
1800
1820
1840
1860
1880
1900
1920
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND SCIENCE
Spinning Jenny 1764
Steam Engine 1769
Power Loom 1785
Steam-boat 1807
Locomotive 1814
Factory System Begins to Spread to Continent 1830
Reaper 1831
Telegraph 1844
Karl Marx Communist Manifesto 1848
Pasteur: Bacteria 1857
Darwin's Origin of Species and Lister Antiseptics 1859
"Age of Big Business"
Telephone 1876
Phonograph 1877
Incandescent Lamp and Automobile 1878
Wireless 1896
Airplane 1903
Radio 1915
ENGLAND
Independence of United States 1776
South Africa and Ceylon Annexed 1815
Laws Against Trade Unions Repealed-1824
Middle Class Gets Vote 1832
Chartist Movement
Corn Laws Repealed 1846
City Workers Get Vote 1867
Country Workers Get Vote 1884
First Irish Home Rule Bill Defeated 1886
Lords Lose Power to Veto Bills 1911
Universal Manhood Suffrage-1918
Irish Free State Established 1921
Woman Suffrage 1928
FRANCE
Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau
Louis XVI
Estates General Called-1789
First Republic 1792
Consulate-1799
First Empire 1804
Bourbons Restored 1814
Louis Philippe Gets Throne 1830
Second Republic 1848
Second Empire 1852
Third Republic 1870
Dreyfus Case 1894
Separation of Church and State 1905
A



IMPORTANT EVENTS IN MODERN HISTORY

and the ballot could not with good grace be denied to those who had responded. Women especially had shown their loyalty in time of need. Dropping their militant agitation, women had run locomotives, worked on farms, in munition factories, on docks, and in mines. No government could fail to include women in any general extension of the franchise. When it came to the actual consideration of the bill, however, all the old arguments against woman suffrage were revived. It was pointed out that women voters would greatly outnumber the men if they were enfranchised on the same basis and disaster was predicted if ten million inexperienced women were added to the electorate at once. The solution finally arrived at was a compromise, admittedly temporary.

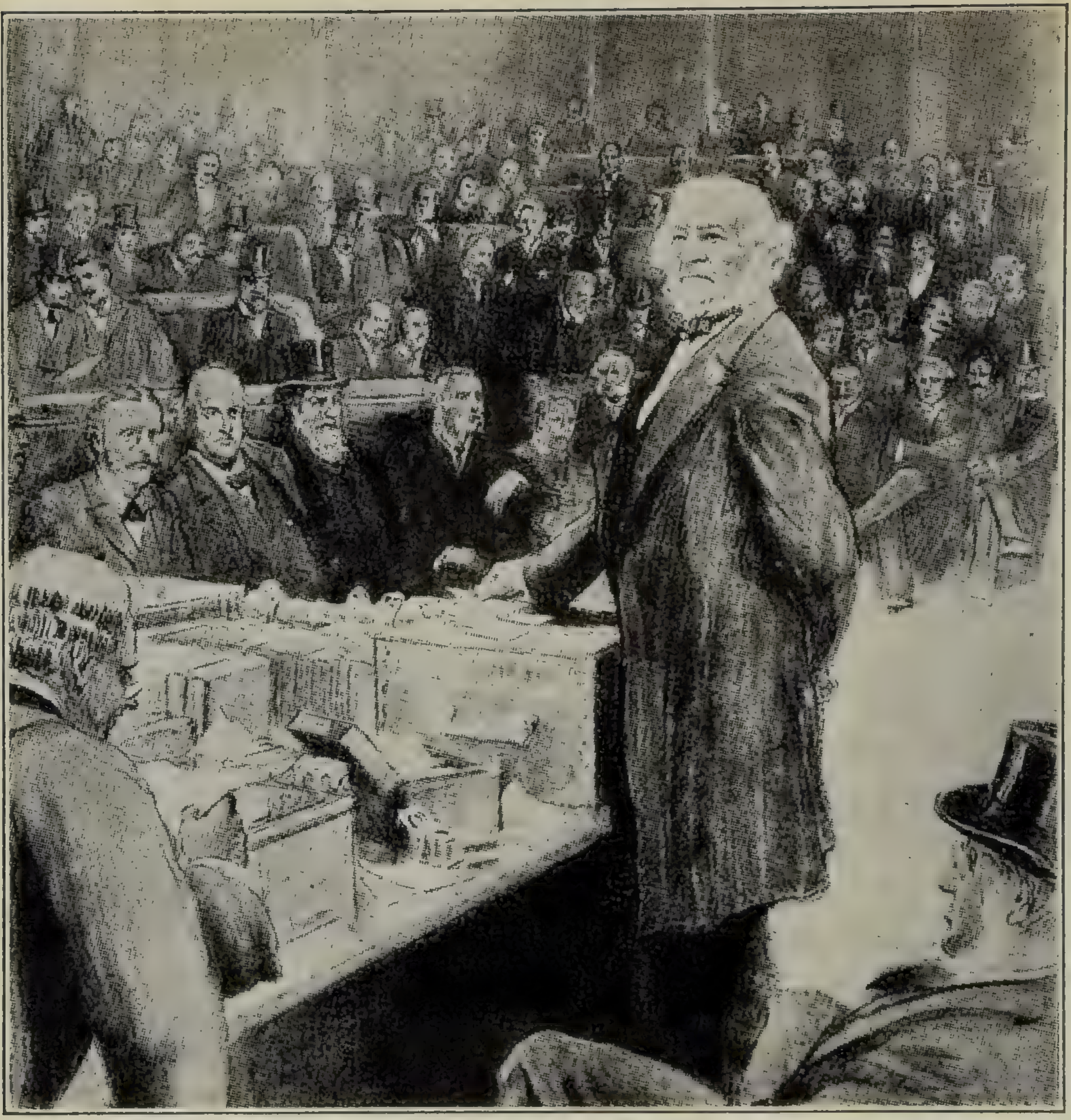
The Representation of the People Act of 1918 was the most comprehensive electoral law of English history. For the first time one general electoral law was established for the entire country, all the intricate requirements of former laws being abolished. The right to vote for a member of Parliament was given to all males twenty-one or over—aliens, bankrupts, idiots, and peers being excepted—who had resided for six months in a parliamentary district or who had occupied business premises of an annual value of ten pounds rental for six months. The vote was given to every woman thirty years of age or over who had certain property qualifications or who was married to a man who had them. Plural voting was not entirely abolished but in no case could any voter have more than two votes. The bill also redistributed the districts, fixing as a standard one member for every seventy thousand people and raising the number of members of the House of Commons to 707.

K. The act of 1928 establishes universal suffrage. In 1928 Parliament finally completed the work of democratization begun in 1832 by extending the franchise to all women over twenty-one on the same terms as men. It is estimated that this act added more than five million to those eligible to vote. The table below summarizes the various bills. Progress toward universal suffrage in England has been what some Englishmen like to call typically English; slow but steady, each step a compromise, each step the result of long agitation, but each step taken in a constitutional way and not brought about by revolution.

Bill	*Principal Class Enfranchised*	*Number of New Voters Created*	*Number of Voters Eligible*	*Proportion of Population Having Vote*
1832	Middle class	500,000	1,000,000	1 in 24
1867	Working class in cities	1,000,000	2,500,000	1 in 12
1884	Working class in country	2,000,000	5,000,000	1 in 7
1918	All men, women over 30	13,000,000	21,000,000	nearly 1 in 2
1928	All women	5,000,000	27,000,000	3 in 5

L. Limitation of the power of the House of Lords. 1. THE UNDEMOCRATIC HOUSE OF LORDS. While the reform bills were transforming the House of Commons from a body representing only a small group of lesser landlords and wealthy merchants into a democratic body representing all classes of the population, the House of Lords remained practically unchanged. Old titled families were continually dying out and being replaced by wealthy business men, it is true, but the House of Lords remained a body essentially aristocratic and conservative. The atmosphere of the House seemed to breed conservatism, and it has always been a stronghold of the Conservative party. Although more than half of the peerages of 1910 had been created since 1830, and over 250 of those created had been Liberals, out of a total membership of 618 only seventy-five were Liberals. The conviction grew that a body made up of men not chosen for their fitness but holding their positions by hereditary right, a body frankly representing the titled nobility but having an equal voice with the people's representatives over all legislation, was out of place in a democratic country.

When the Conservative party was in power in the Commons there was no trouble, but when the Liberals were in power they found many of their pet measures blocked by the Lords. When the Lords defeated Gladstone's Home Rule Bill in 1893, the cry was raised that a system which permitted one party to have a perpetual veto over laws which the people obviously desired made a mockery of party government and of democracy. Various plans for "reform-



From a drawing by C. K. Linson in Scribner's Magazine, March, 1893

MR. GLADSTONE PRESENTING THE IRISH HOME RULE BILL

William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), son of a rich merchant, graduate of Eton and Oxford, started his political career as a Conservative, representing a pocket borough controlled by the Duke of Newcastle. Gradually becoming convinced that democratic changes were both necessary and inevitable, he aligned himself with the Liberals, becoming chancellor of the exchequer in a Liberal cabinet in 1859. He soon became the undisputed leader of the party and was prime minister four times: 1868-1874, 1880-1885, 1886, and 1892-1894. Gladstone stands out as a typical Liberal, believing firmly in democratic principles but insisting that all changes be made gradually and legally. He was a master of finance and an eloquent orator. In all his activities he displayed a sincerity and a moral fervor which won him the love and respect of his contemporaries and made him one of the most influential men in English history. He was the first English prime minister to sponsor home rule for Ireland. He introduced (home rule) bills in 1886 and in 1893.

ing" the Lords were suggested, but during the eleven years of Conservative control that followed, nothing came of them. With the return of the Liberals to power in 1906, the question came up anew when the Lords killed bills passed by the Commons embodying essential features of the Liberal program. Matters came to a crisis in 1909, when the Lords rejected the budget prepared by Lloyd George as chancellor of the exchequer placing high taxes on wealth, especially the landed estates.

2. THE STRUGGLE TO LIMIT THE LORDS' POWER. As early as 1407, the king had accepted the principle that all money bills should originate in the Commons, and although this principle had been violated, gradually the idea had grown that the Lords should not even amend money bills. The Lords had never formally accepted this restriction nor had it ever been enacted into law, but since they had acted upon it for more than a century it was felt that it had become a part of the constitution.

In January, 1910, Prime Minister Asquith, declaring that the rejection of the budget by the Lords was a breach of the constitution, dissolved Parliament. In the election that followed the Liberals were returned to power. The budget was reintroduced and passed by both houses with little discussion. A bill was then introduced radically limiting the power of the Lords. Parliament was again dissolved and another election held in order to make sure that the bill had the support of the voters. The Liberal majority was returned practically unchanged. The Commons then passed the Parliament Bill, as it was called, and the Lords, being threatened with the creation of enough new peers to secure its passage, gave way and accepted it.

3. THE PARLIAMENT ACT OF 1911. As finally passed the act provides that a bill passed by the House of Commons and certified by the Speaker to be a money bill shall, on receiving the assent of the sovereign, become a law in thirty days, notwithstanding that the House of Lords has not consented to it. Any public bill other than a money bill which has passed the House of Commons in three successive sessions, two years having elapsed between the first and final passage, and which has failed of passage by the Lords on each occa-

sion, shall become a law on receiving the royal assent. The bill also lowered the maximum life of a parliament from seven to five years. In short, the bill makes it possible for the Lords to hold up a money bill for one month, and a non-money bill for two years but no longer.

III. The Government of England

We shall describe the government of England in some detail since other European governments have been modeled more or less closely from it and a thorough understanding of the English government will enable us to understand those other governments better.

A. The constitution. In the United States when we speak of the Constitution we usually mean the document adopted in 1787 with its various amendments. Sometimes in this country, however, and always in England the term "constitution" is used to mean all that body of law, written or unwritten, by which the machinery of government is set up and the powers of officials fixed. The English constitution consists mainly of customs and precedents which have gradually grown up. Certain great historic documents, such as Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights, statutes of Parliament fixing the framework of government, and certain court decisions are also a part of the constitution, but it is custom and precedent which largely determine the form of English government and the fundamental rights of Englishmen. As we have seen (see pages 85-91) neither Parliament nor the cabinet was established by law; both grew up through custom and precedent. The various suffrage laws of the past hundred years and the Parliament Act of 1911 are examples of statutes that go to make up the constitution.

B. The sovereign. The important part which precedent and custom play in the British constitution results in many contradictions between what the government is nominally and what it is actually. It results in England's being one of the most democratic countries in the world under the form of a monarchy. Nominally the king of England is the supreme executive, the supreme law maker, the supreme judge, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, the legal owner of all land. Nominally Parliament exists only by his will; all officials are appointed by him and are responsible to him. At the time of William the Conqueror the king actually had these powers; today he is a figurehead. Although laws are published as decrees of the king they are made entirely by Parliament, the royal veto not having been used for more than two hundred years. His speech from the throne, made at the opening of each Parliament and outlining the program for the session, is written for him by the cabinet and often contains sentiments of which he personally does not approve at all. The ministry which performs all important executive and administrative functions is chosen by the prime minister. The courts are entirely independent of royal control. The king's main functions today are ceremonial and social; he receives visiting potentates and ambassadors, lays cornerstones, and presides at formal gatherings. The influence which he has over government is indirect though sometimes considerable, depending on the character, knowledge, and good sense of the individual ruler. His advice is usually asked and sometimes followed. The main service of the king is to help unify the nation and the empire. Like the flag, he stands as a symbol of unity, undisturbed by any bitterness of party politics and helps to give reality to the thing that is called England and the British empire which, otherwise, for most people would remain an abstraction.

C. The ministry and cabinet. 1. WHAT IS THE MINISTRY?, THE CABINET? The executive and administrative duties formerly performed under the personal direction of the king and still done in his name are exercised by the ministry and the cabinet. These bodies are assisted by the permanent civil service whose functions will be described in a later paragraph. (See pages 89-91 for development of the cabinet.)

The king must appoint as prime minister the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons, or, if there is no majority party, the man who can get the support of a majority of the members. The prime minister appoints prominent members of his party to various executive offices. This group is the ministry. The terms "ministry" and "cabinet" are often used synonymously, but there is a distinction between them which should be noted. The ministry includes the heads of the important departments and boards, some assistant heads, and a few other dignitaries, about sixty in all. The cabinet is a group within the ministry, usually about twenty, especially invited by the prime minister to consider as a body questions of policy and to prepare legislation and steer it through Parliament.

Keystone View Co.

POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE

King George V starts out from Buckingham Palace to open Parliament. He has all the symbols of power but none of the essence.

2. WHAT DOES THE CABINET DO? The British cabinet is a far more powerful body than the president's cabinet in the United States, which is not a cabinet at all in the sense in which Europeans use the term. Due to the fact that the Constitution of the United States follows Montesquieu's theory of the division of powers, Congress has all legislative powers and the president and his appointees executive powers. Cabinet members are executive heads of departments, entirely subordinate to the president. They may not be members of Congress and have no legislative powers; they have no real power as a group. The British cabinet has both executive and legislative powers. As individuals, the members of the cabinet are

the executive heads of departments; they must be members of Parliament, and they have the same legislative powers as other members. As a group they have the executive power of deciding questions of policy—for example, whether troops be called out in a strike—and the legislative power of preparing all important bills and steering them through Parliament.

3. HOW LONG DO THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS MINISTRY HOLD OFFICE? The prime minister and his ministry remain in power as long as they are able to control a working majority in the Commons. The House of Commons is elected for a term of five years but it is frequently dissolved before its term is up. If a bill proposed by the cabinet is defeated in the Commons, or if the Commons passes a vote of censure or lack of confidence for some action taken by the cabinet, the whole ministry must either resign immediately or dissolve Parliament and call a new election. The latter alternative, "going to the country" as it is called, is always tried unless the chances of the ministry of winning a majority in a new election are clearly hopeless. The country votes on candidates who have made their stand clear on the issue involved; if a majority supporting the ministry is returned the ministry continues in power; if not, it resigns and the king appoints as prime minister the leader of the opposition who chooses a new ministry.

4. HOW IS THE "RESPONSIBILITY" OF THE CABINET MAINTAINED? In recent times the tendency has been for the cabinet to increase in power and importance. This is largely due to the growth and expansion of the government business which made necessary quicker action than Parliament, grown to unwieldy size, could give. Legislation is more and more controlled by the cabinet. It decides what questions are to be brought up, puts them in form, introduces them, explains them, defends them, and takes full responsibility for them. Criticism is often heard that the cabinet is too autocratic, that it is usurping Parliament's functions, that since members of Parliament are afraid of dissolution they offer no real check to cabinet action. However, every minister as an individual and the ministry as a whole is subject to question for every act and the questioners include many men who, since they have held cabinet positions themselves, under-

stand thoroughly the issues involved. For example, when Winston Churchill presented his budget in 1925, there were in the House six former chancellors of the exchequer. While it is undoubtedly true that the cabinet governs England with the consent of Parliament, that consent is still an important factor in English government.

Culver Service

DISRAELI

Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881), was the son of a Jewish family which had been converted to Anglicanism. He was the author of several novels in which he satirized polite society and uncovered inconsistencies in economic and political life. He first entered Parliament as an independent radical in 1837. Succeeding Robert Peel as leader of the Conservatives, he was prime minister in 1868 and from 1874-1880. Insisting that Conservatism must mean something more than mere opposition to change, he revitalized the Conservative party, leading it to give social legislation and a vigorous foreign policy a place in its program.

D. The permanent civil service. Ministers determine broad lines of policy but they are usually not experts in the detailed work of the departments over which they preside. Expert knowledge and permanency are furnished by the permanent civil service, a great army of officials and employees, who remain in office regardless of what party is in power in Parliament. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century appointments to subordinate positions were usually made through political favor and removals for partisan reasons were frequent. Reform began about 1850, and in 1870 a system of competitive examinations was established for all the important departments. Examinations are designed to test general ability and promotions are usually made from the lower grades to the higher as a result of efficiency and the passing of promotion examinations. Since there is security of tenure and an opportunity for promotion the civil service is a career which attracts many of the ablest young men in the country.

E. Parliament. We have traced the development of Parliament from its beginnings as the Great Council of the Norman kings, through the centuries of its slowly growing power, and through the long struggle with the Stuarts which culminated in the Revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights definitely establishing Parliament's supremacy. (See pages 85-89.) We have seen how, after remaining the instrument of the landlords for more than a century, the House of Commons was gradually transformed into a democratic representative body, and finally how the Parliament Act of 1911 made the democratic House of Commons supreme over the aristocratic House of Lords.

The effect of the Parliament act was of course to make the House of Lords a subordinate body. It has practically no control over the money bills and only a suspensive veto (that is, a veto that forces further consideration but does not kill) over other bills. The House of Commons thus becomes, for practical purposes, Parliament, with all the vast powers and prerogatives of that body. Members of the House of Commons are elected by single member districts, any British subject twenty-one years of age being eligible for election with a few exceptions, including peers and clergymen of the Roman Catholic Church or Church of England. A member is not required to reside in the constituency which he represents, residents of London frequently representing districts in remote parts of the country. Before 1911, members received no salary, but a bill of that year granted them salaries of four hundred pounds a year.

A comparison with the powers of the Congress of the United States will help to make clear the powers of Parliament. The powers of Congress are strictly limited by the Constitution which it may not amend without the consent of three-fourths of the states, and the Supreme Court has power to declare void any act of Congress passed in excess of its powers. Parliament may change the constitution at will and there is no court or other body with power to question the constitutionality of its laws. There is no law that it cannot make;

no law in existence that it cannot repeal. As Lord Bryce says, "Parliament can make and unmake any and every law, change the form of government or the succession to the crown, interfere with the courts of justice, extinguish the most sacred private rights of the citizen." The power of Parliament over executive action is much more direct than that of Congress, the chief executive officials being members of Parliament and directly responsible to it through the cabinet system.

Many of Parliament's powers are exercised through the cabinet rather than by Parliament itself. With the development of quicker and cheaper means for the spread of information and the increased influence of the newspapers the voters have become more important. Recently the precedent has developed until it has practically the force of law that no important constitutional change or reversal of policy shall be made without first determining the will of the country through a dissolution of Parliament and a national election. Thus in the exercise of its functions Parliament has lost and is losing to the cabinet and to the electorate. Its essential powers, however, are unaltered and the English Parliament remains one of the most powerful and most representative of the world's great legislatures.

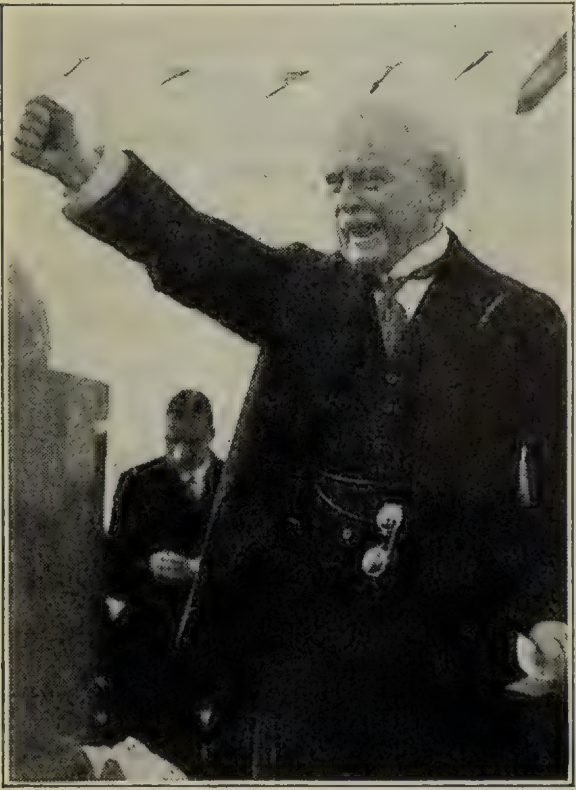
IV. English Political Parties, Leaders, and Issues

England's cabinet system was an outgrowth of the development of political parties and it is obvious that its functioning depends upon the existence of well-organized parties. The party system is woven into the fabric of English government, party leaders being responsible and holding the highest government positions, in contrast to the United States where party leaders are irresponsible, usually holding no official position. English government is really government by party. Up to the passage of the first reform bill (see page 420), parties were composed almost exclusively of the propertied classes, the Whigs being made up of the majority of such merchants and tradesmen as had the franchise led by a few great noble families, the Tories being the party of the lesser nobility, the country squires, and the Church of England clergymen.

With the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, the great bulk of the factory owners and urban middle class who received the vote joined the Whigs, who now took the name of Liberals. With the extension of the franchise to the working classes the Liberal party attracted most, but by no means all, of the urban workers while the rural laborers tended to follow their landlords into the Conservative party, as the Tories began to be called after the middle of the century. Strong partisans of the Church of England have always been Conservatives, while dissenters have tended to be Liberals, whatever their economic status. Of course the strength of the parties in different sections of the country and among different groups has varied widely from time to time. The failure of voters to stick to their party through thick and thin is the despair of the politician and, at the same time, the reason for the vitality of the party system.

A. Early party history. From the period of the French Revolution down to 1830, the Tories were almost continually in power, using the excesses of the Reign of Terror in France as an excuse for blocking all reform. The Whigs came into power in 1830, pledged to important changes, both social and economic, many of which they carried out. From 1830 to the close of the century Liberals and Conservatives alternated in power. While the attitudes of both parties changed with changing issues during this period, in general the Liberals favored a policy of free trade while Conservatives were inclined to favor protection; the Liberals were the party of political reform while the Conservatives were responsible for much of the social legislation; the Conservatives favored an imperialistic policy of acquiring colonies while the Liberals generally opposed it; the Liberals took up the cause of home rule for Ireland which the Conservatives strongly opposed. In 1886 a considerable group, the Unionists, split off from the Liberals because they opposed home rule. They later joined the Conservatives, the name "Unionist" supplanting that of "Conservative" in common usage.

B. The beginnings of the Labor party. Although several groups were formed to promote socialist ideas, socialism made little headway in England before the close of the nineteenth century. Aroused by the Taff Vale decision (see page 263) in 1906 the trade unionists joined with the Independent Labor party and other socialist groups to elect twenty-nine members to Parliament, and officially adopted the name "Labor party." The new Labor party, together with the Irish Nationalists, allied themselves with the Liberals, giving them a large majority.


Keystone View Co.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE IN 1931

Lloyd George first came into prominence when as a fiery young Welsh orator in the House of Commons he opposed the Boer War. As Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Liberal Cabinet he drafted the famous budget of 1909, laying heavy taxes on the rich, the rejection of which by the House of Lords led to the Parliament Act of 1911. Soon after the wartime coalition cabinet was formed Lloyd George became prime minister and remained in power until the Coalition was broken up by the withdrawal of the Conservatives in 1922.

The Liberals, with their Labor and Irish Nationalist allies, enacted legislation of far-reaching importance in many fields, including a revision of the taxation system designed to put more of the burden of taxes on the rich, the Parliament Act of 1911, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the National Insurance Act, and the Trades Disputes Act. They were in power when the World War broke out in 1914.

C. The war-time coalition. During the first months of the war the Liberal cabinet remained in power, but in May, 1915, a coalition government was formed made up of representatives of all parties. The coalition government remained in power throughout the war and, in spite of the withdrawal of most of the Labor party and many Liberals, won an overwhelming victory in the election of 1918. The coalition was finally broken up in 1922 when the Conservatives withdrew and formed a ministry made up entirely of their own members.

D. Parties since the war. The economic upheaval caused by the World War and the hard times that have followed caused the line between capital and labor to be drawn more clearly. The Liberal party has suffered, losing many of its wealthy and more conservative members to the Conservatives and many of its members among the workers and intellectuals to the Labor party. The party has been further weakened by a split over the tariff and other policies. Beside the two main factions Lloyd George leads a small group represented in Parliament by members of his own family. All factions together won but fifty-eight seats in Parliament in the election of 1929 and but seventy-six in 1931.

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PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CABINET, 1933

Standing are Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, Mr. J. M. Thomas, Lord Reading, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare. Seated are Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Sir Hubert Samuel, and Lord Sankey.

The Conservative party is distinctly the party of big business, supported by merchants, manufacturers, bankers, the remains of the landed aristocracy, and large numbers of workers who fear any radical change in England's existing social and economic institutions. It favors a protective tariff, the maintenance of the empire by a strong army and navy, and economy in education and social expenditures. It is traditionally the party of fashion and social leadership. There are two factions in the party, a small reactionary group, the "Diehards," and a more progressive group led by Stanley Baldwin. Except for the Labor ministries in 1923-1924 and 1929-1931 the party was in power from 1922 to 1934.

Until the war the Labor party remained a loose federation of trade unions, the Independent Labor party, and various socialist and cooperative societies; but in 1918 it formed a closer organization and adopted an elaborate program of reconstruction. It has made an especial appeal to "white collar workers" to join, and contains many writers, college professors, and other intellectuals, but trade unionists make up the great body of its members. Under the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald the Labor party came into power for a short time in 1923 and again in 1929, but at neither time did it have a majority in Parliament and was kept in power only by Liberal votes. This dependence on the Liberals meant that no part of its moderate socialist program could be put into practice. MacDonald was a true friend of peace and under his government England heartily supported the League of Nations and other efforts toward better international understanding. In domestic affairs the record of the Labor governments differed but little from that which the other parties would have made.

England was hard hit by the disruption in world trade which resulted from the World War. A fall in her exports caused widespread unemployment which, in spite of short intervals of improvement, has grown steadily worse and has been a major problem for every ministry. Business stagnation has made most difficult the problems of raising revenue to pay the "dole" to the unemployed, to pay the interest on her huge war debt, and to maintain education and other normal government services. Labor has insisted that the payments to the unemployed, education, and other social services must be maintained by high taxes on wealth. The propertied classes, through their Conservative and Liberal representatives, have insisted that the government must economize to keep taxes, already extremely high, from going higher. In 1925 England, against the opposition of the Labor party, returned to the gold standard—that is, the government made paper money exchangeable for gold, thereby restoring the paper pound to its gold value of $4.86. This failed to revive business, however, and as a result of the financial crisis of 1931 England again went off the gold standard.

In the financial crisis of 1931 bankers demanded that the government, as a means of preserving England's credit, balance the budget by cutting expenses, especially the dole to the unemployed. When MacDonald and a few other leaders agreed to cut the dole, the Labor party expelled them and adopted a more radical program. MacDonald, declaring that the crisis demanded coöperation, formed a National Coalition government of all parties. In the election that followed the National government won an overwhelming victory—554 seats in Commons out of a total of 615. Of these 554, Conservatives won 471 seats, National Laborites 13, Liberals 68, and Independents 2. The Labor party, besides those that supported MacDonald, won but 50 seats. MacDonald formed a National ministry which, although it contained four National Laborites and five Liberals as well as eleven Conservatives, was essentially a Conservative ministry. Its Conservative character was further emphasized in 1932 when three of the Liberal members resigned as a protest against the higher protective tariffs passed in accordance with the agreements of the Ottawa Conference. (See page 250.)

Publishers' Photo Service

No. 10 Downing Street

The official London residence of the prime minister of England.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show how the present position of the British sovereign illustrates the nature of the British Constitution.

2. Speakers in Parliament opposing a bill often declare that the bill is unconstitutional. What do they mean?

3. Give arguments for and against the English custom of not requiring a member of Parliament to be a resident of the district which he represents.

4. The House of Commons has not used the Parliament Act to pass a bill over the Lord's veto since 1914. Why?

5. Why has the Liberal party lost strength since the World War?

6. How do recent developments in English politics threaten to change the English cabinet system?

7. "Although a monarchy, England is one of the most democratic countries in the world." Show why England deserves the description of being "one of the most democratic countries."

8. Give arguments for and against adopting the British cabinet system in the United States.

9. Explain why there are fewer party bosses who hold no official positions in England than in the United States.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Government of England

HAYES, Vol. II, pp. 290-297
MAGRUDER, pp. 204-218
SCHAPIRO, pp. 113-116, 257-262
ROBINSON and BEARD, Vol. II, pp. 258-267
SLOSSON, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 12-22
OGG, *Governments,* pp. 1-238
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VII, pp. 21-26

Problems and Reforms

HAYES, Vol. II, pp. 102-116, 277-290
SCHAPIRO, pp. 123-140, 262-282, 288, 788-792
MAGRUDER, pp. 218-223
COLE, pp. 196-217

Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 239-258, 267-270
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 73-78, 94-98, 106-109, 173-181, 191-228
Benns, pp. 375-402
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 374-380
Bowman, *The New World,* pp. 12-35
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 22-42
Slater, *The Making of Modern England*

The Emancipation of Women

Schapiro, pp. 596-607
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 475-478
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 424-430

Political Parties

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 297-307
Benns, pp. 375-402
Cole, pp. 402-416
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 520-530
Ogg, *Governments,* pp. 238-336
Consult also the *Readers' Guide*

CHAPTER XIX

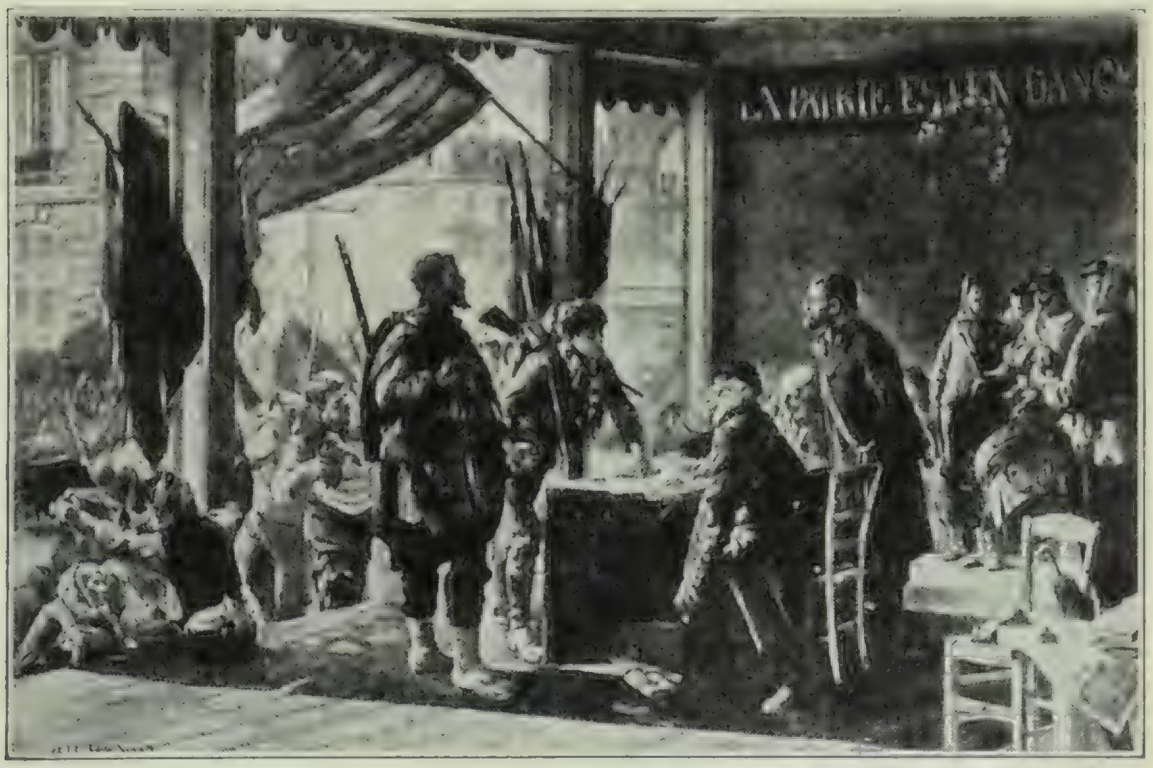
FRANCE—A CONSERVATIVE REPUBLIC

We have told the story of France's many changes in government from 1789 to 1870: the great Revolution, the rise and fall of Napoleon, the restoration of the Bourbons, the overthrow of Charles X in 1830 and of Louis Philippe in 1848, the short-lived Second Republic, and Louis Napoleon's Second Empire. We have noted that, in spite of the prosperity of France under the Second Empire, Napoleon III had many opponents, whom repression only made more bitter. (See pages 125-174, 191-193, 195-198, 365-369.)

I. The Third Republic Established

A. Monarchists control the National Assembly. When the news came to Paris of Napoleon's capture at Sedan, a group of republicans proclaimed a republic and set up a provisional government to carry on the war against the Germans. In spite of patriotic efforts the Germans could not be stopped and Paris fell January 28, 1871. An armistice was concluded and an election held for a National Assembly. Many of the Republicans, fearing that a humiliating peace as the first act of the new government would give it a bad start, talked of continuing the war, while Monarchists were in favor of an immediate peace. Consequently the Monarchists won a large majority in the National Assembly. The city government of Paris, which was controlled by radical Republicans, revolted.

B. The Paris Commune. The French term for a local government is "commune." Therefore the revolt of the Paris government against the National Assembly is called the Paris Commune and those who supported it are "Communards" or sometimes "Communists." The Communards should not be confused with the socialistic Communists, as the followers of Karl Marx were called. The Communards demanded "home rule" for communes—meaning that each local government should be free to deal with its own affairs and that France should be merely a loose federation of local governments. The idea of the Communards failed to win support outside of Paris and the National Assembly proceeded to put down the movement.


LA PATRIE EST EN DANGER

From a print by Richemont. *OROC*

THE ENROLLMENT OF VOLUNTEERS, 1870

A scene from the Franco-Prussian War. On the wall is a banner with the slogan "The Country Is in Danger."

After a siege lasting three weeks the national troops entered the city and there followed a terrible week of street fighting marked by atrocities on both sides. The national army finally stamped out the resistance and took a terrible revenge, shooting hundreds and sending thousands to prison or into exile.

C. The National Assembly in control. While it was besieging the Communards in Paris, the National Assembly had signed the humiliating treaty of Frankfort, making peace with the Prussians. Having accomplished this, the Assembly proceeded to pass laws for France and to draw up a constitution. Adolphe Thiers was given the new title of "President of the French Republic," and under his able leadership the work of setting the country in order was begun. Finances were reorganized and loans floated so that by 1873 the last installment of the five billion franc indemnity was paid to Germany and the German troops withdrawn from France. The army was reorganized and provided with modern equipment, and the Prussian system of universal compulsory military training established.

D. System of local government retained. In the matter of reorganization of the local government there was practical agreement among all factions of the Assembly that the system which had originated during the Revolution, been perfected by Napoleon, and continued with only minor changes by all succeeding governments, should be preserved. This system, which still exists, is notable for its centralization of authority in the central government. France is divided into *départements* which are subdivided into *arrondissements*, corresponding to the states and counties in the United States. The executive heads of *départements* and *arrondissements* are appointed by the central government, which also has the power to veto any act of the elected legislature of any subdivision.

E. Disagreement among the monarchists. When it came to setting up a permanent central government, however, the Assembly found itself unable to agree. A large majority was for a monarchy, but could not agree upon who should be monarch. One faction, the Legitimists, supported the claim of the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X; another, the Orleanists, favored the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe. Since it seemed impossible to get the groups together, Thiers in 1872 announced his conversion to the idea of a republic. This led to a demand for his resignation, and in May, 1873, he was displaced by Marshal MacMahon, about whose monarchism there was no doubt. The Orleanists were willing to recognize the Count of Chambord in return for his accepting the Count of Paris as his heir, but the Count of Chambord, a thoroughgoing reactionary, insisted upon restoring the white flag of the Bourbons. The Orleanists were sure that the people would not tolerate this symbol of the Old Régime. Accordingly they decided to organize a temporary government which would last until the

Count of Chambord died and left the field clear for the Count of Paris.

F. The constitution. With this idea in mind a law was passed, November, 1873, lengthening MacMahon's term to seven years. Wrangling between the Republicans and the three factions of Monarchists prevented further action until 1875 when four laws were passed establishing the method of electing the president, and the rules regulating elections and the powers of the legislature. These four laws, passed one at a time and never submitted to a vote of the people, remain with few amendments the constitution of the Third Republic. The constitution, unlike most written constitutions, contains no bill of rights. The method of amendment is easy. The proposition that a revision is necessary must first pass both houses by a majority vote and then the amendment must pass a joint session of the two houses sitting together as the National Assembly.

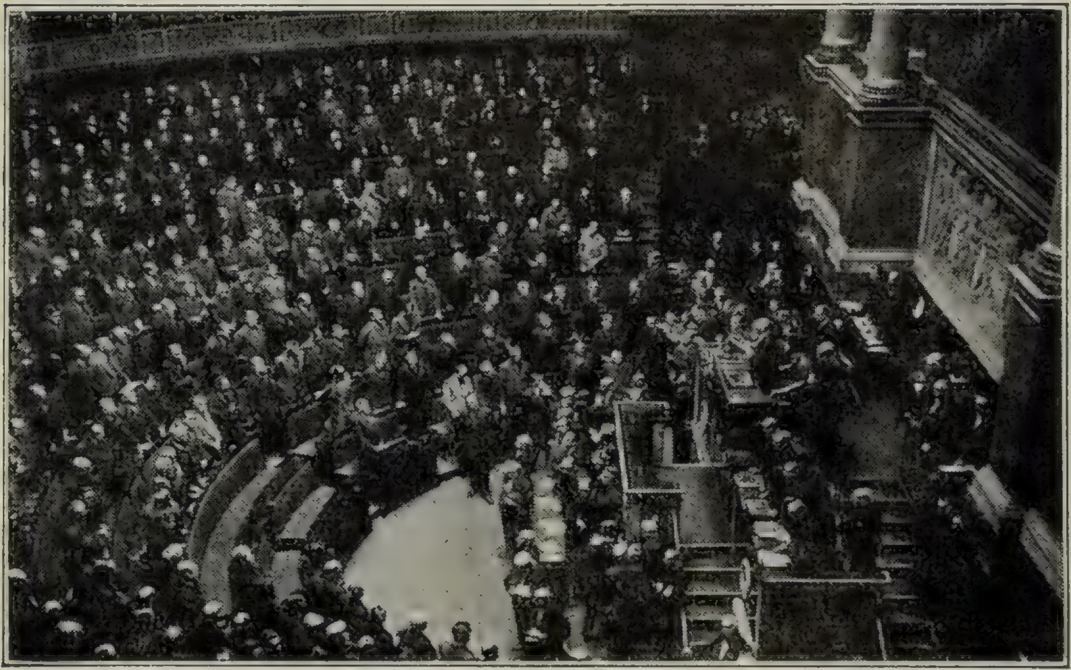
Paul Thompson

Society at the Prix D'Auteuil, 1898

The races at Auteuil, near Paris, have long been important social occasions and a smart place to introduce new fashions.

1. The parliament. The French parliament consists of two houses, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Senators are distributed

among the *départements*, according to population, and are elected by an electoral college in each *département* made up of the members of the Chamber of Deputies from the *département* and various local officials. Members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by a direct vote for a term of four years. France and Italy are the only important powers of Europe which do not allow women to vote. All men who have reached the age of twenty-one are eligible to vote with the usual exceptions of insane, paupers, and bankrupts.

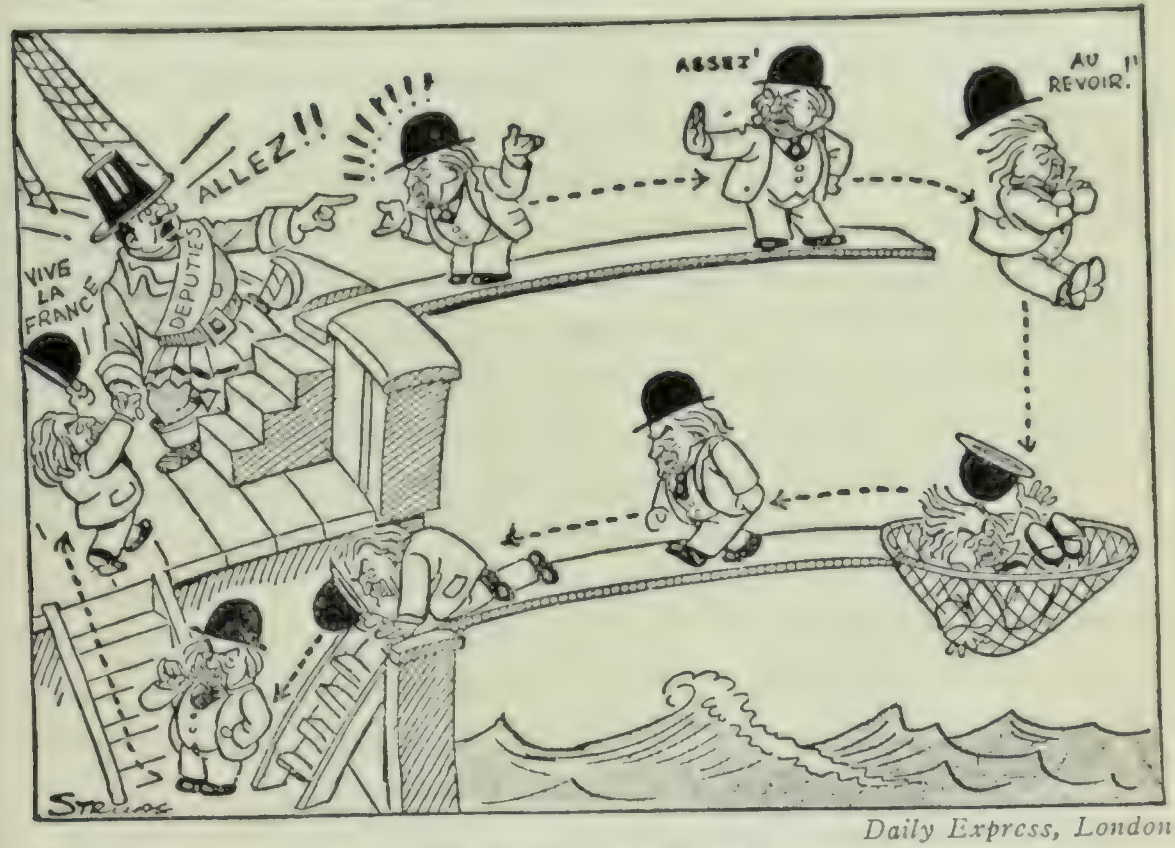


Keystone View Co.

THE OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, JUNE 1, 1933

2. THE PRESIDENT. The president is elected for a term of seven years by the National Assembly, the two chambers sitting together as one body. There is no provision for a vice-president. In case of the death or resignation of the president the National Assembly meets and elects his successor. At first glance the president seems to be one of the most powerful rulers of modern times; he has power to make all appointments, make treaties, issue decrees, convene and adjourn the legislature, initiate laws, and is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. One provision of the law of 1875, however, makes the president practically a figurehead—"Every act of the

President of the Republic shall be countersigned by a minister." Another section of the same act provides that "the ministers shall be collectively responsible to the chambers for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal acts." These two provisions establish a cabinet form of government similar in general principles to that of England, with the president in practically the same position as the king of England.


ALLEZ!!
!!!
ASSEZ!
AU REVOIR!
VIVE LA FRANCE
DEPUTIES

Daily Express, London

Walking the Plank

An English cartoon satirizing the frequent reorganization of the French ministries which, with few exceptions, contain a large percentage of the members of the former ministry forced to "walk the plank."

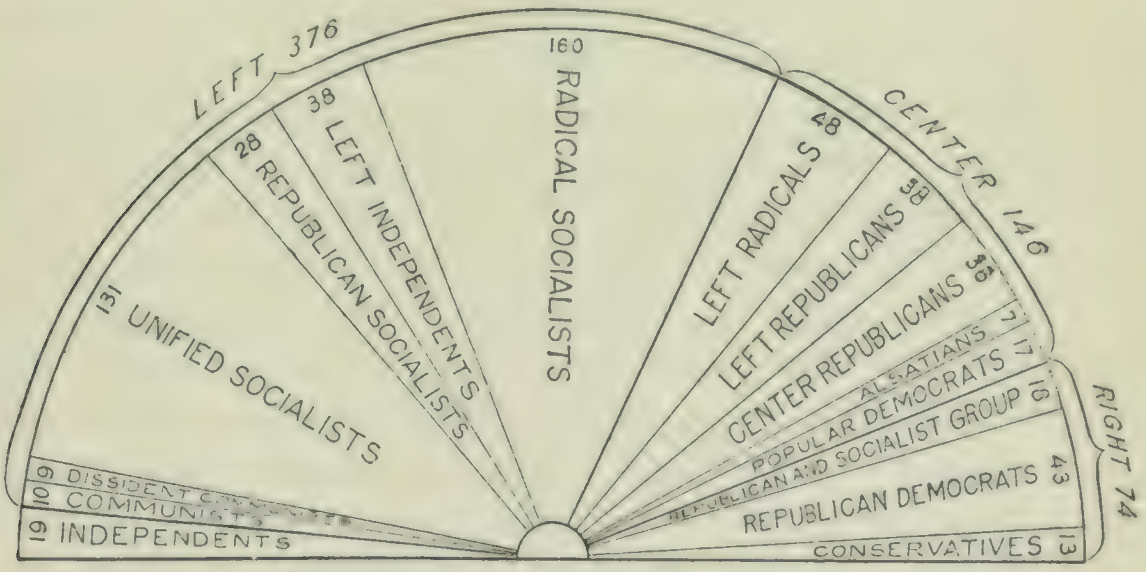
3. Differences in French and English cabinet systems. While both France and the United States are republics and England nominally a monarchy, the government of France, having the cabinet system, resembles that of England much more than that of the United States. A statement of the main ways in which the government of France differs from that of England will help to make clear how the French government actually works. France has never had two main political parties as England had throughout the nineteenth century, but has always had many parties. Since one party is never large enough to control parliament, every ministry must be made up of a combination of parties. The French call the combination of parties to make up a ministry a *bloc*. The large number of parties in a ministry leads to frequent disagreements and therefore most ministries are short-lived, the average life of a ministry since the establishment of the republic being less than a year. A change of ministry in France, however, does not involve a dissolution of parliament and a new election as it usually does in England. The president has power with the consent of the senate to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, but there has been but one such dissolution, that of 1877, and it is now practically certain that a Chamber will serve out its full four-year term. When a ministry is defeated it resigns and the president asks another man to act as prime minister and choose a new cabinet. This is often done by simply dropping one party from the former ministry and adding another in its place so that the new ministry will contain a large proportion of the members of the former one. In this way, although changes of ministry are frequent, the policy of the government remains fairly constant.

Another important difference is that the cabinet in England is responsible to the House of Commons alone, while in France it is responsible to both houses; that is, it stays in power only so long as it can control a majority in each house. With these three exceptions —the multiplicity of parties in France, the custom of not dissolving parliament on defeat of the ministry, and the responsibility of the ministry to both houses—the government of France works much the same as that of England. The cabinet is the real governing body. The custom of questioning the ministry, a practice which usually precedes a vote of confidence, is called "interpellation."

In February, 1934, a situation arose which may lead to fundamental changes in the French government. Roused by increased taxes and financial scandals, a mob led by Monarchists and Fascists stormed the Chamber of Deputies and were repulsed with some loss of life. A general strike called by socialists and trade unionists prevented an immediate dictatorship but a national government including all parties except the socialists and communists was formed with Doumergue as premier.

II. French Political Parties

In the early years of the Third Republic the main parties were the Monarchists and the Republican, each made up of various groups loosely held together. Once the permanence of the republic seemed assured the Republicans divided into several groups with more definite organizations, but the French party system is still most confusing. French parties are not permanent, well-organized bodies as the American and British parties are. They are loose and continually shifting groups, usually held together only by some strong personality. Often a candidate for parliament writes his own platform, conducts his own campaign, and pays his own expenses; after election he seeks out members of similar ideas and forms a group which may disappear when parliament ends. Even party names are misleading. The Radical Socialists, for instance, are neither socialists nor radicals in the strict sense of the terms; in most countries they would be called progressives. The Radical Republicans are not radical at all but conservative.



Make-up of the French Chamber

The parties indicated are those returned to the Chamber of Deputies as a result of the elections of 1932.

A. The right. In the French chambers, as in most of the parliaments of Continental Europe, the parties sit in groups arranged according to their general attitude on public questions, the extreme conservatives on the right of the presiding officer shading down to the extreme radicals on the left. The chart on page 453 gives some idea of the number of French parties, their position in the Chamber of Deputies and their strength in 1932. The chart does not show all of the minor groups, nor can it show the constant shifting of individuals from one group to another. French parties may be classified roughly in three main groups, which have existed in one form or the other from the beginning of the republic: right, center, and left. At the extreme of the right is a handful of Conservatives who still cling to the idea of the restoration of the monarchy or the restoration of the privileges of the Catholic Church. Next to them comes the main party of the right, the Democratic-Republican Union or Nationalists. This is essentially the big business party, drawing its support from the upper middle class, the remnants of the old landed aristocracy, and the conservative peasant land owners. It stands for the protection of private property against all socialist ideas; is nationalistic, imperialistic, and anti-German. Under the leadership of Poincaré it became after the war the center of the national *bloc* directed against Bolshevism and committed to the literal enforcement of the peace treaties and the collection in full of the German indemnity.

B. The center. In the center are various small and constantly shifting groups called Republicans, Independent Republicans, Independents, and Radicals, of which the Radicals are the most important. This is the party of the owners of small shops and businesses —the *petite bourgeoisie* as the French call them. It contains many lawyers and other professional men. The main article of the Radical creed has always been anticlericalism. Most of the Radicals favor a liberal program of social reform but are hostile to any limitation of the rights of private property.

C. The left. The line between the Radicals of the center and the Radical Socialists of the left cannot be clearly drawn, for the two parties represent much the same groups and favor much the same program. While many of the Radical Socialists are former members of the Socialist party who have left that party or been expelled because of disagreements, the Radical Socialists are not Socialists in the sense that the term is used in other countries to apply to those who accept the theories of Marx. They favor government ownership of some public utilities and high taxes on wealth, but are opposed to any general program of public ownership of capital. In common with the other parties of the left they have, both before and since the war, favored a more friendly policy toward Germany than the parties of the center and right, and have been less militaristic.

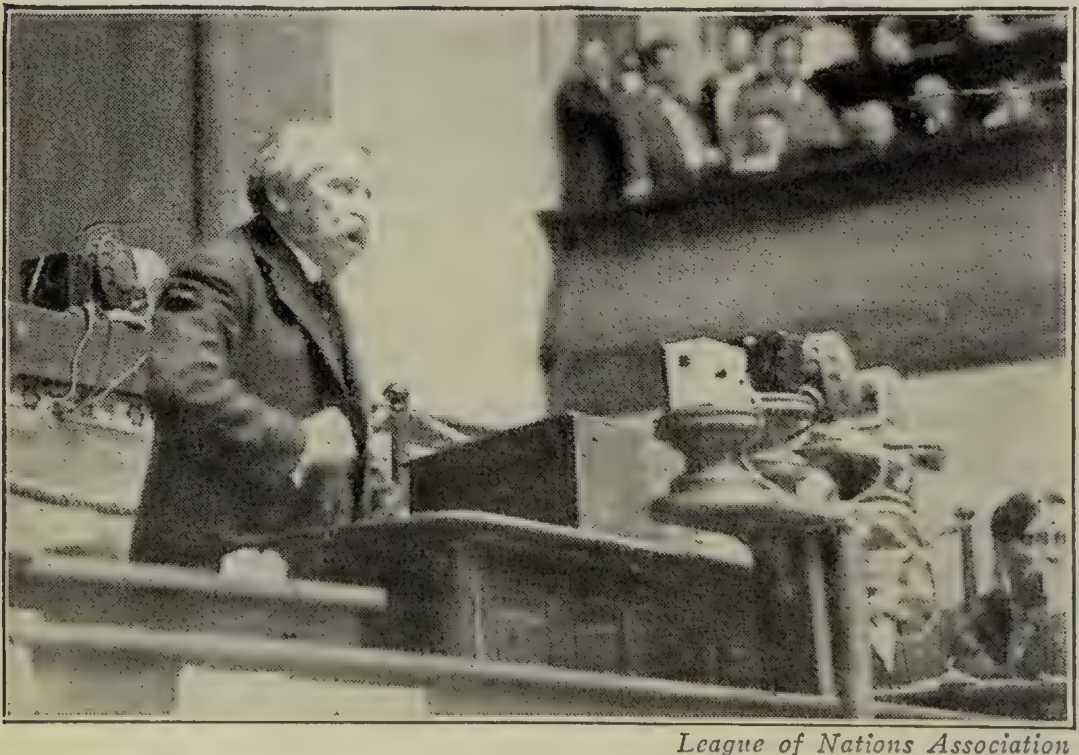
The other main party of the left is the Unified Socialist party, the Marxian Socialists who advocate a program similar to the Socialist parties in other countries. They are well organized, being the only party in France similar in organization to American and English parties. Following the Russian Revolution a split occurred among the French Socialists, those who favored adopting Bolshevik methods taking the name of Communist. At present the Communists constitute the extreme left, refusing all coöperation with other parties. Since the war the Unified Socialists have voted with left ministries but have refused to accept office in these ministries.

III. French Politics

The main issue in French politics at the opening of the twentieth century was anticlericalism. On this issue a left *bloc* was formed in 1899 and remained in power almost continuously down to 1910. Then came several ministries farther to the right who strengthened France's alliances against Germany and lengthened the term of military service from two to three years.

At the outbreak of the war a coalition government made up of representatives of all parties was formed. In 1916, a war weariness came over France, discouraged by hardships and failures. From various quarters came demands for peace, and there was talk of negotiations with the Germans and Austrians. In 1917 Clemenceau, the "Tiger," became prime minister with a cabinet pledged to wipe out "defeatism." Clemenceau won the approval of all France by his successful conduct of the war and the peace conference.

In the wave of nationalism and antiradicalism that swept over the country after the war even Clemenceau was too moderate. The national *bloc* was formed, made up of the parties of the right, led by Poincaré, with the support of most of the center and many Radical Socialists. Except for an interval of left ministries in 1924-1925 the national *bloc* remained in power until 1932. While changes of ministry were frequent—eight different ministries held office between August, 1925, and June, 1926—Poincaré and Tardieu were the main leaders. As a concession to the left, Briand, France's foremost friend of the League of Nations and of peace, was foreign secretary throughout the period until his death in 1932. In the elections of 1932 a drift to the left took place and Herriot came into power with a cabinet of Radical Socialists and center parties.



League of Nations Association

BRIAND ADDRESSING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSEMBLY

As a young man Aristide Briand (1862-1932) wrote for anarchist newspapers and later with Jean Jaurès founded the socialist newspaper, *L'Humanité*. As a socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies he took an active part in the anticlerical struggle, personally drafting the Separation Act of 1905. In 1906 he was expelled from the Socialist party for taking office in a non-Socialist ministry. After the war he became France's foremost apostle of peace and *rapprochement* with Germany. He was prime minister ten times, and as foreign secretary continuously in ministries of both the left and the right from 1925 until his death, he did much to moderate France's policy toward Germany.

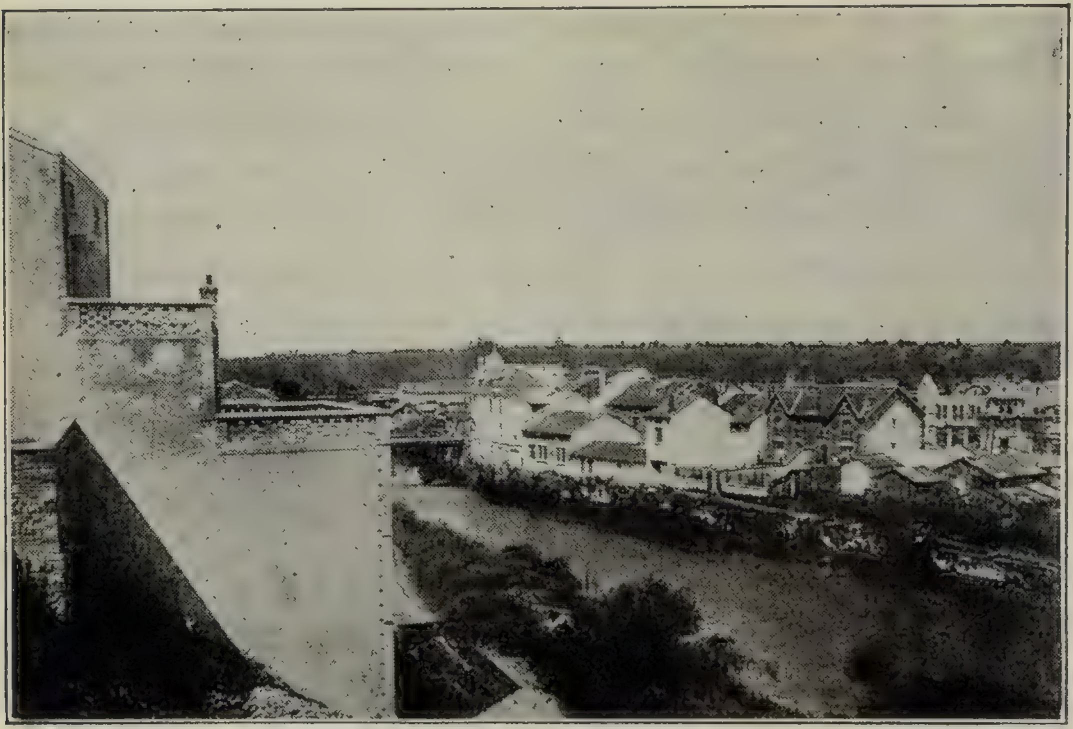
In the years following the war finances were a major issue in French politics. France had a large debt of thirty-four billion francs in 1914. During the war she issued large quantities of paper money which depreciated in value rapidly Since she had to pay her war expenses in depreciated francs the debt mounted rapidly—to one hundred fifty-one billion francs in 1918. Following the war, ministers, holding out hopes of collecting large amounts in reparations from Germany, failed to balance the budget and paid current expenses by further issue of paper francs and further borrowing. In spite of frantic changes in ministries the franc went lower and lower and the debt continued to mount. With the franc down to 2.1 cents and the debt at three hundred twenty-three billion francs in 1926, Poincaré was recalled to power and began a program of strict economy and increased taxes. In June, 1928, the franc was revalued and stabilized at 3.9 cents in place of its pre-war value of 19.3. In 1934 a further devaluation seemed probable.

Acme

VARENNES: ALMOST DESTROYED DURING THE WAR

It was on this bridge that Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were captured on their flight from Paris during the Revolution.

As a result of the World War France regained the position of dominance on the continent of Europe which she had enjoyed in the days of Louis XIV and Napoleon I, and which she had lost to Germany in 1871. With Germany disarmed, France was the strongest military power in western Europe and she has increased the strength of her army and her air force. Alliances with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania have strengthened her military as well as her diplomatic position. France has also become the economic and financial leader of the Continent.



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VARENNES REBUILT

Reconstruction of her towns and cities was one of France's most important problems at the close of the war.

Even when her government finances were disorganized general economic conditions in France were good, and they improved rapidly after the stabilization of the franc. The devastated areas were restored in record time. Due to her fertile lands and her large number of thrifty farmers owning their own small farms, France produces more agricultural products than she consumes, and, after Russia, is the most nearly self-supporting of any country in Europe. Therefore she suffered less than the more industrialized countries from the upset conditions in international trade that followed the war. By the Treaty of Versailles France gained Alsace-Lorraine with its rich deposits of iron and coal, and the coal mines of the Saar Valley. These gains greatly stimulated her iron and steel industry and together with the new machinery and mass production methods introduced by her industrialists are rapidly making France a leading industrial country. Her exports have exceeded her imports and the flow of gold to France in recent years has made French bankers the dictators of European finance.

France is firmly convinced that security for herself and peace for Europe depends upon maintaining her dominant position, and that her position can be maintained only by preserving intact the Treaty of Versailles. Backed by her allies she has therefore resisted all attempts at modification of the treaty both in the meetings of the League of Nations and in other international conferences. In international affairs, then, France is a conservative force; she is no less conservative in domestic affairs.

France has a radical trade union movement and a strong Socialist party. Her new industrial leaders are, however, conservative and strongly nationalistic, and they, together with the many conservative land-owning peasants, make France the most conservative government in Europe in spite of her revolutionary heritage.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. "The establishment of the Third Republic was an accident." Explain.

2. When Millerand became president of France in 1921 newspapers predicted that the president would no longer be a figurehead. Show why, unless a change is made in the nature of the French government, the president is bound to be a figurehead.

3. What historical reasons did the French have for giving little power to the president?

4. What features of the present government of France had their origin in Napoleon's time?

5. Between 1920 and 1931 there were twenty different ministries in France, but no great change was made in either her foreign or her domestic policies. Explain how the French party system makes this possible.

6. What international and internal conditions help explain why France is regarded as one of the most conservative countries of Europe?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Government of the Third French Republic

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 331-334
Schapiro, pp. 321-333
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 208-216
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 304-309
Ogg, *Governments,* pp. 357-484
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 331-348
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 52-60
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VII, pp. 43-47

Political Parties, Issues, and Reforms

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 345-367
Schapiro, pp. 333-359, 793-797
Benns, Chap. XIII, pp. 347-375
Cole, pp. 158-171, 416-423
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 216-239
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 309-315
Magruder, pp. 274-289
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 512-520
Ogg, *Governments,* pp. 484-504
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 60-65
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 348-368, 946-962
Bowman, *The New World,* pp. 77-119
Consult also the *Readers' Guide*

CHAPTER XX

GERMANY—REACTIONARY EMPIRE, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, DICTATORSHIP

In England we have had an example of a country gaining democracy by a gradual process of evolution; in France we have had an example of a country gaining democracy by revolution. While England became somewhat more democratic as a result of the World War and France somewhat more conservative, neither was greatly changed. In this chapter we take up Germany, a country whose government was completely transformed by the World War. From the least democratic of the nations of western Europe Germany was changed for a time to one of the most democratic; in 1933 a dictatorship was established. We shall study the government of the empire, trying to see why Germany lagged behind her neighbors in the development of democracy; we shall try to see why the revolution came, what it accomplished, and why and how Hitler gained dictatorial power.

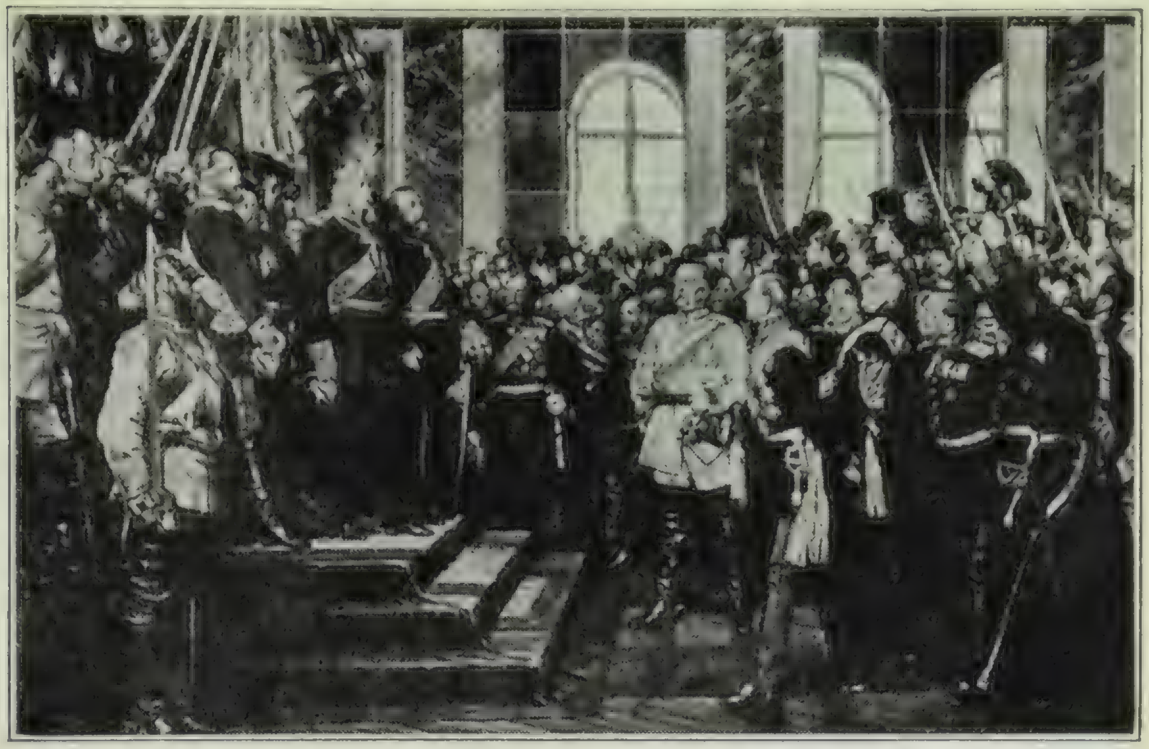
I. GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

A. The states and the federal government. The German Empire came into existence January 1, 1871, as a result of the union of the south German states with the North German Confederation. (See page 392.) The empire was made up of twenty-five states—kingdoms, grand-duchies, duchies, principalities, free cities, and the imperial domain of Alsace-Lorraine. The states varied widely in size and population, from Prussia with an area of 134,616 square miles and a population of nearly twenty-five million to the free city of Bremen with ninety-nine square miles, and Schaumburg-Lippe with a population of thirty-two thousand.

The empire was a federal state, the powers of the central government being enumerated in the constitution and all other powers being reserved to the states. Since there were such great differences in area and population there was no equality of privilege or influence among the states. Prussia, with nearly two-thirds of the area and more than half the population of the whole empire, had a predominating influence. Her king was the emperor. In the Bundesrat (the upper house of the legislature) she had the deciding vote in case of a tie and controlled the chairmanship of all standing committees except that of foreign affairs, which was held by Bavaria. Although Prussia had but seventeen of the sixty-one votes in the Bundesrat, she was able to block any changes in the constitution since fourteen adverse votes killed any amendment. The constitution provided that no change could be made in military or naval affairs or in taxation if Prussia voted in favor of the existing system. The four south German states were allowed to retain certain special powers of taxation and administration.

B. The emperor. The emperor had wide powers, both as king of Prussia and as emperor. He had the right to convene and adjourn both houses of the legislature. He appointed members of the Imperial Court and had the power of pardon in all cases decided in that court. He was the chief executive, making all appointments, conducting foreign relations, and acting as commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the empire.

His powers were no greater nominally than those of the king of England, but, as we have seen, most of the powers of the English king were exercised by the cabinet, which was beyond his control. (See page 433.) In Germany there was no cabinet in the English sense of the term. Most of the functions of a cabinet were performed by the chancellor who was appointed by the emperor and who was responsible not to parliament but to the emperor alone. There is no parallel to the office of the chancellor in any modern government. It was created by Bismarck so that he might dominate the affairs of the empire as he had dominated those of Prussia and the North German Confederation. The chancellor presided over and controlled the Bundesrat. He was the emperor's "other self," acting for him as the chief executive official of the empire. All other ministers and subordinates were appointed by him, were controlled by him, and were responsible to him alone.

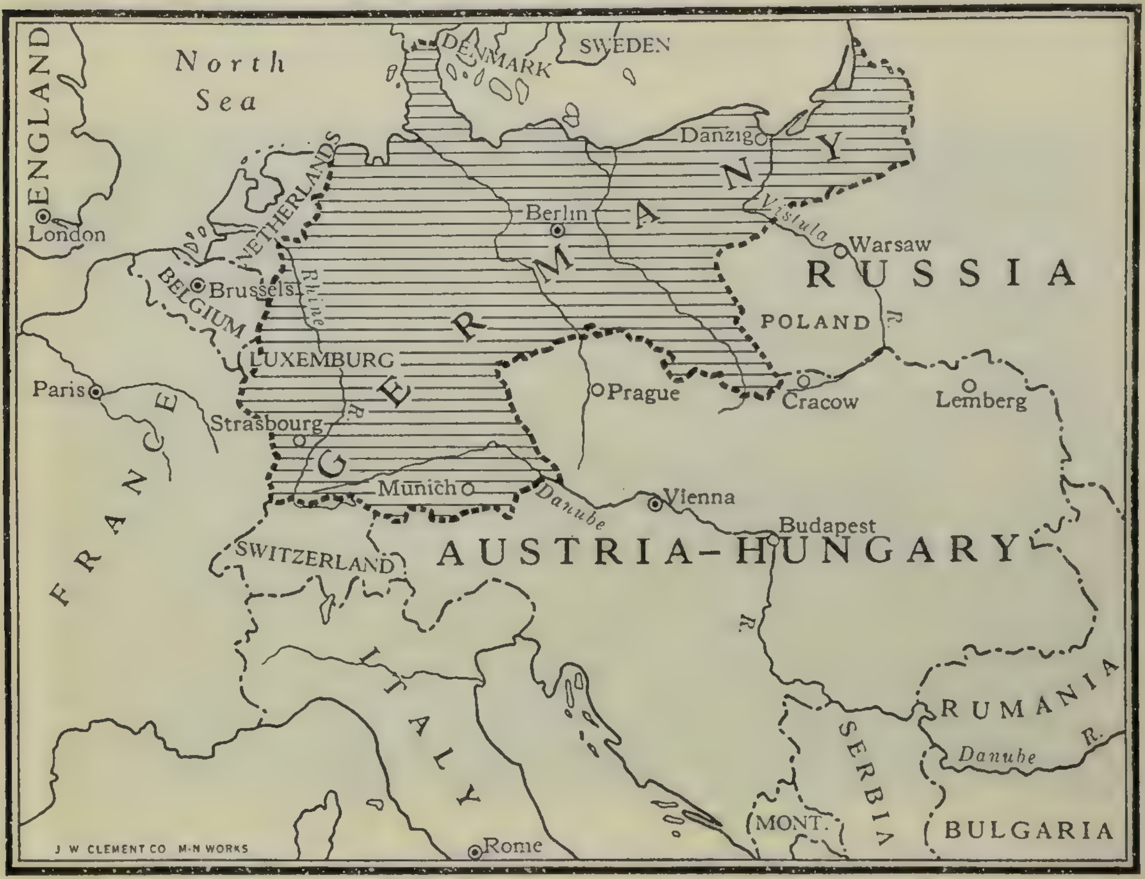


Keystone View Co.

WILLIAM I PROCLAIMED EMPEROR IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS, VERSAILLES

It was in this same palace that Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles at the close of the World War in 1919.

C. The legislature. The legislative power was vested in two houses, the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. The Bundesrat was composed of sixty-one delegates appointed by the rulers of the various states, Prussia having seventeen, Bavaria six, and so on down to the seventeen smallest states which had one each. The delegates were usually officials of the states which they represented; they could be recalled at any time; they acted and voted not at their own discretion, but under instructions from their governments, the votes of each state being cast as a unit. In contrast to the Bundesrat the Reichstag was a democratic body representing the people of the empire, not the states. All male citizens twenty-five years of age or over had the right to vote for a member of the Reichstag. There was no property qualification for either voters or members and no plural voting. Electoral districts, however, varied in population.


ENGLAND
London
North Sea
DENMARK
SWEDEN
NETHERLANDS
Brussels
BELGIUM
Paris
LUXEMBURG
Strasbourg
FRANCE
Rhine
GERMANY
Danzig
Berlin
Vistula
Warsaw
RUSSIA
POLAND
Prague
Cracow
Lemberg
Munich
Danube
Vienna
Budapest
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ITALY
Rome
RUMANIA
Danube
SERBIA
MONT.
BULGARIA
R.
J W CLEMENT CO M-N WORKS

Germany Just Before the World War

Although the constitution gave both houses the right to initiate legislation, and although no bill which had not passed both houses could become a law, in practice the Bundesrat had far more influence in legislation than the Reichstag. Practically all bills, including the budget and other financial measures, were prepared in the Bundesrat, discussed and passed there, and then sent to the Reichstag for approval. Although the Reichstag could and occasionally did amend or defeat bills sent to it, its action was usually a matter of form. It could be dissolved by the emperor with the consent of the Bundesrat and the threat of dissolution was usually enough to bring its members into line. The immediate reason for the ineffectiveness of the Reichstag was the lack of ministerial responsibility. A chancellor's bills might be defeated, his actions might be censured, a majority might be returned against him in an election, but still he remained in power as long as the emperor saw fit to keep him there. It is evident, however, that the Reichstag might have played a more important part than it did even under the existing constitution. The real reason was that there was no effective opposition to the policy of the government among the German people. The Socialists were the only party to oppose the government actively and they never had enough power to defeat it single-handed, although their steadily growing strength doubtless had a considerable indirect influence on government policy.

OROC

INDUSTRIAL GERMANY

Huge modern plants transform coal into electricity at the mines. This is at Golpa in east central Germany.

D. Why did the empire remain undemocratic? 1. SUCCESS OF BISMARCK'S BLOOD AND IRON POLICY. The fundamental reason why the government of Germany remained autocratic while other countries were making rapid strides toward democracy lies deeper than any mere lack of governmental machinery. It can be understood only by considering some of the changes that took place in Germany during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century

Germany was but a geographical expression—a heterogeneous collection of small states without military power or material wealth. It was, however, a country rich in ideals. It was known as a country of dreamers and poets, a country of cosmopolitan idealists, the country of Goethe, Schiller, and Richter, of Kant and Fichte, of Beethoven, Händel, and Bach. The ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity born of the French Revolution and carried throughout Germany by Napoleon's armies fell on fertile ground. In spite of the plots of Metternich, liberalism in Germany survived. Liberalism triumphed temporarily in the Revolution of 1848, but the failure of the Frankfort Parliament dealt it a mortal blow. Then came Bismarck. His policy of blood and iron succeeded where liberalism had failed. Bismarck's successful wars completed the rout of German liberalism which had begun at Frankfort. (See pages 387-390.)

2. ECONOMIC PROGRESS. Unification not only added to the prestige of Prussia and Bismarck, but brought prosperity to all of Germany. No fairy tale of a rise from rags to riches is more fascinating than the story of Germany's economic transformation during the nineteenth century. A land of peasants struggling to make a living from a none too fertile soil at the beginning of the century, she had become one of the world's greatest industrial nations at its close. By 1914 she had definitely won the economic leadership of the Continent and was pressing England in many lines, having surpassed her in the production of coal. In the production of potash and in her chemical industry she led the world. At the same time, agriculture had by no means been neglected. At the outbreak of the World War, one-third of her population was still on the land, and among the nations of Europe she was second only to Russia in the production of cereals and led them all in beet sugar and potatoes.

There are various reasons for Germany's economic greatness. The workers were obedient, methodical, and industrious. Manufacturers and merchants displayed the same thoroughness in attention to details that had long been proverbial in regard to German scholars. Science was freely called upon to aid, no country having so many chemists and other scientists employed in industry. Most important of all, in no country was the promotion of prosperity so direct a concern of the government.

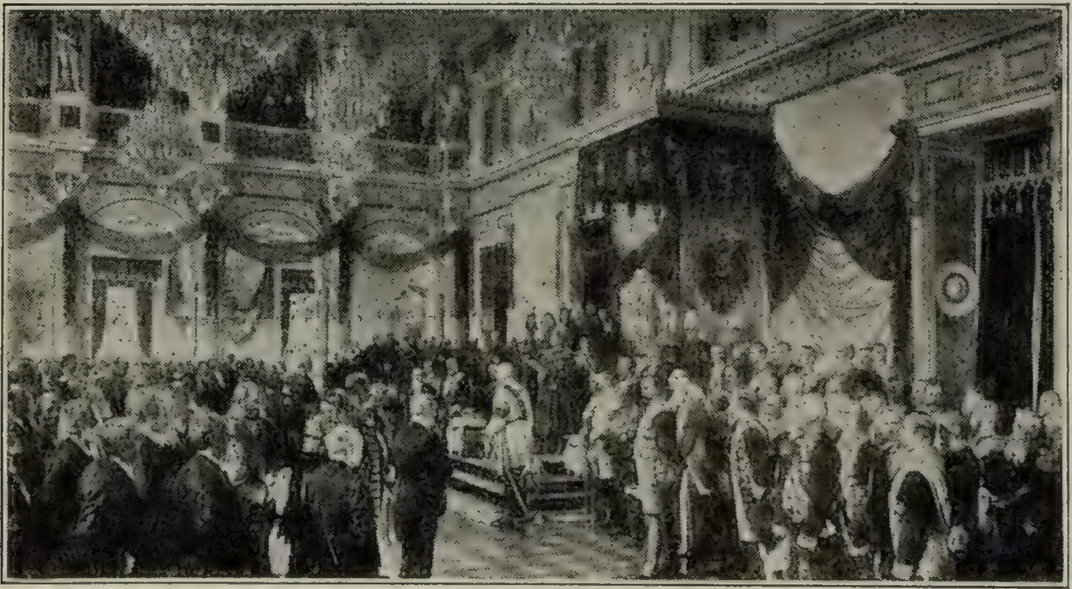
The government helped agriculture by spending money for research in agricultural chemistry, by establishing agricultural schools and experiment stations, by encouraging rural coöperative credit associations, and by protective tariffs. Manufacture and trade were aided by tariffs, by the encouragement of scientific research, and by the establishment of technical schools to provide trained workers. Commerce was stimulated by the construction of railroads and canals. The consular service busied itself in building up markets for German goods throughout the world. The liberal policy of the Reichsbank, the German National Bank, in furnishing credit for new enterprises made the expansion of business possible. The workers were relieved from the fear of poverty due to accident, sickness, old age, or unemployment by a far-reaching system of social insurance. Above all, what the government did it did well, the German civil service being second to none in patriotism and efficiency.

Since all classes were prosperous, and since all classes believed that their prosperity was due in no small measure to the activities of the government, it is small wonder that there was little effective opposition to governmental policies. The landlords, being the aristocrats, naturally believed in an aristocratic government, and their tenants usually followed their lead; the bourgeoisie did a certain amount of lip service to liberal ideas, but since they feared socialism more than aristocracy, their liberalism was not put into practice; even the socialist opposition was tempered by the knowledge that the material conditions of the workers were above those of any other European country. More and more the ablest men went into business rather than politics. The Reichstag had no leader who could compare in ability with von Siemens and Rathenau who have been called the German Edisons, Krupp, the munition maker, Thyssen and Stinnes, the iron and steel magnates, or Balin, director-general of the Hamburg-American steamship lines.

3. Nationalism. Material prosperity not only brought about the acquiescence of liberals in autocratic government, but helped to foster an aggressive nationalism which pictured the German govern-

ment as the best possible. Her patriotic historians, Droysen, Sybel, and Treitschke, all of them able students and forceful writers, devoted themselves to portraying the glorious past and proclaiming the even more glorious future of Germany and her rulers. Treitschke, especially, glorified the state, insisting that it must be supreme over the individuals who composed it. According to him the German system of government, an hereditary monarchy supported by a powerful aristocracy, was the one type which ensured the state sufficient strength to realize its ideals. (See page 345.)

It is doubtful whether the great majority of Germans really accepted Treitschke's philosophy; it is doubtful whether most of them ever heard of it. But certainly the material success which Germany had won was the most important factor in preventing criticism of the government or the establishment of a really democratic system.



From a painting by Anton von Werner. OROC

Opening the First Reichstag Under William II, June 25, 1888

II. Parties and Issues, 1871-1918

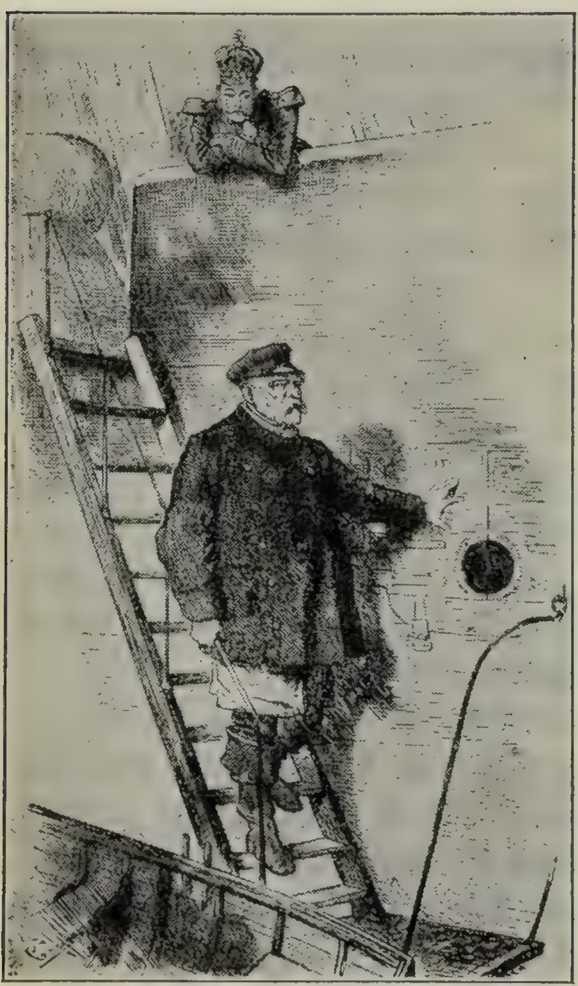
The history of the German Empire from 1871 to 1918 is closely tied up with the personalities of two men, Bismarck and William II. For the first twenty years, Bismarck dominated the government—Reichstag, Bundesrat, and emperor. Cabinet officers and subordinates did his will. The policies of the empire were his policies and to a large extent he controlled the diplomacy of Europe. After 1890, William II was his own chancellor, and his hand may be seen in all of Germany's activities. Both these men were influenced by political parties, but to a great extent they formulated and carried out their plans independently, winning support now from one group, now from another. For, although party strife has been bitter, German government has been much less government by party than that of England or France. Germany, like France, has always had several parties, no one of which has ever had a majority in the Reichstag, and, moreover, party government can never be effective where there is no responsible ministry.

A. Early parties. At the formation of the empire Bismarck had the support of the Conservatives, the party of the Prussian landlords who furnished most of the government officials, civil and military. He also early won the support of the National Liberals, the party of big business who wanted a strong government to promote trade and industry. The Democrats or Radicals, the party of small business and professional men, opposed him but they were never strong enough to interfere seriously with his policies.

B. The Center party. Soon a new opposition party, the Catholic Center, appeared in the Reichstag. It was formed with the avowed purpose of protecting the interests of the Catholic Church, opposing radicalism, and championing the states against the central government. It appealed to Catholics in all classes of society and was particularly strong in Rhenish Prussia and the southern states. Bismarck opposed it in the famous *Kulturkampf* (see page 319), but the Socialists seemed a greater menace and he soon turned his attention to them. The Center party remained one of the strongest parties in the country, consistently maintaining its strength of about one hundred members in the Reichstag. In order to attract the workers it adopted a thoroughgoing program of social reforms, but bitterly opposed socialism, and, up to the World War, always refused to coöperate with the Socialists.

C. The Socialists. In 1875 the various socialist groups united to form the Social Democratic party which won twelve seats in the

Reichstag in the election of 1877. Bismarck was disturbed by the spread of socialist doctrines, which he hated no less for their anti-nationalism than for their attacks on private property. Taking advantage of the public excitement caused by two unsuccessful attempts on the life of the emperor, which he unjustly blamed on the Socialists, in 1878 he put through a law prohibiting all socialist meetings and the printing or circulation of socialist literature. This law broke up the formal organization of the party but did not check the growth of socialism. Literature was smuggled into the country; secret meetings were held; the Socialists, looked upon as martyrs, throve on persecution. Six years after the passage of the law the socialist vote had increased to five hundred forty-nine thousand and there were twenty-four socialist members in the Reichstag.



From a cartoon by Sir John Tenniel in "Punch"

"Dropping the Pilot"

One of the most famous cartoons ever published.

Bismarck, however, was not content with mere repression. Realizing that under existing economic conditions the workers had real grievances, he set about remedying some of them, hoping thereby to "steal the Socialists' thunder," as well as to strengthen the country by developing a healthy and contented working class. The social legislation sponsored by Bismarck from 1883 to 1890 was the most advanced of any in the world. It included sickness and accident insurance, old age pensions, and numerous laws for improving factory conditions and protecting working women and children. (See pages 282-284.) This welfare legislation proved no more effective than repression in checking the growth of socialism, although it doubtless helped make the German workers more tolerant of autocratic government and socialism less radical in Germany than in neighboring countries.

D. The achievements of Bismarck. Bismarck, during the first ten years of his chancellorship, devoted himself mainly to consolidating and strengthening the federal government, centralizing control of banking and currency, the railroads, and the army; drafting codes of law for the empire; carrying on the *Kulturkampf* against the Catholics; and beginning the struggle against the Socialists. In the eighties he devoted more attention to economic questions, introducing a protective tariff, starting the acquisition of colonies, and adopting measures for the welfare of workers.

E. William II his own chancellor. William II, who became emperor in 1888, was thoroughly impressed with his own importance and determined to have his own way. A conflict with Bismarck, equally strong-willed and unyielding, was inevitable. Matters came to a crisis in 1890 over the questions of renewing the anti-socialist legislation and of the chancellor's relation to the rest of the cabinet. Bismarck's resignation was requested. From then on, William was his own chancellor. All later chancellors were thoroughly subordinate to him. Bismarck's domestic policies were not changed essentially. Social legislation was continued and extended; protective tariffs were continued, new colonies were added, the army was increased, and a great naval program initiated. The outstanding factor in Germany's history during the twenty years preceding the outbreak of the World War was her great prosperity. Manufactures and commerce grew steadily. Germany rose to the position of a leading manufacturing and commercial nation. Her aggressive campaign for markets changed the economic balance of power and led to new international alignments which had dire consequences for the world.

F. Political developments during the World War. Democracy never thrives in war time. Democratic governments become autocratic and autocratic ones become more so. Germany was no exception to the general rule. The successes of the two leading generals, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, roused great enthusiasm and made them the real rulers of the country. Neither chancellor nor emperor could have stood against them even had they wished to do so. The Reichstag met at intervals and voted credits, but made no attempt during the first years to control war policy. Socialist newspapers had condemned the ultimatum to Belgium and demanded that war be avoided; but when war broke out the party showed that it was German first and socialist second, and voted as a unit for the first war appropriations, despite the opposition of a small minority. This minority refused to vote for later credits and in 1916 broke definitely with the party, assuming the name of Independents. After the Russian Revolution many of the Independents united with other radical groups to form the Communist party.

As the war wore on the Socialists began to call for peace, but the government ignored them until the summer of 1917. Then the Center party joined the Socialists and combined with a few Democrats to pass a resolution calling for a peace without annexations and without indemnities. Hertling, a Bavarian and a prominent member of the Center party, became chancellor and, after consultation with the Reichstag majority, promised reforms and a beginning of peace negotiations on the basis of the Reichstag resolutions. Responsible government seemed to have started in Germany.

The Russian Bolshevik revolution in November, 1917, removed Russia from active participation in the war against Germany. (See page 506.) Soon after, Rumania, another enemy, collapsed. These events renewed German hopes of victory. In the preparation for one last great effort, opposition to the government was stilled and promises of reform forgotten. Ludendorff's great drive in the spring of 1918 seemed at first destined to be successful, but by the middle of July its force was spent and slowly but surely the Germans were forced back. In August Ludendorff reported to the emperor that Germany could not win the war. Early in September the generals informed the government that peace must be made as soon as possible. The emperor realized that the situation required a ministry with the confidence of the Reichstag and accordingly on October 4

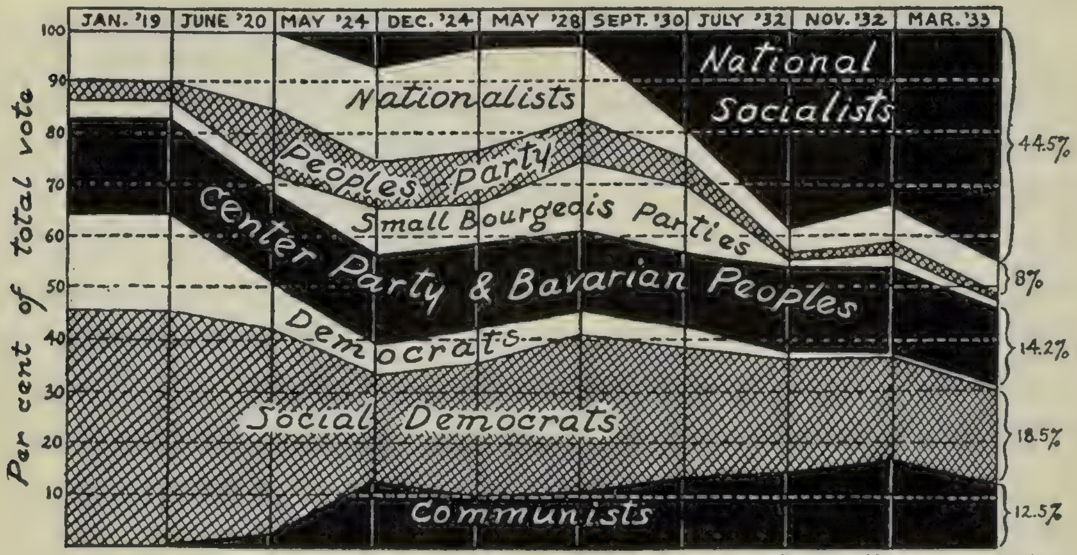
Prince Max of Baden, a sincere liberal, became chancellor with a ministry in which all parties were represented. The next day Max asked President Wilson for a peace on the basis of the Fourteen Points.

The formation of a ministry responsible to the Reichstag was in itself a revolution, but it was uncertain how long the reform would last if the military situation improved. In the correspondence which President Wilson carried on with Prince Max throughout October, Wilson made it plain that he had little confidence in the old German government. He repeatedly insisted that the Allies must know "with whom they are dealing." Wilson's words doubtless helped bring matters to a head for they amounted to an assurance that if the German people overthrew the emperor they might expect easier peace terms.

III. The Revolution

The downfall of the government was more of a collapse than a revolution. The Hohenzollerns had won the support of the people because they had been successful and when success deserted them their support went with it. In spite of military reverses, the people had been told in official bulletins up to the middle of September that ultimate victory was certain. Defeat came so suddenly that there was no time for mental readjustment. The people, realizing that they had been deceived, turned against those responsible for the deception, determined that if their rulers could not give them a victory they should at least not stand in the way of peace.

The revolution started with a mutiny of sailors at Kiel. Within a week the movement had spread to all the principal industrial centers of north Germany. In Berlin the Majority Socialists took control and forced the emperor's hand. On November 8 Scheidemann, the Socialist leader, announced to the chancellor that unless the kaiser abdicated within twenty-four hours the Socialists would resign from the ministry. The next day they did resign and called a general strike; the workers left the factories, the soldiers refused to interfere with them; Prince Max announced the abdication of the kaiser and turned over the government to the Socialists. This was the signal for the toppling of crowns throughout the empire. Kings, princes, and dukes fled; workers' and soldiers' councils sprang up; everywhere the Socialists took control.



Foreign Policy Association

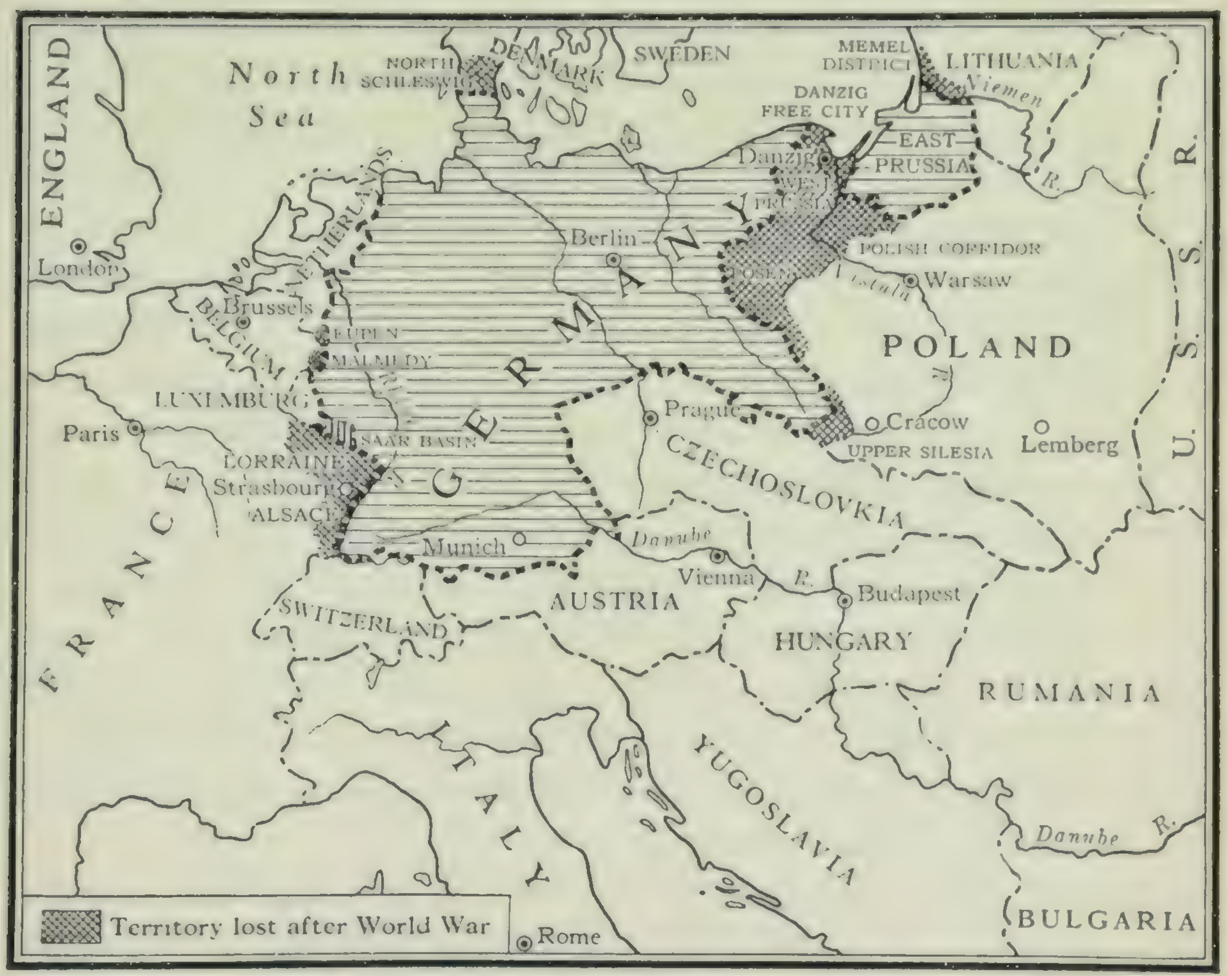
Changing Strength of Political Parties in Republican Germany

The percentage of the total vote polled by each of the principal parties in each election for members of the Reichstag from 1919 to 1933. The percentages at the left refer to the election of 1919; those at the right to 1933 only.

On January 19, 1919, elections for the Constituent Assembly were held with surprisingly little disorder. Of the six main parties that nominated candidates all but one supported the republic. The one party that remained frankly monarchist, anxious to restore the monarchy whenever a favorable opportunity offered, was the old Conservative party dominated by Prussian landlords, now commonly called Nationalists. The other five parties, named in the order of their conservatism, were (1) the People's party, the party of big business; (2) the Democratic party, containing many lawyers and college professors; (3) the Catholic Center, now officially called the Christian People's party; (4) the Socialists; and (5) the Independent Socialists. Although the Majority Socialists had polled nearly double the vote of any other party, they had no majority and formed a coalition with the Democrats and Centrists. Ebert and Scheidemann, both Majority Socialists, became president and chancellor respectively in the new government.

IV. The Constitution of the Republic

The constitution in final form was adopted July 31 and went into effect August 11, 1919. Besides the sections dealing with the framework of the government it contains an elaborate bill of rights and a section dealing with economic questions. In the bill of rights in addition to the usual guarantees of freedom of speech, press, and assemblage, there is a provision that women shall have the same civil and political rights and duties as men, and a guarantee to racial minorities of the unrestricted use of their mother tongue in schools, courts, and administration.


ENGLAND
London
North Sea
NORTH SCHLESWIG
DENMARK
SWEDEN
MEMEL DISTRICT
LITHUANIA
Niemen R.
DANZIG FREE CITY
Danzig
EAST PRUSSIA
WEST PRUSSIA
POLISH CORRIDOR
POSEN
Warsaw
Vistula
POLAND
U. S. S. R.
Berlin
GERMANY
NETHERLANDS
Brussels
BELGIUM
EUPEN
MALMEDY
LUXEMBURG
SAAR BASIN
Paris
LORRAINE
Strasbourg
ALSACE
FRANCE
Munich
Prague
Cracow
UPPER SILESIA
Lemberg
CZECHOSLOVKIA
Danube
Vienna
R.
Budapest
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
ITALY
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Rome
▨ Territory lost after World War

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Germany After the World War

A. The federal system. The new government continues the idea of allowing the several states reasonable freedom in the administration of their own affairs, although the power of the central government has been increased considerably at the expense of the states. The constitution expressly provides that in case of conflict, the laws of the central government are supreme over those of the states. State boundaries may be changed even against the will of the states affected. The states are still responsible for carrying out the acts of the Reich, but the Reich has the right to supervise the administration of the laws it makes for the states and may by law take over the entire administration of them if it sees fit. (The old term "Reich" is retained as the official name of the central government. Its usual translation is "empire," but it is an empire only in the sense that it is a government supreme over those of the states.) Each state must have a republican form of government with a legislature elected by "universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage of all German citizens, both men and women, according to the principles of proportional representation." Each state must also have a responsible ministry. All special privileges of the states are abolished.

B. The legislature. The national legislature consists of two houses, the Reichstag and Reichsrat. Members of the Reichstag are elected by all citizens, men and women, twenty years of age and over, by proportional representation. (See page 552.) The Reichsrat is made up of representatives of the states, each state being required to send members of its cabinet. Each state is allowed one vote for each million of its population, except that no state has less than one vote and no state may have more than two-fifths of all the votes.

The Reichstag is more powerful than the Reichsrat. All bills are introduced in the Reichstag and first considered there. All bills passed by the Reichstag must be submitted to the Reichsrat, but a bill rejected by the Reichsrat becomes a law if it is re-passed by a two-thirds vote of the Reichstag.

The submission of a question to the voters to decide is called a "referendum." The German constitution provides that a referendum must be held on any bill passed by the Reichstag if one-twentieth of the voters sign a petition asking for it, or the president may require a referendum on any bill passed by the Reichstag. This power is given to the president in place of the veto power. If one-tenth of the voters sign a petition asking for the introduction of a bill the cabinet must introduce the bill into the Reichstag. A bill introduced by the initiative, as this process is called, and passed by the Reichstag becomes a law; if it fails in the Reichstag it must be submitted to a referendum.

The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the Reichstag. If two-thirds of the Reichsrat do not approve the amendment the Reichsrat may demand a popular referendum. Constitutional amendments may also be proposed by the initiative and ratified by the referendum.

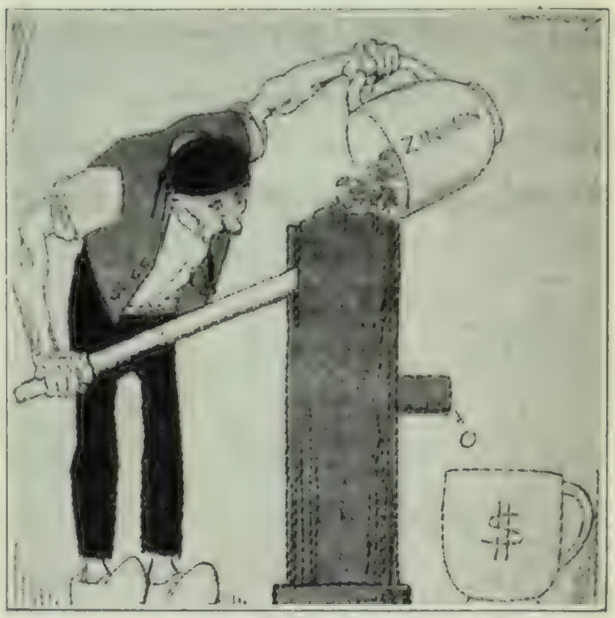
C. The president. The president is elected by a direct vote of all citizens for a seven-year term and is eligible for reëlection. If no candidate receives a majority of all votes on the first ballot, a second election is held and the candidate receiving a plurality is declared elected. There is no vice-president. The president may be suspended by a two-thirds vote of the Reichstag and removed from office if the action of the Reichstag is approved by a popular referendum. The president as head of the government has an imposing list of powers, but all his orders and decrees must be countersigned by a minister who thereby assumes responsibility. The president of the German Reich, therefore, occupies a position similar to that of the French rather than the American president. Article 48 of the Constitution gives the president dictatorial power to issue decrees "if public safety and order be seriously disturbed or threatened." The Reichstag may, however, override such an emergency decree by a majority vote.

D. The cabinet. The president appoints the chancellor and, on the chancellor's recommendation, the other ministers. Since the ministry is strictly responsible to the Reichstag, however, the president's choice is limited. The chancellor no longer dominates the other ministers, but is merely first among equals, as is the English prime minister. Each minister is individually responsible to the Reichstag for the work of his department. A member of the cabinet presides over the Reichsrat and all members have the right to take part in the proceedings of the Reichsrat or its committees. The constitution makes no provision that ministers must be members of the legislature, but it is customary that they are.

V. GERMANY SINCE 1920

A. Economic troubles. Seldom in history has a government been beset with more diverse or more difficult problems than the war and the peace treaty bequeathed to Germany. The question of reparations, directly and indirectly, has taken a large share of the government's time and energy, and the history of Germany, closely tied up with the history of reparation payments (see page 743), falls roughly into three periods: 1920-1924, 1924-1929, 1929 to the present. The first period, while Germany was wrangling with the Allies about the amounts of reparations to be paid, was a period of economic chaos. The government attempted to balance the budget by issuing ever larger amounts of paper money. The depreciation of this paper money turned society upside down. People who had fixed salaries, pensions, or incomes from invested capital found themselves ruined. Noblemen became taxi drivers and college professors waiters. A few shrewd speculators went heavily into debt, paid off their debts in depreciated marks, and became millionaires. The workers suffered since their wages never kept up with the rising cost of living. Money had to be spent as soon as it was earned, for the next day it would buy only half as much. Workers' babies never had enough milk and the youngest generation started out in life under-nourished and afflicted with rickets.

In 1924 the Dawes Commission fixed annual payments much smaller than had been demanded originally, and provided for a foreign loan for the stabilization of the mark. The adoption of the Dawes Plan paved the way for the second period in German postwar history, a period of recovery and business prosperity. German industrialists originated the idea of the "rationalization" of industry —careful research to find the most efficient methods of mass production, installation of labor-saving machinery, elimination of all waste. (See page 227.) German factories turned out more goods than before the war. In spite of the loss of some of her richest coal and iron fields, her annual production of iron ore, steel, and coal equaled that of 1913. The discovery by German scientists of economical ways of burning lignite coal doubled Germany's production of lignite. Thanks also to her scientists she became the world's greatest producer of nitrates. Her commercial fleet, cut to 15 per cent of its pre-war strength by the peace treaties, recovered to more than 70 per cent. Production of electric power increased 200 per cent over 1913.



"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

As Germany Sees It

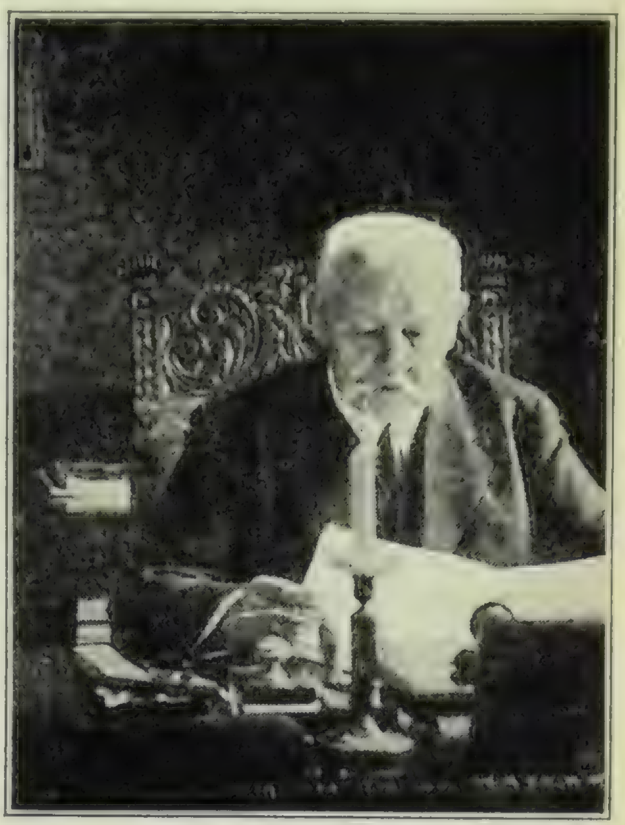
A cartoon of 1931. Michel pours in taxes and pumps out dollars.

Even in the years of expanding industry, German workers were not well off. The increasing use of labor-saving machinery kept many unemployed. With protective tariffs against them German industrialists had to cut production costs to the bone in order to undersell the manufacturers of the United States, England, and France in the markets of the world. Wages were cut, hours of work lengthened, laws for the protection of labor ignored. Moreover, taxes of all sorts were heavy and the costs of living high. These conditions were intensified by the world-wide economic depression that started in 1929, making the third period of German post-war history one of financial bankruptcy and economic distress.

The fall in prices which accompanied the depression hit Germany especially hard, for since Germany could pay reparations only by exporting goods, she had to sell more and more goods to keep up her payments. At the same time the decline in purchasing power of all people made it difficult to keep up the volume of exports. Foreign bankers were unwilling to continue loans to finance German industry. In 1931 President Hoover's moratorium of all reparation and war debt payments gave Germany a year's respite but did not solve the problem. In 1932 the German government announced that it would be unable to resume reparation payments at the end of the year's moratorium. At the Lausanne Conference the creditor nations agreed to accept approximately seven hundred million dollars in German bonds as a final settlement of all reparations, but declared that this settlement was conditional upon the consent of the United States to a revision of the war debts owed to her. The refusal of the United States to consider revision again threw the whole matter into confusion. Meanwhile the situation in Germany grew steadily worse; bankruptcies increased; unemployment grew until it was estimated that one-third of the entire population was approaching starvation; revolution seemed imminent.

B. Political developments. Although the adoption of the constitution in 1919 was an overwhelming victory for those who favored the republic, a considerable group wanted the restoration of the monarchy. The Prussian landlords, the chief beneficiaries of the Old Régime now organized in the Nationalist party, constituted the backbone of this group. It was strengthened by many who blamed on the republic the hard times and the humiliations to which Germany was subjected in international affairs. In spite of opposition from the Nationalists at one extreme and the Communists at the other, a *bloc* of moderate republican parties—the so-called Weimar coalition of the Socialist, Center, Democrat, and People's parties—remained in control of the government from 1920 to 1930, although cabinet changes were frequent. One of Germany's leading statesmen until his death in 1929 was Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann, who took the lead in bringing Germany into the League of Nations and in adopting a pacific policy of international coöperation. What appeared at first to be a victory for the Nationalists was the election in 1925 of General Hindenburg, hero of the World War, to the presidency over the candidate of the Socialist, Center, and Democratic parties combined. The Monarchists, however, gained little comfort from Hindenburg during his first term. He adopted a nonpartisan attitude in his support of the Republic and of Stresemann's pacific foreign policy.

While the Nationalist party has remained strong, the party which finally overthrew the Weimar coalition and suspended the constitution was the National Socialist party, led by Adolf Hitler. The National Socialists, or Nazis as they are popularly called, like the Italian Fascists, are intensely nationalistic. Like the Italian Fascists they are bitterly opposed to communism and all forms of international socialism or "Marxism" but they hold out promises of better conditions for the workers. The rapid growth of the party was a result of the bad economic conditions. The insistence of the allied countries, led by France, on maintaining the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles helped discredit the moderate parties and paved the way for Hitler. Many of the Nazis are young people who, brought up in war time, have never known anything but hard times and short rations. Hitler tied up the promise of better economic conditions with nationalism by asserting that the policy of coöperating with the Allies through the League of Nations was responsible for all Germany's suffering. He demanded the repudiation of the peace treaties, a complete break with the League, and the abolition of parliamentary government in favor of a dictatorship, with himself, of course, as dictator.



Keystone View Co.

Paul von Hindenburg

The threat of the overthrow of the republic became acute in 1932. After Hindenburg had been reëlected president in April by a vote of nineteen million against thirteen million for Hitler and nearly five million for Thaelmann, the Communist candidate, he dissolved the Reichstag in an attempt to secure a majority to support the cabinet. In the election, held in July, the Nazis polled 37 per cent of the vote and won two hundred and thirty seats. The Communists with 14 per cent of the vote won eighty-nine seats. Since the Nazis and Communists together controlled a majority of the Reichstag, and since neither was willing to coöperate with any other party, no cabinet could secure a majority. Hindenburg, having refused to turn the government over to Hitler, appointed a conservative cabinet, made up mainly of men who had held civil or military offices under the empire, and carried on the government by decrees. In a second attempt to break the deadlock another Reichstag election was held in November. In this election the Nazis lost thirty-five seats, but no ministry could secure a working majority and consequently the conservative cabinet was kept in office and government by decree continued. The Socialists and other moderate parties, while refusing to accept cabinet offices, supported what amounted to a dictatorship by the old ruling class in order to avoid a dictatorship by either Nazis or Communists.

C. The Nazi dictatorship. Continued economic distress and political confusion led President Hindenburg, in January, 1933, to appoint Hitler chancellor with the pledge that the Nationalist members of the cabinet should not be removed. In spite of his Nationalist colleagues Hitler used his office to strengthen his movement and finally persuaded Hindenburg to dissolve the Reichstag and call a new election for March. In the preëlection campaign the Nazis and Nationalists suppressed opposition newspapers, forbade opposition parties to hold meetings, and denied them the use of the radio. Shortly before the election the Reichstag building was burned and Hitler immediately charged that it was the work of Communists, a charge which the Communists denied declaring that the Nazis themselves had set the fire to provide an excuse for the imprisonment of Communist leaders. With the aid of these tactics the Nazis polled seventeen million out of a total of thirty-nine million votes and, combined with their Nationalist allies, won a majority of the total vote and of the seats in the Reichstag.

Although the Nationalists were retained in the cabinet, Hitler lost no time in making it clear that he proposed to make Germany a Nazi state. He proposed to the Reichstag five sweeping laws which would give him complete dictatorial power over Germany until April

1, 1937. According to the proposals all laws, whether they were in harmony with the constitution or not, were to be made by the chancellor and go into effect as soon as they were published. These proposals to suspend the constitution were passed by an overwhelming majority of Nazis, Nationalists, and Centrists in the Reichstag. Only the remnants of the Socialist party voted against them, all of the Communist representatives having been excluded from the Reichstag on the ground that they were traitors, and many of the Communist and Socialist leaders having been thrown into prison. Hitler then proceeded to bring the state governments under his control by appointing an all powerful Nazi governor for each state and making the governor responsible to the chancellor alone and independent of the state legislature. In January, 1934, the Nazi Reichstag unanimously approved Hitler's proposal to abolish the federal form of government. The Reichsrat and the state legislatures were abolished, the states being preserved merely as subordinate divisions to carry out national decrees, and Hitler was given power to revise state boundaries and to draw up a new constitution.

Hitler announced as the Nazi ideal for Germany the "Totalitarian" State. This means a state which pervades and dominates every phase of life in the nation and which is 100 per cent German in all its activities. To the Nazis 100 per cent German means 100 per cent Nazi. Starting with the Communists and Socialists all political parties were dissolved, not even sparing the Centrists or the Nazi allies, the Nationalists. The National Socialist was the only political party left in Germany. The Socialist trade unions and the coöperative societies were dissolved and their property confiscated. The Masons, the fraternal order which had existed in Germany for centuries, was dissolved as dangerous to national solidarity. A concordat with the pope provided that the Catholic Church might be independent in religious matters but that it must take no part in politics. Twenty-nine separate Protestant organizations were united into one German Protestant Church and a Nazi bishop elected to preside over it.

From the time of its origin the National Socialist party has based a large part of its nationalist propaganda on hostility to the Jews.

Jews constitute less than 1 per cent of the total population of Germany but since under the empire they were barred by custom and prejudice from high positions in the army and in the government, they turned in large numbers to the professions—law, medicine, teaching, journalism—and to business. For years they have played an important part in the intellectual and business life of Germany. Under the republic their influence increased. The desire of the unemployed middle class, which is the backbone of the National Socialist party, to get for themselves the positions held by Jews helps explain the bitterness of the feeling against them. The first months of Hitler's rule were marked by a persecution of the Jews, official and unofficial, unequaled in brutality since the Middle Ages. Thousands were thrown into prison and other thousands driven into exile.

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Adolf Hitler Addressing a National Socialist Meeting, Munich

Hitler, born in Austria in 1889, a house painter by trade, served in the German army during the World War as a lance corporal. He started organizing his National Socialist party in Bavaria in 1919. For an attempted revolution in Munich in 1924 he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment but was soon released and continued his work of organization. He had but little success, however, until the depression caused such hard times that thousands were ready to listen to any promise of relief.

A decree prohibited any non-Aryan, with a few exceptions for war service, from holding any position in the civil service. (The Nazis define a non-Aryan as anyone who has a Jewish father, mother, grandfather, or grandmother.) There were wholesale removals of Jewish doctors, Jewish judges, Jewish university professors, and Jewish newspaper editors. Jewish proprietors of large businesses were replaced by Nazis, proprietors of small stores were ruined by boycotts. Jews were not allowed to be members of the Nazi trade unions which are supposed to include all the workers of the country. No secondary school or university might have more Jews than 1½ per cent of its total enrollment. Besides these official acts there were countless instances of unofficial boycotts and assaults and murders of Jews by mobs, often led by Nazi storm troops.

While the Jews bore the brunt of the Nazi attacks, Communists, Socialists, pacifists, radicals, and liberals of all shades who dared to protest or even disagree with the new government were treated with equal violence. Reliable newspapers reported in August, 1933, that there were forty thousand in prison camps and another forty thousand under police surveillance. Thousands of others had fled the country. Many of these had all their property in Germany confiscated. Among the exiles were such internationally known scientists as Einstein; such novelists as Mann, Wassermann, Remarque, and Zweig. The Assembly of the League of Nations in October, 1933, created a commission, composed of representatives of fifteen countries, to furnish relief to German Jewish and political refugees. The Commission was to act as an automonous body independent of the League and to be financed by private subscriptions. James G. MacDonald, an American who was appointed as High Commissioner, reported in December, 1933, that there were sixty thousand refugees from Germany of whom more than fifty thousand were Jews.

The economic program of the "Third Reich," as Hitler called his government, had not, early in the year 1934, been developed far enough to make possible any estimate of its effects. It included a lowering of the interest rates on agricultural debts, a large program of public works, and a period of compulsory labor for all young people, rich and poor. The socialistic features of the Nazi program, which had attracted many workers to the cause, seemed to be largely ignored. All except the Nazi trade unions had been broken up the previous summer but in January, 1934, even the Nazi trade unions and all employers' organizations were abolished. Employers and workers were united in one organization, the "Labor Front." Strikes and lockouts were prohibited. All contracts and agreements between employers and employees were canceled and each employer given complete control over his employees.

Hitler's rise to power caused consternation all over the world. It alarmed Germany's neighbors: it increased the tension between the nations of Europe: it made more difficult the task of all agencies working for better international understanding. In the early months of his régime, however, Hitler adopted a much more pacific tone than he had in his campaign to win power. In his speech to the Reichstag, especially assembled for the purpose in May, 1933, Hitler declared that Germany's aim was security and equality and that she had no intention of making war even if her righteous demands were refused. While emphasizing the injustice of keeping Germany disarmed while other nations maintained and increased their armaments he asserted that Germany was anxious to coöperate in a gradual reduction of armaments.

Hitler's coup has had important effects on Austria, his native state, which he was anxious to add to his Third Reich. Since the World War Austria has had two main parties, the Socialists and the Christian Socialists. The Socialists (Social Democrats), continuously in power in the city government of Vienna, put through a thorough-going program of municipal socialism, including municipally operated public utilities, social insurance, and municipal housing which has served as a model to housing experts all over the world. (See illustration, page 270.) The high taxes necessary for this program roused the opposition of the middle class and peasant Christian Socialists. Besides these two parties there has been a nationalist organization, the Heimwehr, closely connected with the Christian Socialists but getting inspiration and probably financial support from the Italian Fascists. With the rise of the Nazis in

Germany there also developed an Austrian Nazi party working for the union of Austria and Nazi Germany.

After long parliamentary wrangles Chancellor Dolfuss, a Christian Socialist, in 1933 dissolved parliament and set up what amounted to a dictatorship, claiming that this was necessary to prevent the spread of Nazi control over Austria. Plotting went on both within Austria and outside. The exact relation of Christian Socialists, Nazis, and Heimwehr leaders in these plots is not yet clear, but all of them opposed the Socialists. Still obscure also is the extent to which Italy, Germany, and other powers were involved. In February, 1934, Dolfuss, with the aid of the Heimwehr, started on what appeared to be a complete suppression of the Socialists. Newspapers were seized and leaders imprisoned. When the troops started to search the homes of Socialists the Socialists resisted but were finally suppressed after several days of terrible street fighting. The Nazis took no part in the fighting. On February 17 England, Italy, and France issued a joint declaration that the independence of Austria must be maintained but on that date Austria's future was most uncertain.

The Disarmament Conference, faced on the one hand by Hitler's insistent demand for equality in armaments and on the other hand by the unwillingness of Germany's neighbors to grant her equality, an unwillingness increased by Hitler's rise to power, recessed from June to October to give an opportunity for informal negotiations among the powers. On October 14, just before the Conference was to reopen, Hitler, evidently believing that the result of these negotiations had been to solidify the other powers against Germany, unexpectedly announced Germany's withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference, the League of Nations and also the World Court and the International Labor Organization. In a speech broadcast to the world over the radio Hitler defended his action declaring that while Germany had fulfilled faithfully all the disarmament provisions of the Treaty of Versailles the Allies had not, that honor and self-respect demanded that Germany no longer be regarded as an inferior. He reasserted his pacific intentions, declaring that nothing had ever been settled by war and that no nation had anything to fear from Germany. Liberal opinion in all countries agreed that Hitler's statement of Germany's case was a fair one but condemned the withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference and the League as an action which would make any just settlement of Germany's problems more difficult.

On November 12, 1933, more than 93 per cent of the voters voting in the national referendum approved Hitler's foreign policy. On the same day the voters voted for a new Reichstag. This election was a farce as far as any free expression of opinion was concerned since the Nazi candidates were the only ones nominated, all other parties having been suppressed. In the election nearly 93 per cent of the voters endorsed the Nazi list. Considering the great effort that had been made to rouse national feeling in the campaign and to make all voters vote, considering the rumors that had been circulated that by a secret system of numbering the ballots the way everyone voted would be known to the government, the surprising thing is that even 7 per cent of the voters dared to express disapproval of the Nazi régime.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The German Empire, like the United States, was a federal state. What important differences were there in the relations of the central governments to the states in the two countries?
2. In what ways did the German Empire fall short of having a real cabinet system?
3. Judging from Bismarck's experiences, what is the best method of combating the growth of radical political parties?
4. Explain why many Germans who were not Socialists commonly voted the Socialist ticket before 1914.
5. For years the German Socialists had preached opposition to international war, but when the war came the great majority of them supported the government. Explain.
6. The German chancellor did not have to maintain a majority in the Reichstag in order to remain in power. Why, then, did the chancellor resign in 1917?
7. The constitution of the German Republic has been referred to

as the most democratic constitution in the world. What particular features of the constitution justify this statement?

8. Explain why "in spite of the strength of the Socialists there has been no progress toward socialism."

9. A German boy or girl born in 1910 would cast his first vote in 1930. Explain why many of these first voters voted for Hitler's Fascist party.

10. To what extent, if any, are foreign countries, including the United States, responsible for the rise of Hitler?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The German Empire, 1871-1918

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 317-426
Schapiro, pp. 382-415
Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 176-178, 193-208
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 315-324
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 485-511
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 282-331
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 89-113

The Republic, 1918

Scott and Baltzly, pp. 587-593
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 770-776, 855
Schapiro, pp. 797-802
Benns, Chap. XII, pp. 305-347
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 784-797
Ogg, *Governments,* pp. 703-737
Magruder, pp. 309-325
Cole, pp. 102-141
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 769-804
Bowman, *The New World,* pp. 186-206
Langsam, *The World Since 1914,* pp. 366-413
Gooch, *Germany*

The Nazi Dictatorship

Armstrong, *Hitler's Reich*
Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 600-635
Cole, pp. 447-459
Consult also the *Readers' Guide*

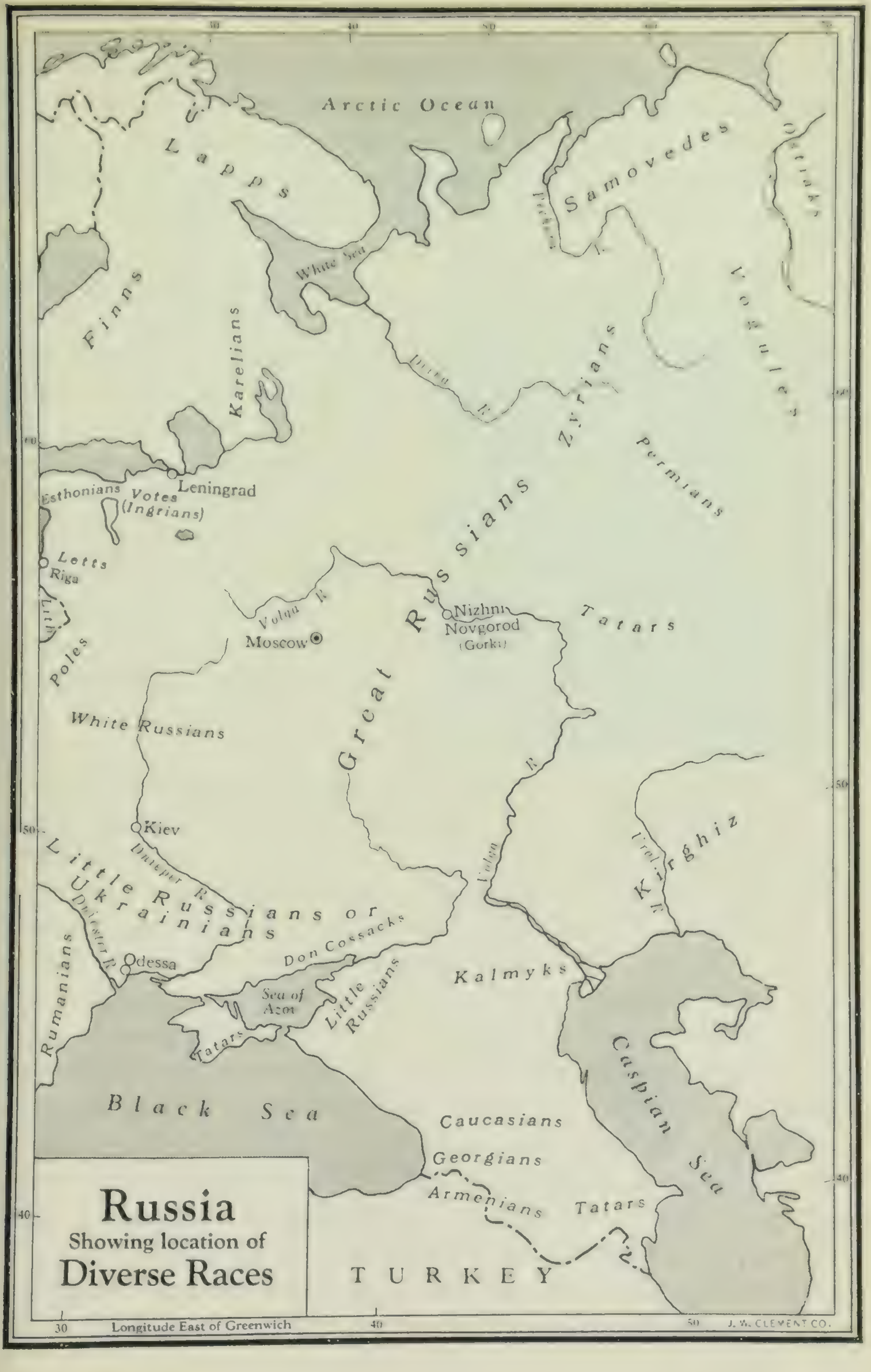
CHAPTER XXI

RUSSIA—ABSOLUTE MONARCHY AND COMMUNIST COMMONWEALTH

UNTIL the World War Russia was the most undemocratic country of Europe, a land of the Old Régime, politically, socially, and economically. The revolution of 1917, brought on by the war, completely transformed Russian social and economic institutions and established a government which, while not democratic in the sense that the term is commonly used, is certainly extremely different from the government of the czars.

I. THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Russia, a land of vast distances and almost limitless resources, has played an increasingly important part in European affairs during the past century and seems destined to play an even more important one in the century to come. At the outbreak of the World War, Russia's population was about one hundred and fifty million made up of many peoples differing in race, language, and religion. Approximately sixty million Great Russians lived in the heart of the empire while ten million more had migrated to Siberia, the Caucasus, and other distant parts. In the Ukraine lived the Little Russians, closely related to the Great Russians, but speaking a different dialect. Another dialect was spoken by the White Russians, who lived mainly in Lithuania. Besides these, there were Poles, Finns, Lithuanians, Letts, Rumanians, Germans, Tatars, Mongols and, scattered throughout the empire especially in the cities, some five million Jews. Most of the Russians belonged to the Orthodox Russian Church, a branch of the Greek Catholic Church. The Poles were Roman Catholics, the Finns were Lutherans, there were many



Russia
Showing location of
Diverse Races

Arctic Ocean
Lapps
Finns
Karelians
White Sea
Samoyedes
Ostiaks
Pechora
Voguls
Zyrians
Dvina R.
Permians
Leningrad
Esthonians
Votes (Ingrians)
Letts
Riga
Lith.
Poles
Volga R.
Moscow
Nizhni Novgorod (Gorki)
Tatars
Great Russians
White Russians
Volga R.
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Ural R.
Kirghiz
Little Russians or Ukrainians
Dniester R.
Odessa
Don Cossacks
Kalmyks
Rumanians
Sea of Azov
Little Russians
Tatars
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Caucasians
Georgians
Armenians
Tatars
TURKEY
30
40
50
60
70
Longitude East of Greenwich
J. W. CLEMENT CO.

other Protestant sects, while Mohammedans, Buddhists, and adherents of various primitive religions were to be found in the eastern part of the empire. All of these factors created a diversity of interests which made it easier for a domineering central government to block any united action necessary to bring about reforms.

II. Economic Developments in Czarist Russia

A. Conditions in 1850. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the life of the average Russian had changed but little since the time of Peter the Great. Agriculture was the occupation of the great bulk of the population; the land was held mainly in large estates, and, except for a few small areas where the peasants owned their own land, the agricultural laborers were serfs. These forty million serfs were bound to the soil, compelled to work on the lord's land three days a week, and to pay him various fees. The lords controlled the serfs' lives even in the most personal details and might flog them for disobedience or laziness. The system of agriculture was primitive. There was little diversity of crops, tools were crude, and machinery practically unknown.

B. The abolition of serfdom. In 1861, warned by serious unrest which had been fanned among the serfs by the constant agitation of reformers, Alexander II abolished serfdom. The government bought a part of the lands from the landlords and turned it over to the peasants to be paid for in installments. At first the land was not owned by the individual peasant but by the village community (*mir*) which periodically redistributed it among the families of the village. The decree of emancipation by no means ended the troubles of the peasant. A large part of the land, often the most fertile, was retained by the lords, so that in many villages there was not sufficient for each family to have a plot large enough to make a living. Moreover, the government had paid the landlords more than the land was worth so that the annual installments which the *mir* had to pay often took all that the land produced.

As the population increased, the plots allotted to each family became smaller and smaller. Without the technical knowledge or the capital necessary to introduce improved methods of farming, conditions became serious. Practically all the *mirs* fell behind in payments. In 1904 Nicholas II, again alarmed by the outbreak of riots in the villages, made a virtue of necessity and canceled all arrears. Two years later, following the revolutionary outbreak of 1905, which will be described later in this chapter, and the famine of 1906, all sums still due were canceled, the peasants were allowed to own their land as individuals and to leave the villages and move about as they chose. Many of the peasants thus became landowners, but even this did not settle the land problem. The average farm was too small to furnish a living and the peasants turned envious eyes toward the great estates which were still undivided. The feeling grew that every peasant had a right to enough of the land which his forefathers had worked for generations to enable him to make a living. This land-hunger of the peasants, as we shall see, played an important part in the revolution of 1917.

Keystone View Co.

OLD RUSSIA

A peasant plowing his small plot with a small, one-horse plow. Compare this picture with the one on page 517 showing modern methods.

C. Slow beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. More potent than the emancipation of the serfs in transforming Russia from a medieval country to a modern one, was the Industrial Revolution. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the steam engine found its way into Russia, factories sprang up, mines were opened, railroads pushed out in every direction bringing the people into closer contact and uniting the remote parts of the great empire. The value of manufactured goods trebled in the decade from 1890 to 1900. Perhaps the greatest undertaking was the Trans-Siberian

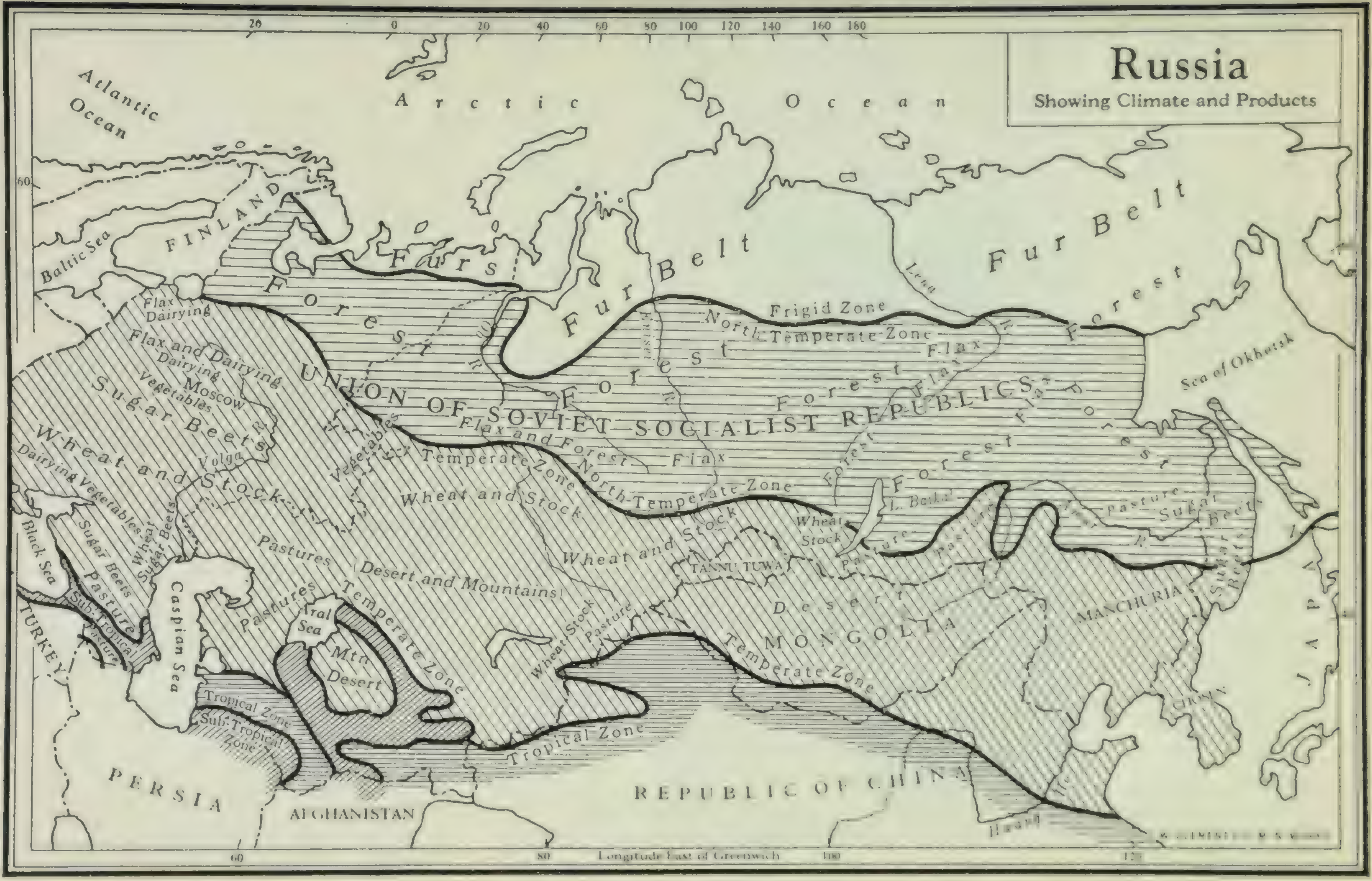
Railway connecting St. Petersburg with Vladivostok, begun in 1891 and completed in 1900.

In spite of the rapid growth of commerce and manufacturing, Russia was still a predominantly agricultural country in 1914. She was still dependent on household industry or imports for the great bulk of her manufactured goods—for such common things as needles, bolts, screws, nails, and hammers. Her urban population was but 14 per cent of her total population in 1912. Although her railway mileage had quadrupled in thirty years, she had but approximately one mile for every four thousand of population while the United States had nearly one mile for every four hundred.

III. Government Under the Czars

A. Absolutism. Throughout the nineteenth century the government of Russia remained a despotism. There was no written constitution and no parliament. The czar had absolute power, made all laws, levied all taxes, appointed all officials. To carry out the laws of so vast a country a host of officials was required. This bureaucracy, as the body of law enforcement officers was called, was theoretically responsible to the czar, but only a superman could have had any real control over so great a body. It was difficult even for mutterings of discontent to get back to the czar, since any criticism from the public was considered an attack on the government and severely punished. Noble families considered that they had an hereditary right to certain positions both civil and military, whether they were competent or not. Under these conditions inefficiency and corruption were inevitable. Even if a czar had liberal ideas he would find in the bureaucracy an almost insurmountable obstacle to putting them into practice.

B. Panslavism and Russification. The spirit of nationalism, which played such an important part in western Europe during the century, also developed in Russia, but the government was able to turn even nationalism into a means of oppression. Nationalism in Russia took the form of "Panslavism," a glorification of the accom-

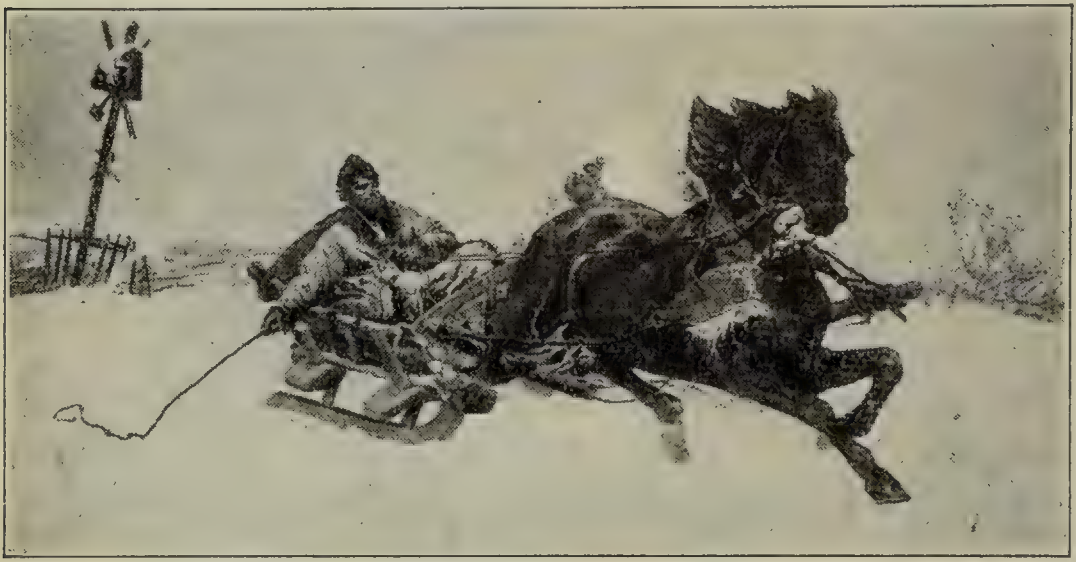


Russia

Showing Climate and Products

Atlantic Ocean
Arctic Ocean
Baltic Sea
FINLAND
Furs
Forest
Fur Belt
Frigid Zone
North Temperate Zone
Flax
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
Flax Dairying
Flax and Dairying
Dairying
Moscow
Vegetables
Sugar Beets
Volga R.
Wheat and Stock
Dairying Vegetables
Wheat
Sugar Beets
Black Sea
Pasture
Sub-Tropical
Pasture
TURKEY
Caspian Sea
Flax and Forest
Temperate Zone
North-Temperate Zone
Pastures
(Desert and Mountains)
Aral Sea
Mtn Desert
Tropical Zone
Sub-Tropical Zone
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
Lena
Enisei
L. Baikal
TANNU TUWA
Desert
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
CHOSEN
JAPAN
Sea of Okhotsk
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
Hoang Ho
Longitude East of Greenwich
20
0
20
40
60
80
100
120
140
160
180
60
60
80
100
120

plishments and a boastful prediction of the future of the Slavic race and of the Great Russians as the strongest branch of that race. Panslavism was used as a justification for Russian imperialism and an excuse for Russia, posing as the "big brother" of the little Slavic nations, to interfere in the Balkans.



Culver Service

A RUSSIAN MAIL CARRIER

From a painting of the 1880's. Russia has an area about three times as large as the United States. One of its most pressing problems has been and still is the improvement of the means of communication and transportation.

Along with Panslavism went "Russification," the attempt to make all the people of the polyglot empire Great Russian in language, customs, and ideas. The ideal of Russification was one literature, one language, one religion for the whole empire. In pursuance of this policy, all agitation by minor nationalities was suppressed, Great Russian was made the language of the schools, the printing of books or newspapers in other languages was forbidden, only Great Russian officials were appointed. In Poland and Finland, where national feeling was strong, Russification was carried on with particular zeal. Finland had been allowed to retain its Diet in 1809 when it was annexed to Russia, but in 1890 Nicholas II took away from the Diet all powers except over purely local affairs, appointed Russian officials, and attempted to enforce the universal use of the Russian language. Opposition was intense, culminating in 1904 in the assassination of the Russian governor of Finland. After the revolution of 1905 the czar restored its former privileges to the Diet.

A phase of Russification was the attempt to spread the influence of the Orthodox Church. Since the Orthodox Church was practically a department of the government, any increase of its power meant more power for the autocracy. Obstacles were put in the way of all non-Orthodox sects and Orthodox groups which dissented in any way from the central authority were severely dealt with. The Jews in particular were objects of the attacks of the Russificationists. Alexander III forbade them to acquire land or engage in the liquor trade. Only 3 per cent of the student body of any secondary school or university might be Jews. In 1890 a decree was issued compelling all Jews to live in certain districts in the cities of the western provinces, only those who received individual authorization from the government being allowed to live in the interior of Russia. Besides these decrees of the central government, local officials subjected the Jews to continual petty persecutions and made no attempt to check—if they did not actually stir up—anti-Jewish prejudice among the people. *Pogroms,* organized outbreaks which resulted in the destruction of life and property, were common. This treatment drove thousands of Jews to leave the country, many of them going to the United States.

C. The growth of dissent. 1. NIHILISM AND TERRORISM. No system of repression has ever been perfect and the Russian system, even at its height, was never able to stamp out all dissent. During the reign of Alexander II, 1855-1881, a group from the educated classes, disappointed that his reforms had not gone further, began to attack government, church, and economic and social institutions. They were called "Nihilists" because they would leave nothing (*nihil*) untouched in the existing system which could not be justified by reason. Like the French philosophers of the previous century, they glorified reason and would make it the sole guide in life. The Nihilists believed that reform could be brought about through education. Many wealthy men and women, giving up their positions in society, went to live among the peasants or city workers to teach their ideals. The government met the movement by redoubling its repressive measures. Hundreds who were guilty of nothing more than pointing out how improvements might be made in a peaceable way were imprisoned or sent into exile in Siberia. The peasants, brutalized by years of abuse and want, were slow to respond. Many reformers became discouraged and turned to violence. Bomb throwing and the assassination of high officials became common. The Terrorists, as they were called, adopted terrorism not because they liked it, but because they believed it was the only way to call attention to the evils that existed and rouse the people to action.

2. Beginnings of political parties. The assassination of Alexander II discredited the Terrorists and drove many liberals to approve of the efforts of the government to stamp out all ideas of reform. Terrorism died down, but the revolutionary movement continued working in secret. A great help to the spread of new ideas was the Industrial Revolution. The new middle class, merchants and manufacturers, wanted a more efficient government, one that would encourage trade and industry, one that would not be controlled by the landlords and the intrigues of the court. More important still, the growth of factories brought workers to the cities and, as in other countries, the city workers were a fertile field for socialistic and other radical teachings. By the beginning of the twentieth century there were several well-defined political groups, each with a definite program. They can hardly be called political parties, since there were no elections and open campaigns were not permitted. They were rather secret propaganda societies. Among the more important of these groups were the Constitutional Democrats, the Social Democrats, and the Socialist Revolutionaries.

The Constitutional Democrats, or Cadets as they were commonly called, were made up mainly of business men, lawyers, doctors, university professors, and a few of the more liberal landlords. As their name indicates, they wanted a democratic government on the order of that of England or France, one that would guarantee freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly and uphold the rights of private property. They were not opposed to a monarchy so long as the monarch could be controlled by the business interests.

The Social Democrats were Marxian Socialists (see page 207) and like the socialist parties in other countries were made up mainly of city workers led by a small group of bourgeois intellectuals. Like the Cadets they wanted political democracy, but they looked upon it not as an end but merely as a means to an end—the ownership by society of the means of production and distribution. Like other socialist parties they were divided into factions, a left and a right wing, which split in 1903 into two distinct parties, the Bolsheviki, or majority, favoring direct action and a sudden and complete revolution, and the Mensheviki, or minority, favoring a program of education and gradual socialization through legal methods.

The Socialist Revolutionary was not a Marxian Socialist party but a product of purely Russian conditions. While advocating government ownership of mines, railways, and important industries, it was primarily a peasant party and its main aim was to secure for the peasants the land still in the hands of the landlords. It was led by intellectuals who carried on a constant campaign of agitation among the peasants. At times the Socialist Revolutionaries turned to terrorism in order to call attention to their movement.

D. The Revolution of 1905. Renewed agitation by the various groups was met by still harsher methods on the part of the government. Matters came to a head when Russia suffered reverses in the Russo-Japanese War. The people rightly believed that defeat was due largely to the inefficiency and corruption of the government. Some of the troops mutinied, violent demonstrations broke out in the cities, peasants ransacked and burned the houses of the nobility. A delegation of the workers of St. Petersburg, men, women, and children, who marched to the czar's palace to ask for a parliament to remedy abuses, was fired upon by the guards and hundreds were killed. This "Red Sunday" roused the people to still more violent demonstrations. The czar finally became alarmed and promised reforms, the most important of which were the guarantee of freedom of speech, press, and religion and the establishment of a Duma or national assembly to be elected by practically universal suffrage.

The Revolution of 1905 was not a planned movement and did not have centralized leadership. It was rather a series of scattered strikes, riots, and uprisings. Friction developed between the various revolutionary groups so that they were unable to agree upon a common program. The privileged classes rallied to the support of the czar and enabled him, once the Japanese war was over, to avoid carrying out the most of his promises. From 1906 to 1909 came a period of reaction, marked by terrorism by the extremists and brutal suppression by the government. During these three years more than two thousand political offenders were executed and many thousands imprisoned or exiled.

The Duma was the most important result of the revolution. However, it was shorn of most of its powers before it ever met. It had no right to interfere with the czar's control of the army, navy, or foreign affairs. The first Duma immediately got into a controversy with the czar as to whether the ministers were to be responsible to him or to the Duma. It was dissolved after a session lasting but two months. The second, also controlled by opponents of the government, suffered the same fate. Before the third Duma met, the czar altered the electoral law, cutting down the representation of non-Russian districts and providing a system of voting by classes which ensured a majority to the owners of the great estates. The Dumas elected under this system proved to be fairly easy for the czar to handle and remained merely consultative bodies up to the Revolution of 1917. It was, however, the one official representative body and a small group of progressives within it kept the idea of making it a real parliament from dying out entirely.

IV. The Revolution of 1917

A. Causes. The fundamental causes of the Revolution of 1917 were bad economic conditions and the despotic, inefficient, and corrupt government. This situation had existed for generations and might have continued for more had not the World War brought matters to a head. The World War was fought in the laboratory, the factory, and the machine shop just as truly as on the battlefield. Russia did not have the industrial organization to equip her armies nor the transportation system to handle the munitions furnished her by her Allies and at the same time distribute supplies to the civil population scattered over her great areas. In short, Russia was an eighteenth-century country trying to fight a twentieth-century war. Above all, both the civilian and military departments of her government were so inefficient and corrupt as to make it impossible to use the resources she possessed.

As a result of these conditions, Russia suffered terribly in the war. Her nine million casualties nearly equaled those of all the other Allies combined, although the others fought a year and a half longer. As one reverse followed another, there developed both in the army and at home an overwhelming disgust with the war and a desire to end it at any price. Many realized, and a few were bold enough to assert, that much of the suffering was due to the inefficiency of the government. There were rumors afloat, since proved to have been well founded, that many of those high in government councils wished Germany to win and were actually plotting against their country. The government, however, suppressed all criticism as ruthlessly as ever. There were frequent changes in the ministry but they involved no change in policy—merely one incompetent bureaucrat taking the place of another.

B. The abdication of the czar. The crisis came in the winter of 1917. Due to the lack of transportation facilities, there was a shortage of food in the cities. Strikes and riots were frequent. The Duma became more outspoken in the criticism of the government. Finally, on March 11 the czar ordered the Duma to adjourn, but it refused. The same day some of the Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg, now Leningrad) troops refused to fire on a crowd of rioters. The great revolution had begun. The czar started back to Petrograd from the front, but his train was sidetracked by revolutionary railway workers and he never reached home. The Duma took control at Petrograd. From Moscow and other cities and from the armies in the field came declarations of loyalty to the revolution.

On March 15 the czar abdicated and the Duma announced the formation of a provisional government with the liberal Prince Lvov as prime minister and Professor Milyukov, leader of the Cadets, as foreign secretary. The ministry was made up of Octobrists, the party of the liberal landlords, and Cadets. Kerensky, the Socialist Revolutionary leader, was the only representative of the peasants' or workers' parties.

C. The rise of the soviets. Early in the revolution there grew up unofficially by the side of the provisional government a system of workers' councils or, as the Russians call them, soviets. These soviets, which were in the beginning nothing more than strike committees elected by each factory, had started during the Revolution of 1905. They were revived in 1917; peasant villages and revolting regiments of soldiers began electing similar bodies; congresses of soviets were held in the large cities. It soon became evident that the real power in Russia was in the hands of the soviets, since the common people had little confidence in the provisional government, the creature of the old Duma. The government might pass resolutions, but unless they were approved by the Petrograd Soviet, nothing was likely to happen.

One of the reasons for the popular distrust of the provisional government was its attitude toward the war. Milyukov, representing the commercial interests of the Cadets, was a thoroughgoing imperialist and insisted that Russia should continue the war to the end in order to gain Constantinople, which had been promised her by the secret treaties. The people, soldiers and civilians alike, were sick and tired of the war. It was the czar's war; they were rid of the czar; why continue it? If the people could have been persuaded that it was really a war for democracy they might have been willing to carry on, but they had no use for an imperialistic war. The first All Russian Congress of Soviets, which met at Moscow in April, 1917, adopted the famous formula for peace, "no annexations and no indemnities," that is, that no country gain or lose territory by the peace or be compelled to make payments other than for damages actually done.

D. The Kerensky government. In spite of imposing delegations from the Allied countries, sent to bolster up Russia's enthusiasm for the war, the provisional government lost steadily in influence. In May, the government was reconstructed, taking in three Socialist Revolutionaries and three Mensheviks. In July, Lvov resigned and Kerensky became the head of a new ministry composed entirely of Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. Kerensky was a sincere Democrat, honestly interested in the welfare of the Russian people. He believed that revolutionary Russia would never be safe so long as she had imperialistic Germany for a neighbor, and that therefore Germany must be beaten and her autocratic government overthrown. Throughout the summer of 1917 he tried frantically to revive the fighting spirit of the army. He traveled over the front addressing the soldiers, but in vain. The war, so far as the men in the ranks were concerned, was over. Whole regiments were turning their backs on the enemy and starting home, shooting their officers when they tried to restrain them. Kerensky might have succeeded if the Allies had accepted the Russian formula of "no annexations and no indemnities," but though he pleaded with them to state their war aims they ignored him.

Besides the failure of the Allies to support him, Kerensky had to contend with two powerful groups at home. All the old nobility and landlords, together with most of the bourgeoisie, alarmed at the radical turn the revolution was taking, began plotting against Kerensky. Even more formidable was the opposition of the Bolsheviks, the radical left wing of the Social Democrats. They saw in the revolution an opportunity to put their theories into practice, to establish a socialist state. Many of their leaders had been in exile but had returned to Russia when the provisional government proclaimed an amnesty to all political offenders. Excluded from office in the governments of Lvov and Kerensky, they turned to the soviets and carried on a ceaseless propaganda. They attacked Kerensky for making no move to relieve the food shortage in the cities, for doing nothing to secure the peasants in the lands which they had seized, and especially for not making peace. To Kerensky's claims that the

Allies were fighting for democracy and were not interested in annexations or indemnities, they posed the unanswerable question, Why are they not willing to say so?

Wide World Photos

RED SQUARE, MOSCOW

Frequent demonstrations of soviet military power are held here. Lenin's tomb is at the left.

E. Lenin and Trotsky. Among the Bolshevik leaders who came back from exile to which the czarist government had condemned them were two remarkable men, Lenin and Trotsky. Lenin was by birth an aristocrat, but early in life he became interested in social questions and soon developed into an ardent disciple of Karl Marx. Ever since the split in 1903 he had been a recognized leader of the Bolsheviks, although he had spent most of his time as an exile in Switzerland. He, more than any other one person, is responsible for the course which the Russian Revolution has taken since 1917. Since his death in 1924 he has become a legendary figure in Russia, almost a god. His followers regarded him as the greatest economic and political thinker, the greatest statesman, of the twentieth century.

Trotsky, a Jew of a middle-class Moscow family, served his apprenticeship as a revolutionary in czarist prisons and as an exile in Siberia. Escaping from Siberia he lived for several years in Vienna and Paris, and was expelled from France for radical activities in 1916. After a few months of editing a radical newspaper in New York City, he reached Russia in May, 1917, and soon became president of the powerful Petrograd Soviet. Temperamental, lacking Lenin's depth, thoroughness, and tact, he was a brilliant orator and a born leader. His organization of the Red Army shows his great military ability.

F. The Bolshevik revolution. Aided by the failure of the Allies to announce democratic terms of peace, the Bolsheviks rapidly won control of the soviets. On the night of November 6, 1917, Bolshevik soldiers, "Red Guards" as they were called, seized the principal public buildings of Petrograd. The garrisons either aided them or refused to act against them. The next day the Bolsheviks arrested the Kerensky ministers. The All Russian Congress confirmed the *coup* and turned the government over to the Council of Peoples' Commissars with Lenin as president. The Bolsheviks were in power.

V. COMMUNIST RUSSIA

The Bolsheviks came into power promising land, peace, and bread. In accordance with these promises they issued decrees abolishing private ownership of land, factories, mines, banks, railways—all the means of production and distribution—declaring them to be the common property of all the workers. All power was given to the soviets. The constituent assembly, which had been called by Kerensky and which contained a majority of anti-Bolsheviks, was dissolved. Messages were sent to the warring powers asking for a three months' armistice on all fronts to prepare for a peace based on "no annexations and no indemnities." We shall outline Russia's foreign relations since 1917 before describing her government because, without understanding the attitude of the other nations toward her, it is impossible to understand many of the internal developments that have taken place since the Revolution.

A. Foreign relations. 1. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. When Germany accepted and the Allies refused Lenin's request for an armistice, the Bolsheviks published the archives of the czar's foreign office revealing the secret treaties which the czar had made with the Allies, and then proceeded to make a separate peace with Germany. At the conference called at Brest-Litovsk in December, 1917, Germany put forth demands that made a mockery of her promise to ask "no annexations and no indemnities" from Russia. Russia had no choice, however, and was forced to sign a treaty recognizing the independence of all the Baltic states and of the Ukraine, thereby losing one-fourth of her population, one-fourth of her arable land, one-third of her manufactures, and three-fourths of her coal and iron fields. The Bolsheviks had proclaimed that "the Russian Soviet Republic is based on the free federation of free peoples." They said that they had no desire to hold the Baltic provinces against the will of the people who lived there, but that to recognize their independence at this time would result in turning them over to German control. Pro-German governments were organized in all the ceded states, which lasted, however, only till Germany's defeat by the Allies enabled the populations to overthrow them.

2. Opposition of the allies. With Russia at peace with Germany, what was to be the attitude of the Allies toward Russia? The question was not long left in doubt. Many people in Allied countries believed that the Bolsheviks were merely German agents, or at best that they were traitors to the cause of the Allies. In order to restore the Eastern front, which meant so much to Allied success in the war, it seemed highly important to get them out of power. The execution of the royal family—done, so many believed, by the order of the Bolshevik authorities—the repudiation of the debts of the Old Régime, and the confiscation of the property of foreigners were added reasons for bitterness against the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks were ruthless in suppressing those who opposed them. It is claimed they executed six thousand in 1918 alone. Russian émigrés—former nobles, landlords, business men, and even many former revolutionaries—filled Allied drawing rooms and foreign of-

fices with stories of Bolshevik atrocities. The attitude of foreign countries toward the new Russia was often determined by the fear that radical socialist ideas might spread to their own lands. Just as in the day of the French Revolution when the Jacobins were preaching "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" foreign kings and nobles were terrified, so now in the day of the new Jacobinism privileged classes everywhere feared the results that might come to themselves from the Russian experiment.

In August, 1918, a force of British, French, and American troops occupied Archangel, with the avowed purpose of preventing war supplies from falling into the hands of the Germans and helping the Russians to continue the war. Soon after this a large force of Japanese, supported by some English and French, invaded Siberia from Vladivostok. Although these expeditions were supposedly not directed against the Bolsheviks, they soon began attacking local soviets and were not withdrawn until nearly a year after the armistice. Indeed, the Japanese troops were not withdrawn from Saghalin until 1925. During this period Germany also was active against Soviet Russia, suppressing a government friendly to the Soviets in the Ukraine and supporting several monarchist generals in attacks on Russian territory in the south.

The request of the Bolsheviks to be represented at the peace conference at Versailles was ignored, as was their offer of a conference to discuss terms for recognition, an offer that was repeated at least ten times in the next year. The Allied expeditions at Archangel and in Siberia were continued and became definitely directed against the Soviet government. The neutral states which had kept up diplomatic relations withdrew their ambassadors. Russia became an outcast among the nations. A blockade was begun against Russia which was continued with only slight relaxations well into 1920. The blockade prevented Russia from securing machinery, parts, and supplies which were so necessary for her economic recovery; it even prevented her from getting drugs and medicines to fight the epidemics that spread over her war-exhausted territories. The Allies also supported more or less openly, with arms and supplies, the various counter-revolutionary leaders who arose to attack the Bolsheviks. The story of all these counter-revolutionary movements is much the same. Allied newspapers pictured the Russians as being persecuted by the Bolsheviks and flocking to the standards of their enemies; they told of rapid advances by the counter-revolutionists toward Moscow or Petrograd; the imminent collapse of the Bolshevik government. Suddenly would come the news of the collapse of the counter-revolutionary movements and the break-up of their armies. Still another method of attacking the Bolsheviks was by arming the little states along her borders and encouraging them to attack Russia—the policy of the *cordon sanitaire* (sanitary cordon) as the French called it. Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Rumania—all were hostile to Russia (Poland actually attacked her) partly because of foreign encouragement, but also partly because of the fear of revolutions stirred up by the Bolsheviks who used propaganda for their own radical ideas in these border states.

That the Soviet government survived this opposition—at times it had armies fighting on as many as five different fronts—seems almost a miracle. Various factors help explain it. Foreign intervention roused Russian nationalism and caused most Russians to rally around the Communist government, whether they approved of its policies or not. (The Bolsheviks adopted the official name of the Communist Party.) The anti-Bolshevik leaders were identified with the Old Régime; they were former generals in the czar's armies; they were surrounded by nobles and members of the former privileged classes. The peasants, who made up the vast majority of the Russian population, while they had no interest in communist theory and even opposed many of the policies of the Bolsheviks, did not forget that the Bolsheviks had given them what they had wanted for centuries—land. They were therefore suspicious of any movement which was initiated by former landlords to "save" them, and enthusiastically joined the Red Army. Russia showed the border states that she had no imperialistic designs, that she was willing to make generous treaties, that she accorded to racial minorities within her borders the fullest rights to have their own language and culture.

The border states soon realized that in fighting Russia they were fighting the battles of the great powers with no particular advantages for themselves and, one after another, made peace. Finally, credit must be given to the Bolshevik leaders for their ability and their tireless efforts. Out of a country which had recently refused to fight, the genius of Trotsky produced a Red Army of five million men, well-drilled, well-equipped, and with a morale that made it the most formidable force in the world.

3. Recognition of the Soviet government. By the end of 1920 the backbone of the attack on Russia was broken. Attempts at establishing rival governments had definitely collapsed. During 1920 treaties were signed with Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland. Poland finally made peace in March, 1921. England signed a commercial treaty in March, 1921, and a trade agreement with Germany soon followed. The adoption of the New Economic Policy in the spring of 1921 led to the belief that Russia was abandoning communism and made foreign relations easier. When the Labor government came into power in England in 1924, Ramsay MacDonald immediately recognized the Soviet government and England's example was soon followed by all the principal governments of Europe. China signed a treaty with Russia in May, 1924, and Japan in January, 1925. The United States delayed recognition until November, 1933.

4. The Third International. Russia's foreign troubles since 1925 have been due largely to the close connection between the Soviet government and the Third International (see page 269). At the beginning of the revolution, Lenin believed that the success of communism in Russia depended upon a world-wide revolution, that one Communist country could not long endure in a capitalist world. For a time the Soviet government frankly encouraged propaganda for Communist revolutions in other countries. With the growth of trade and the resumption of diplomatic relations the government found it necessary to desist, but the propaganda was kept up by the Third International, which was controlled by the same men who controlled the Soviet government. Although the stories of "Bolshevik gold"

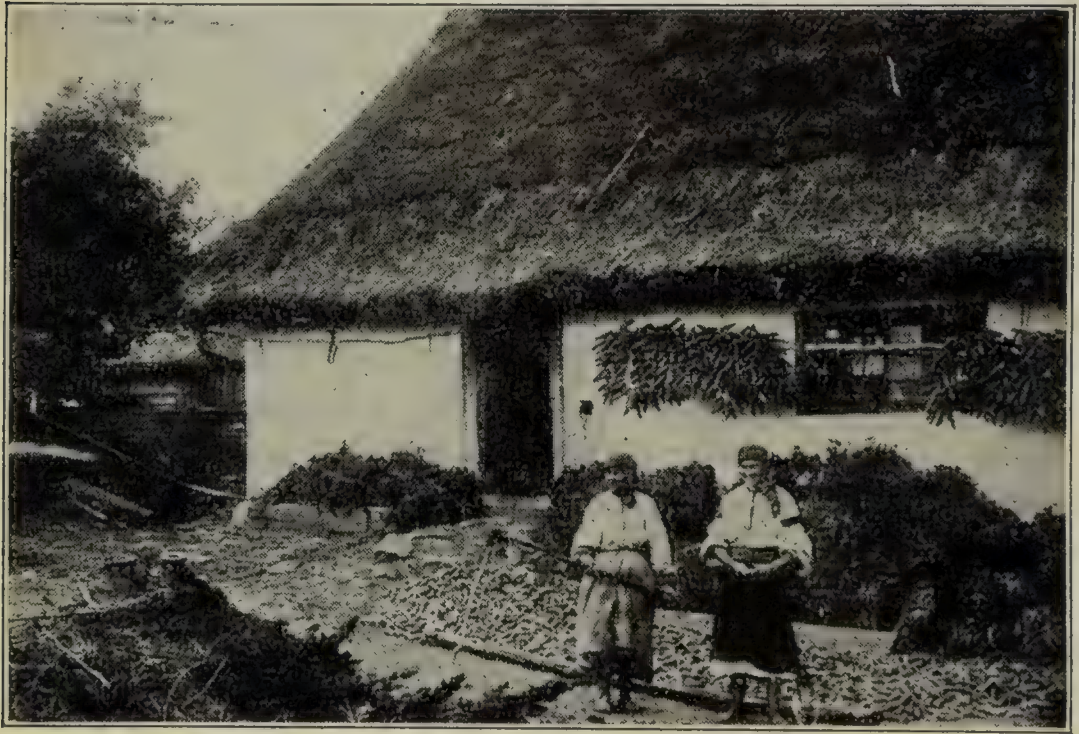
financing every radical or progressive movement throughout the world were obviously false, the Third International has undoubtedly done all that could be done to spread communist ideas. While the Soviet government has repeatedly insisted that the Third International is an international body over which it has no control, this claim has not been convincing to other nations. In recent years the Russians seem, for the time at least, to have given up their idea of a worldwide revolution. Even the Third International has modified its tone. Strong pledges that Russia would attempt no Communist propaganda in the United States were included in the agreement that led to the recognition of Russia by the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration in the United States in 1933.

5. RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Russia's early attitude was that the League was an organization of capitalist nations which must necessarily be hostile to a communist state. Some have looked upon the activities of the Third International as an attempt to build up a rival league of communist nations. The omission of the word "Russian" from the official name adopted in 1923, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, was an obvious invitation to non-Russian states to affiliate. Recently Russia has shown more willingness to coöperate with the League. She has been officially represented at most of the important League conferences. In 1931, Litvinoff, commissar for foreign affairs, frankly asserted that Russia and the capitalist nations needed to coöperate with each other and that there was no good reason why they should not do so.

B. The Communist economic system. 1. THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH PURE SOCIALISM. When the Bolsheviks came into power they immediately proceeded to establish a thoroughly socialistic state. All the means of production and distribution were declared to be the property of the state—land, forests, mines, oil fields, factories, warehouses, stores, banks, insurance companies, railways—whether they had formerly belonged to Russians or foreigners. Private trade was prohibited. All debts of the old government were canceled. All farming, mining, manufacturing, buying, and selling were to be carried on by the government under the supervision of the Supreme Economic Council. Local control of factories was to be left to committees of the workmen; except for a few large model farms the peasants were to be allowed to work their own plots, each peasant being assigned as much land as he and his family could profitably work. The Supreme Economic Council undertook to provide raw materials for the factories and food for the workers. This was to be accomplished by requisitioning supplies, that is, requiring the peasants to turn over to government agencies all food produced above their own needs. In order to substitute the communist system of barter for the old money, great quantities of paper money were printed, which depreciated until it was practically worthless. The plan did not work. Everything was in confusion. The leaders soon found that they had to have technical experts to manage production and began offering high salaries to attract able men in various fields. Even with this concession, things went from bad to worse. In 1920 the industrial output fell to about one-tenth of the pre-war level and this in turn seriously affected agriculture.

One of the worst failures of this "military communism" was agriculture. Very few of the peasants were Communists; they had no interest in elaborate economic theories. They had fought against the counter-revolutionary forces not because they believed in communism but because the Communists had given them the land which they had wanted for centuries. When the industrial system failed to produce enough manufactured goods to supply the peasants' needs, their surplus had to be taken from them by force. Then they planted only enough to take care of their own needs. Under these conditions the price of foodstuffs in the hands of illegal private traders went to fabulous heights. The cities faced starvation, thousands left the cities and went back to the villages in order to live. To make matters worse a drought in the Volga Valley in 1920 was followed by an even worse one in 1921. Seed grain and draught animals had to be eaten and still hundreds of thousands died of starvation. To meet this situation, having put down the most threatening attacks of the counter-revolutionists and foreign interventionists, and having made peace with the border states, the Soviet government in 1921 adopted the New Economic Policy.

2. The New Economic Policy. The New Economic Policy, or NEP as it is commonly called, reëstablished private trading. By it the peasants were allowed to sell their surplus in the open market, paying, instead of requisitions, a tax, at first in produce and later in money. Private capital was allowed in certain lines of manufactures. Concessions were offered to foreign capital, but Russian interests were carefully safeguarded. A new currency was established on a gold basis and kept at par.



Keystone View Co.

Russian Peasants in the Ukraine

The thatched roof of the low cottage is typical of the district.

Since the adoption of the New Economic Policy there has been a steady improvement, especially in industry. By 1928 Russia had exceeded her pre-war industrial output by more than 25 per cent. There was much discussion as to whether the system established by NEP was socialism or capitalism. Although NEP marked some return to capitalism, in 1928 the state, through gigantic state trusts, still conducted more than 80 per cent of industrial production, including all the heavy industries, such as iron, coal, and steel; the state had a monopoly of all foreign trade; the state controlled most of the wholesale trade and about 70 per cent of the retail trade was carried on by state stores or coöperative societies; the state operated the railways, telegraphs, telephones, and other public utilities; the state through its own banks controlled money and credit. Under the Five-Year Plan, which is described below, socialization greatly increased. By 1933 the state carried on practically all manufacturing and, except for bazaars in which peasants and other producers sold their goods directly to consumers, all retail trade. It was almost impossible to find in all Russia a privately owned restaurant, hotel, theater, or book store.

All economic activity was and still is under the general supervision of the Supreme Economic Council. The development of industry is not left to hit or miss methods but is planned in advance by the State Planning Commission, or "Gosplan." This body of five hundred economists, engineers, and statisticians collects information as to the country's needs and resources and maps out a definite program, deciding where more capital is needed, what factories shall be built, what railroads developed, where hydro-electric plants shall be constructed, and so on.

Under the New Economic Policy agriculture still lagged behind industry. By 1928 it had not reached the pre-war level of production. A few large model farms using modern machinery and scientific methods were operated by the state. One of these consisted of over five hundred thousand acres. In the main, however, agriculture was in the hands of the peasants working as individuals. In theory all land belonged to the state, but in practice it amounted to peasant ownership; the peasant might keep his land during his lifetime and pass it on to his children when he died; he might dispose of improvements he had made, but he could not sell the land at a profit.

The Supreme Economic Council and the Gosplan were bending every effort to introduce modern methods of mass production. Consequently they gave more attention to producing capital goods (factories, machinery, mines, railways, electric plants) than consumers' goods (clothing, furniture, household equipment). As a result the peasants had little inducement to produce more farm produce than their own families needed, since there was little that they could buy with a surplus. A shortage of grain for the city workers and for export resulted. It was a vicious circle since, with little grain to export, little machinery and parts could be imported; and without more machines there could be little increase of manufactured goods to induce the peasants to produce more grain. In the meantime the efficient peasants were getting control of more and more land and as their wealth increased these rich peasants, the *kulaks*, became distinctly hostile to the government. The leaders recognized this class of conservative land-holding peasants as a serious menace to the attainment of the Communist ideal.

Keystone View Co.

Adult Education in Russia

This Bolshevik agricultural train carries an exhibit through Russia, showing the peasants how to build houses and how to utilize peat for fuel. It is one phase of the Communist system of adult education.

3. The Five-Year Plan. To remedy this situation in agriculture and to hasten the industrialization of the country and the advance toward socialism, the Five-Year Plan was put into effect in October,

1928. This was a five-year schedule worked out by the National Planning Commission for industry and agriculture which aimed to double the income of the country by 1933. Each year's schedule called for a certain number of new electric power plants, new railroads, new factories, new oil wells, new mines. In agriculture a 50 per cent increase in production was to be brought about, mainly by increasing the number of collective farms. A collective farm is one in which all the peasants of a community pool their individual plots of land and work it all as one unit, sharing in the products. Large units make possible the profitable use of machinery and better agricultural methods. The government encouraged the formation of collectives by promising lower taxes, by promising to supply tractors and other machinery, and to furnish scientifically trained managers and agricultural experts.

All the country's resources in propaganda were put to work to stir up enthusiasm for the plan. To insure continuous use of machinery, the so-called uninterrupted working week was adopted, each worker having one day off in every five. Efforts were centered on increasing capital goods rather than consumers' goods. Consequently there was a great shortage of all luxuries and comforts and of many necessities. To build up the productive capacity of the country large imports of machinery were necessary and to pay for these imports, exports of food and raw materials had to be made. Large quantities of food actually needed in Russia were exported, the workers being persuaded or forced to accept a very low standard of living in the hope of a much better one in the future. As a Russian newspaper editor expressed it, "We renounce butter and turn that butter into bricks. We deny ourselves meats to convert them into machines."

At the end of the first year of the plan some industries had exceeded their schedules while others had fallen far behind. Schedules were revised each year and at the end of the second year officials declared that the Five-Year Plan could be completed in four years. Efforts were redoubled to attain this goal. At the end of the four-year period, October, 1932, there were many conflicting reports as to the results of the plan, the many changes in schedule making any exact appraisal difficult. Progress in the different industries had been most uneven, there had been many mistakes and much waste, but observers agreed that on the whole the plan for industry had accomplished from 60 to 80 per cent of what it had set out to do. Russia had been transformed into a great manufacturing country. According to official Russian figures industrial production had increased to 218 per cent of what it had been in 1928. (It should be noted that during the same years, due to the economic depression, industrial production in the rest of the world fell to 67 per cent of the 1928 amount.) Russia in 1933 claimed first place in the world's production of agricultural machinery and second place in the production of pig iron, oil, and general machinery.

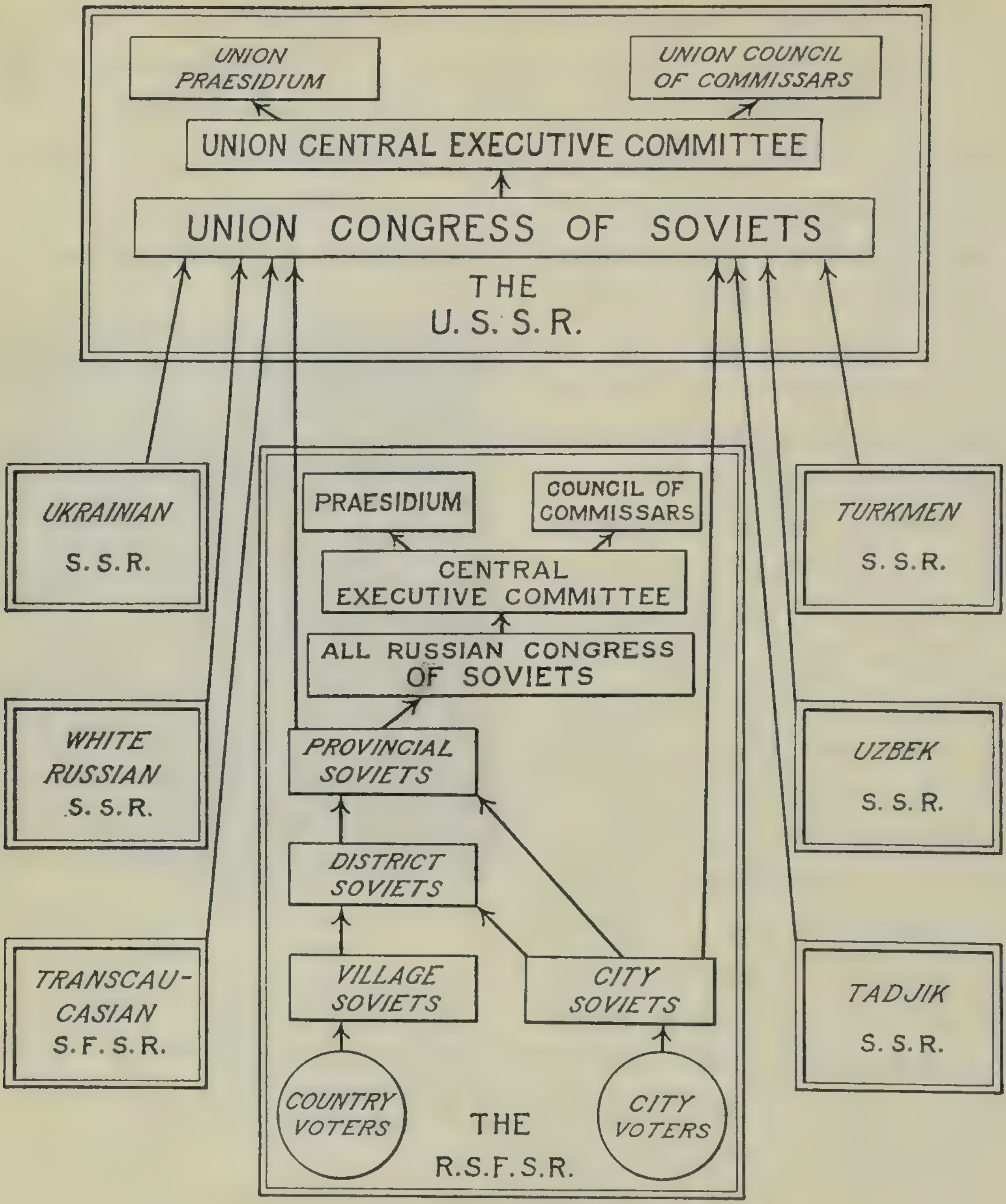
The Russians found that it was easier to build factories than to operate them efficiently. Soviet authorities admitted that in general the quality of goods produced in the new factories was poor and the cost high. Officials declared that the poor quality of goods and the waste was due to inexperience and lack of trained engineers and skilled workers. Russians are unused to machines; millions of them have never used a telephone or ridden in an automobile. Officials announced that the year 1933 would be devoted to overcoming these difficulties by training workers in technical schools and in the factories themselves. They also planned to relieve the pressure on the workers by devoting less attention to building factories and more to producing consumers' goods. Plans were drawn for a second Five-Year Plan to run until the end of 1937. This new plan called for an increase in annual industrial production from the forty-three billion rubles of 1932 to one hundred three billion rubles in 1937. Of this increase fifty-four billion rubles was to be in goods for popular consumption. The plan called for a doubling of real wages (that is, wages measured in purchasing power) by 1937.

In agriculture the Plan was at first less successful. Most of the richer peasants, the *kulaks,* opposed collectivization of the farms since they did not want to put their better-cared-for land in with the poorer land to be worked in common, or to turn their horses and cattle into a common herd. The poorer peasants naturally favored collectivization. Encouraged by the authorities, they forced the unwilling *kulaks* to join the collectives, murdering or driving out of the district those who refused. Due to the zeal of the poor peasants collective farms increased more rapidly than the authorities had planned. Farm machinery and skilled managers could not be supplied fast enough. Discipline on many of the collectives was weak; the peasants did not work as hard as they had on their own plots. Consequently after the record-breaking crop of 1930 the crops of 1931 and 1932 were small and a serious food shortage resulted. Added to this many of the *kulaks* had killed their cattle rather than turn them over to the collectives and there was a shortage of stock. More food had to be requisitioned from the farms to feed the ever-growing city population and for export. Peasants resented these increased requisitions since they could get few manufactured goods in return. For a time the crisis in agriculture threatened the success of the whole Five-Year Plan, but the authorities persisted in their policy of collectivization and bent every effort to solving the problem of agriculture. They were rewarded by bumper crops in 1933 and claimed that the victory was won. By 1933 more than 60 per cent of the peasants were on collective farms which with the state farms constituted 80 per cent of the cultivated area of the country. The second Five-Year Plan called for a doubling of agricultural production by 1937 through improved methods and increased use of power machinery.

Publishers' Photo Service

Large-scale Farming

Under the Five-Year Plan farming is done on a large scale. International harvester tractors have been imported by the hundreds from America to work the huge state farms.


UNION PRAESIDIUM
UNION COUNCIL OF COMMISSARS
UNION CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
UNION CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
THE U. S. S. R.
UKRAINIAN S. S. R.
WHITE RUSSIAN S. S. R.
TRANSCAUCASIAN S. F. S. R.
TURKMEN S. S. R.
UZBEK S. S. R.
TADJIK S. S. R.
PRAESIDIUM
COUNCIL OF COMMISSARS
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
PROVINCIAL SOVIETS
DISTRICT SOVIETS
VILLAGE SOVIETS
CITY SOVIETS
COUNTRY VOTERS
CITY VOTERS
THE R.S.F.S.R.

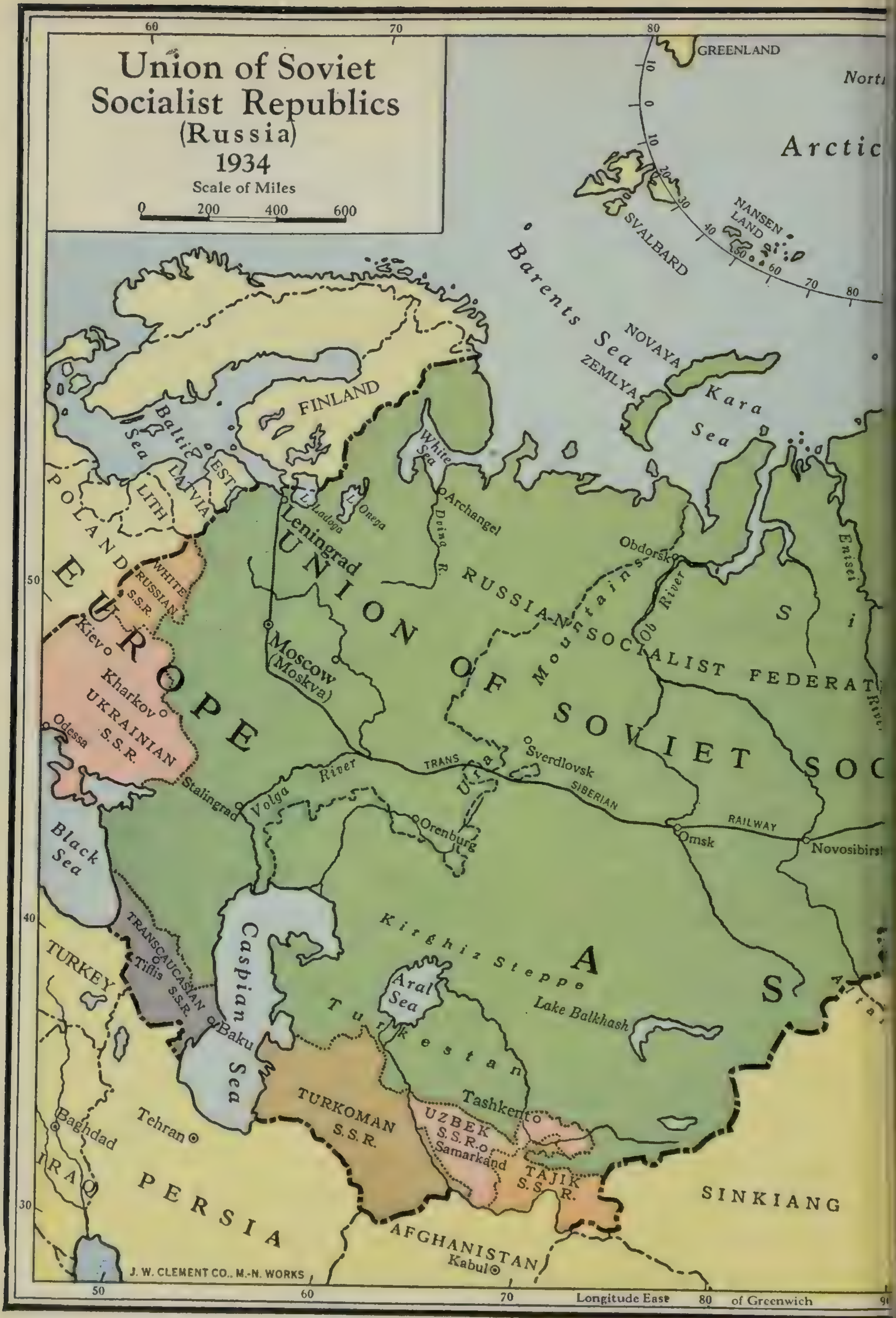
THE RUSSIAN SOVIET SYSTEM

Each of the six smaller republics has a system of soviets similar to that of the R.S.F.S.R.

The Five-Year Plan has attracted a great deal of attention from other countries. Since the Soviet government controls all foreign trade as well as domestic production and consumption, and since it pays no dividends to stockholders or rent to landlords, it can fix its own cost of production by lowering the standard of living of the workers. This is what it has been doing. In order to secure credits abroad the Soviet government has sold large quantities of goods, mainly grain and raw materials, at prices below those at which other countries can produce them. In 1930 Russia's foreign trade was less than it was before the war and constituted only about 1 per cent of the world's foreign trade. It will doubtless be years before the standard of living of Russian workers even approaches that of the workers of western Europe or the United States. If, however, the Five-Year Plan does succeed in raising Russia's productive capacity, the Russian system will constitute a real challenge to capitalism in other countries to raise the standard of living of their workers by intelligent planning and the elimination of waste.

C. The Soviet Government. 1. THE U.S.S.R. AND THE R.S.F.S.R. Remembering that one of the reasons for the hatred of the czar's government had been its suppression of racial minorities, the Communists adopted a policy of granting equal privileges to all nationalities. They encouraged each racial group to use its own language and conduct its own schools. Sixteen new alphabets were formed for small groups who had no written language. In line with this policy was the omission of the word "Russian" from the official name of the state, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, composed of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (Russia proper) and six other republics (see map on pages 520-521). The government of all these federated republics is practically the same, all being modeled after that of the Russian S.F.S.R.

2. THE SOVIET PYRAMID. The government of each republic consists of a pyramid of soviets. At the base of the pyramid are the local soviets—the village soviets elected by the peasants of the villages and the city soviets elected by the people of the cities. Local soviets govern their localities, making local ordinances and administering the laws made by higher authorities. City soviets are not elected by geographical districts, but by occupations, that is, each factory and each group of organized workers outside the factories is a unit for electing representatives. The village soviets elect delegates to a district soviet, the district soviets administer their districts and elect delegates to the provincial soviets, the provincial soviets



Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Russia) 1934

Scale of Miles

0
200
400
600
60
70
80
GREENLAND
Nort
Arctic
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
NANSEN LAND
SVALBARD
Barents Sea
NOVAYA ZEMLYA
Kara Sea
FINLAND
Baltic Sea
EST.
LATVIA
LITH.
POLAND
White Sea
L. Ladoga
L. Onega
Archangel
Dvina R.
Leningrad
UNION OF SOVIET
Obdorsk
Ob River
Enisei
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAT
Mountains
S
i
WHITE RUSSIAN S.S.R.
EUROPE
Kievo
Moscow (Moskva)
Kharkov
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
Odessa
SOVIET SOC
Rive
Sverdlovsk
TRANS SIBERIAN RAILWAY
Ural
Volga River
Stalingrad
Orenburg
Omsk
Novosibirs
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Kirghiz Steppe
A
S
Aral Sea
Lake Balkhash
Alta
TRANSCAUCASIAN S.S.R.
Tiflis
TURKEY
Baku
Turkestan
Tashkent
TURKOMAN S.S.R.
UZBEK S.S.R.
Samarkand
TAJIK S.S.R.
SINKIANG
Tehran
Baghdad
IRAQ
PERSIA
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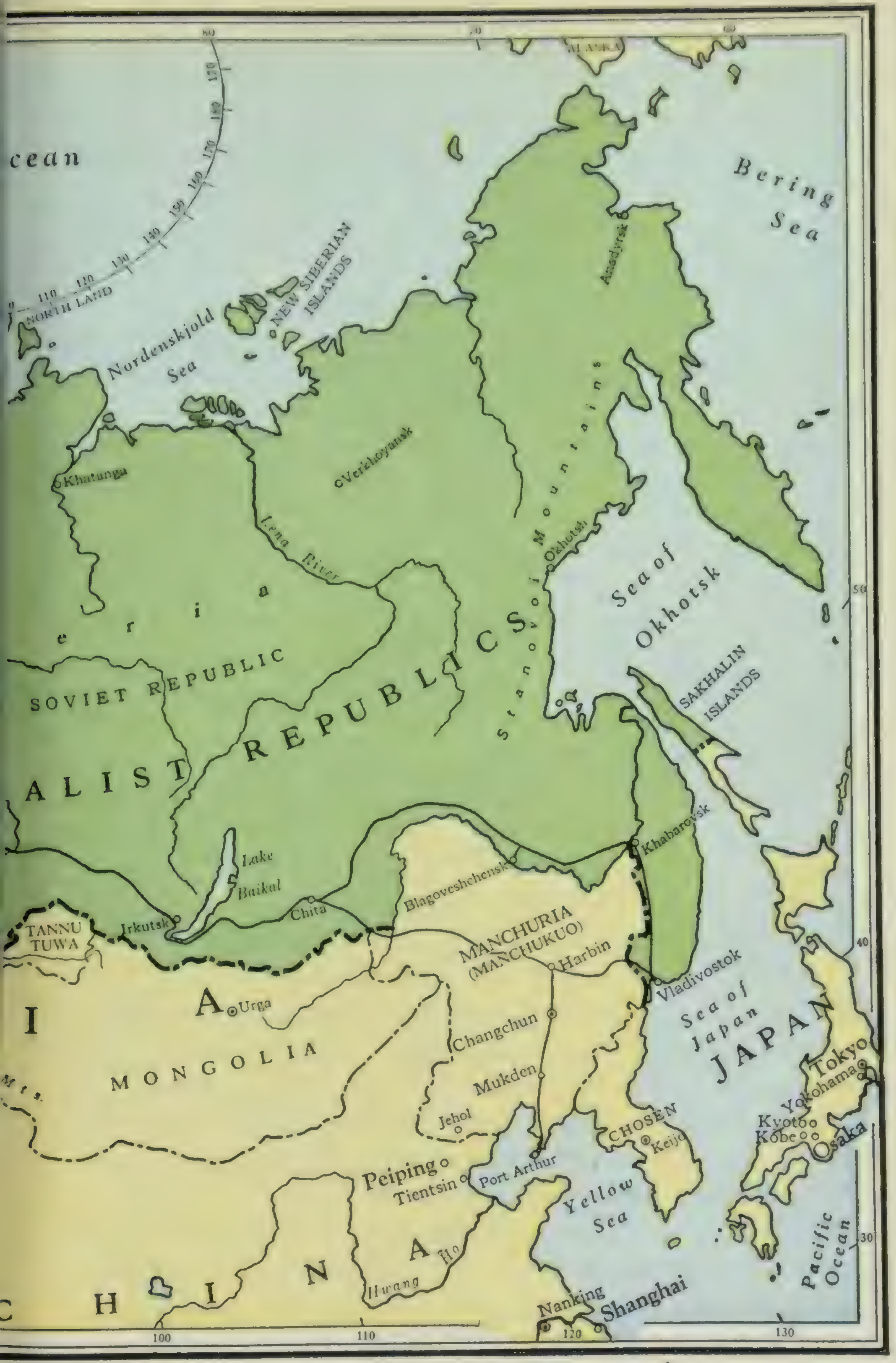
cean
ALASKA
Bering Sea
NORTH LAND
NEW SIBERIAN ISLANDS
Nordenskjold Sea
Khatanga
Verkhoyansk
Lena River
Anadyrsk
Stanovoi Mountains
Okhotsk
Sea of Okhotsk
SAKHALIN ISLANDS
e r i a
SOVIET REPUBLIC
ALIST REPUBLICS
Lake Baikal
Irkutsk
Chita
TANNU TUWA
Blagoveshchensk
Khabarovsk
MANCHURIA (MANCHUKUO)
Harbin
Vladivostok
Sea of Japan
JAPAN
I A
Urga
MONGOLIA
Mts.
Changchun
Mukden
Jehol
CHOSEN
Keijo
Tokyo
Yokohama
Kyoto
Kobe
Osaka
Peiping
Tientsin
Port Arthur
Yellow Sea
Pacific Ocean
C H I N A
Hwang Ho
Nanking
Shanghai
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130

administer their provinces and elect delegates to the congress of soviets. The city soviets elect delegates to the district and provincial soviets and also elect delegates to the congress of soviets. The congress of soviets is in theory the supreme legislative body of each republic. It is a large unwieldy body, however, and chooses an executive committee to act for it when it is not in session. This committee elects a praesidium, a smaller committee, to act when the executive committee is not in session, and also the council of commissars, the heads of the departments who correspond to the cabinet in western countries.

The U.S.S.R. was formed in 1923. Its government is similar in structure to that of the R.S.F.S.R. with a union congress, corresponding to the congress of the soviets in the different republics, a Central Executive Committee, a Praesidium, and a Council of Commissars for the Union. The Central Executive Committee chooses the Praesidium of twenty-seven members to act when it is not in session. The Commissars are the heads of the Union departments; acting as a group the Council may pass emergency legislation and issue decrees which have the force of law.

The Union has complete charge of foreign affairs, army and navy, foreign trade, transportation, mails and telegraphs. It has general control over labor, finances, internal trade, and public works including all the great industrial activities carried on by the government. For agriculture, education, health, justice, police, and social welfare the union lays down general principles but their administration is left entirely to the different republics.

There is no separation of powers, each soviet from the village to the Union Congress having legislative, administrative, and some judicial powers. Due to the fact, however, that the Communist party controls the entire system, policies are decided by the party and most legislation comes from above. The provincial, district, and local soviets are mainly administrative bodies.

3. Undemocratic features. The Soviet government makes no pretense to being democratic; it is frankly a class government, a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist party which controls it accepts fully Marx's theory of the class struggle; it denies

that there is, ever has been, or ever can be, any community of interest between capitalists and workers.

Suffrage is given to workers eighteen years of age and over; there is no distinction as to sex; housewives are counted as workers. The principal classes excluded from voting are: (1) Those who employ labor for profit. This does not apply to those employing domestic servants, training apprentices, or to peasants who employ helpers at certain seasons. (2) Those who live by an income not gained by their own labor. This class has practically disappeared in Russia today. (3) Monks, priests, members of the former ruling family, and czarist policemen. (4) Criminals, lunatics, and other dependent groups. As a matter of fact, the numbers excluded from the suffrage are not large, amounting to about 1 per cent of the population in the villages and 5 per cent in the cities, with perhaps an average for the entire country of 2 per cent. City workers are given an advantage over peasants by the provision that in electing delegates to the higher soviets, one thousand city workers count for five thousand peasants.

4. THE COMMUNIST PARTY. As we have seen, the Communists did not originate this complicated system of government, but made use of a system which in its outlines was already in existence. The soviet system might exist under the control of a peasant or bourgeois party. The form of government is unimportant. What is distinctive in the new Russia is the Communist party which since 1917 has controlled the soviets and ruled Russia. It is within the councils of the party, not within the soviets, that the real discussions of policy are held and the decisions made as to Russia's destiny. It is the Communist party which has given to the mosaic of races, cultures, and religions which was called Russia a unity of ideals and a religious fervor for putting these ideals into practice.

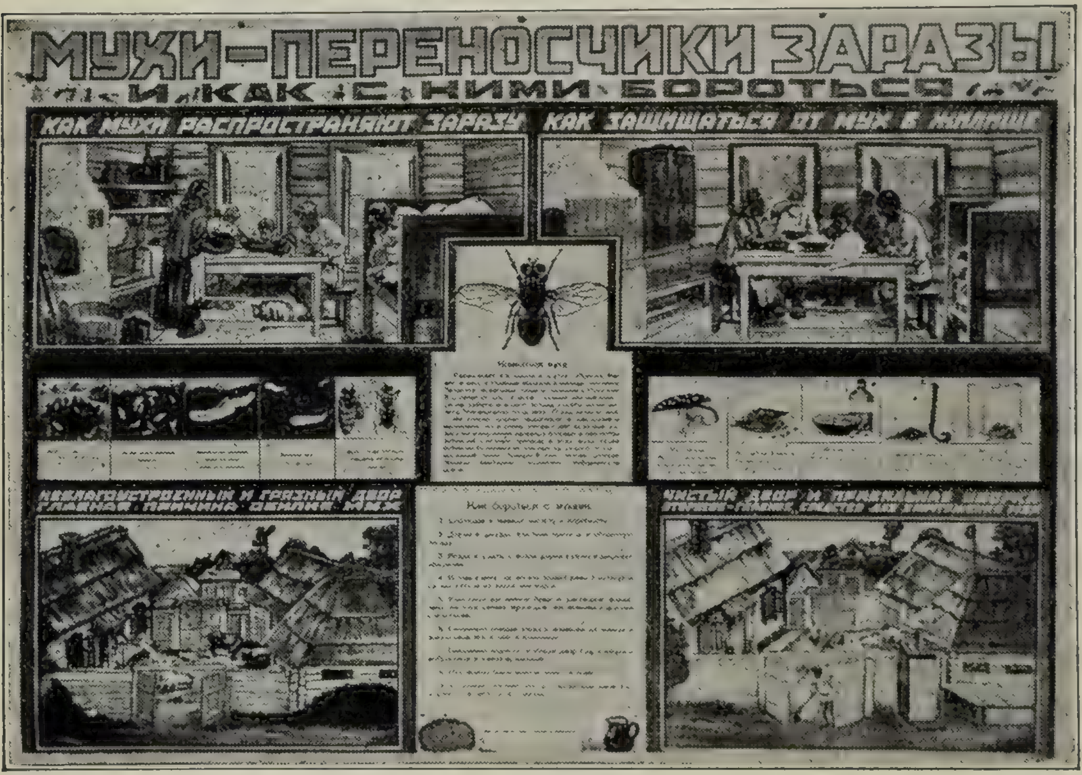
How can a group, recruited mainly from uneducated manual workers, never numbering many more than two million members, force its will on a population of one hundred fifty million spread over an area of eight million square miles? Several things help to answer this question. Russians have always been used to autocratic control. The Soviet government with its system of election of one soviet by another makes easier control by a compact, well-disciplined party. The greater weight given to the city workers in electing delegates to the higher soviets is to the advantage of the party. The great majority of the members of the village soviets are non-Communists but, due to manipulation of elections, due to the fact that all other parties are suppressed, and due to the activity and enthusiasm of the Communists, the proportion of Communists steadily rises in the higher soviets. Members of the provincial soviets and of all the groups above them are practically all Communists.

To members of the party, communism has many of the characteristics of a religion rather than a political belief or an economic theory. Like a religion it has its dogmas, its respect for authority, its zeal for making converts, its persecution of heretics, its firm belief in its great mission in the world. The original members of the party were a picked group, only the strongest and bravest being able to survive the oppression of the Old Régime. Members of the party are still chosen with the greatest care. A candidate must serve a long period of probation and study and is admitted only after a rigid test of his moral character, his orthodoxy, and his intelligence. Manual workers are favored and the great majority of party members are manual workers; "bourgeois mentality," that is, thinking like a capitalist, is a fault which bars many intellectuals. The party is trying to build up a new morality, a new philosophy of life in which making money, or getting on in the world, is almost a cardinal sin. Once in the party a high standard of conduct is set and expulsions for lapses are frequent. Communist officials who are unfaithful to their duties are much more severely dealt with than are non-Communists. No member of the party, even a Commissar, may receive a higher salary than the party maximum which varies according to the cost of living in different parts of the country. In Moscow it was three hundred rubles a month, or about one hundred fifty dollars, until 1932 when it was raised to nine hundred rubles. It often happens that a non-Communist subordinate in a great government enterprise receives several times the salary of his Communist chief. This is particularly true of foreign engineers.

5. STALIN. Until 1924 Lenin was the real ruler of Russia. He was President of the Council of Commissars, an office corresponding to that of prime minister in parliamentary countries, but his position as recognized leader of the Communist party gave him even more power. After his death in 1924 dissensions developed within the party. Rykov, Lenin's former secretary, was elected president of the Council of Commissars, but Stalin, secretary-general of the Communist party, soon overshadowed him. Stalin, son of a peasant, was one of the Bolshevik leaders long before the revolution. Although he has never held any office in the Soviet government he crushed all opposition and has become as powerful as Lenin ever was. In 1929 Trotsky and a group of his followers, who criticized what they considered Stalin's friendliness toward capitalism, were expelled from the party and forced into exile. Later Stalin adopted many of the policies of the left, as the Trotsky group was called, and disciplined the right for opposing them. Stalin has shown himself to be a shrewd and able leader. He is ruthless in carrying out his policies, but ready to change them when they prove unworkable.

6. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. The secret of the success of the small Communist party in forcing its program on Russia is its strict party discipline and its ruthless suppression of all opposition. There are no real discussions of policy in the soviet elections and little in the soviets themselves. That is reserved for the councils of the party. The dictatorship of the proletariat is no mere phrase. Since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 there has been a very real dictatorship of the Communist party. In the days of the civil war and foreign intervention this dictatorship became a reign of terror. All those who opposed the Communist program, whether they were former nobles, bourgeoisie, or radicals, received short shrift. Thousands were executed after only nominal trials. As the government became more secure in its position, as counter-revolutionary and foreign forces were defeated, the worst phases of terror ceased, but there is no liberty in Russia today as liberty is understood in democratic countries. No opposition parties are allowed. There is no real freedom of speech or assembly. Books, newspapers, foreign correspondence, plays, and moving pictures are strictly cen-

sored. The main instrument of repression is a department of the government, commonly called the G.P.U. from its initials, a secret police force modeled after the infamous Cheka of the czarist régime. What is left of the upper and middle classes and the intellectuals who are not Communists are constantly subject to the espionage of the G.P.U. In political cases it acts as a policeman, judge, and executioner combined and all its actions are secret.


МУХИ—ПЕРЕНОСЧИКИ ЗАРАЗЫ
И КАК С НИМИ БОРОТЬСЯ
КАК МУХИ РАСПРОСТРАНЯЮТ ЗАРАЗУ
КАК ЗАЩИЩАТЬСЯ ОТ МУХ В ЖИЛИЩЕ
НЕБЛАГОУСТРОЕННЫЙ И ГРЯЗНЫЙ ДВОР ГЛАВНАЯ ПРИЧИНА ОБИЛИЯ МУХ
Как бороться с мухами
ЧИСТЫЙ ДВОР И ПРАВИЛЬНАЯ

OROC

A Russian Health Education Poster

Russia is carrying on an intensive health education campaign. The principal heading reads "Flies, Carriers of Disease and How to Fight Them." The illustrations depict a fly-infested home and a clean one, an unsanitary court-yard and a clean one.

We should remember, however, that Russia has not the same attitude toward liberty that Western peoples have. Russians have never known liberty. The great forces that developed our idea of liberty in the Western world—the Protestant Revolt, the Puritan Revolution in England, the French Revolution—barely touched Russia. While he has no liberty, the average Russian has more of what he calls freedom than ever before. He may not express his opinions on political questions (if he happens to have any), he does not have the privilege of choosing between two parties, but he may criticize the foreman of his factory or the chairman of his local soviet. He feels that he has a real voice in determining the conditions under which he works.

In addition the worker has the benefit of a most comprehensive system of social insurance and social welfare work. He and his family are protected against want in old age or during disability; his income is guaranteed against unemployment, sickness, and even against time lost through labor disputes. The health of workers' families is guarded by elaborate campaigns of health education, and free medical care, including hospital and sanitarium service, is provided. Soviet officials claim that social insurance increases the wage of the worker from 35 to 40 per cent. Women are everywhere on a basis of complete equality with men legally, socially, and economically. Much has been done to relieve women from the drudgery of housework by providing communal kitchens and laundries and nurseries or crèches for young children. Clubs for workers and their families, encouraged by the government but usually supported by the workers themselves, provide recreational and educational activities in most villages as well as in the cities.

In education the worker finds opportunities undreamed of in the days of the czar. Finding four out of every five Russians unable to read or write when they came into power, the Bolsheviks were quick to realize the importance of education if they were to win the people to the support of their ideas. In the old régime the highest estimate of those receiving instruction in all schools at one time was eight million; in 1932 more than twenty-six million children were enrolled in the schools and, what is even more striking, more than twenty-five million adults were receiving instruction in schools and in classes held in factories, state farms, clubs, and museums. The complete wiping out of illiteracy is a goal not yet reached but one which the educational authorities claim is in sight. Only public schools are allowed and strict control of all teaching prevents any apparent hostility to communism. In a sense the schools together with the publishing houses, the theater, the moving pictures, the opera, and the radio are one vast propaganda machine to win all Russians to the support of the government. At the same time, however, the schools are practical and try to make education a direct preparation for life. Many schools are conducted in connection with factories or state farms so that pupils may have first-hand contact with the industries they are studying; older pupils and teachers work several hours a week in a factory as part of their training. The regular elementary school course for all children is seven years and better students are selected for advanced study in technical schools and universities. A system of scholarships paying all expenses in the higher schools is provided for workers and their children.

Publishers' Photo Service

Children's Dinner Hour on a Collective Farm

In theory the dictatorship is merely a temporary stage. Once classes are eliminated, once the power of the workers is established, then, so the Communists promise, liberty will be restored. Will the leaders of the Communist party, the rulers of Russia, ever voluntarily give up the vast power which they hold? With all opposition suppressed, can the party retain its vitality, its energy, its ability to adapt itself to changing conditions? Or will it harden into a bureaucracy helplessly entangled in its own red tape? Whatever the future may have in store for Russia, the Russian Revolution will stand as one of the great events of history, one of the most important social and economic experiments ever tried.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What similarities and what differences can you see between the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the French Revolution of 1789? Consider them under the following heads: fundamental causes, changing groups in control, changes made, attitude of foreign powers.

2. "For the past seventy years Russia's main problem has been the land problem." Explain.

3. "Russia was the last country in Europe in which the establishment of a socialist government was to be expected." Explain.

4. What justification is there for the statement that the Allies helped to bring the Bolsheviks into power?

5. What is there in the history of Russia before 1914 that helps explain the violent character of the Revolution of 1917?

6. Explain the attitude of the other nations toward Russia up to 1924.

7. In your opinion, why did Russia's experiment with pure communism fail?

8. What does the failure of pure communism in Russia prove about the soundness of socialist theories?

9. Explain why the non-Communists in Russia, who number at least 90 per cent of the Russian people, do not overthrow the Communists.

10. How do the Communists justify the dictatorship of the proletariat? Is their argument sound?

11. How do you account for the great diversity of opinion in regard to Russia that exists in most countries today?

12. Is the attitude "scientific" which most people take toward Russia? (See page 308.)

13. Some people in the United States have advocated a boycott

on all Russian goods to prevent Russia from developing her industries until she is a rival of the United States. Give arguments for or against this policy.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Russia Under the Czars

- Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 338-382
- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 31-44, 268-304, 330-352
- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 452-590
- Schapiro, pp. 441-469
- Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 121-132
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 581-609, 629-637

Bolshevism

- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 564-587, 633-662
- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 807-834
- Schapiro, pp. 759-773
- Ogg and Sharp, pp. 642-644, 690-692, 797-802
- Ogg, *Governments,* pp. 737-754
- Magruder, pp. 355-390
- Benns, Chap. XVII, pp. 450-497
- Cole, pp. 217-238, 459-479
- Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 361-396, 517-562
- Knight, Barnes and Flugel, *Economic History of Europe,* pp. 770-794
- Chamberlin, *Soviet Russia*
- Brailsford, *How the Soviets Work*
- Farbman, *The Five-Year Plan*
- Hindus, Maurice, *Humanity Uprooted, Red Bread, The Great Offensive*
- Davis, Jerome, ed., *The New Russia*
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. II, pp. 623-630
- Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 925-946
- Bowman, *The New World,* pp. 376-409
- Langsam, *The World Since 1914,* pp. 479-574
- Consult also the *Readers' Guide*

CHAPTER XXII

ITALY—LIMITED MONARCHY AND FASCIST STATE

Italy, unlike Russia, had proceeded some way on the road to democracy before the World War, but like Russia she turned to dictatorship in the confusion that followed it. The Russian and Italian dictatorships have little in common. Many who can see no good in Communist Russia are enthusiastic over Fascism, while Communist sympathizers attack Fascism and all its works. We shall try to discover the origin and accomplishments of the Fascists and compare them with those of the Communists, so that we may see whether either offers an attractive alternative to democracy.

I. Economic Conditions, 1870-1914

With the capture of Rome in 1870, the political unification of Italy of which Mazzini had dreamed, for which Garibaldi had fought, and Cavour had planned was completed. Political unification did not, however, bring economic unification. In the north the Industrial Revolution had already started; there were railroads, factories, large cities, capitalists, and factory workers. The farmers of the fertile Po Valley were prosperous, most of them owning their own small farms. In the central and southern parts of the peninsula and in Sicily there were practically no manufactures and few railroads. Here the great majority of the population consisted of agricultural laborers, working for miserable wages on the great estates. Harmonizing the divergent interests of the industrial north and the agricultural south and building up a real unity of culture between the two was a major problem for the new state. Many other problems pressed for solution of which the foremost was that of finances.

Italy is not rich in natural resources. She has practically no coal or iron. While some of her agricultural land is most fertile other parts are not and much of it has been exhausted by continuous cultivation since the days of the early Romans. The debt which the new nation inherited from the states which united to compose it was large, taking over one-quarter of the annual revenue for interest.

Wide World Photos

THE PONTINE MARSHES BEFORE RECLAMATION

Mussolini has been carrying on the work of land reclamation throughout Italy by reforestation, flood control, and draining marsh land.

Since in 1862, 73 per cent of the population was illiterate, large sums were required for education. Other large sums were needed for draining swamps, reclaiming worn-out land, building roads, and reforestation. Moreover the national spirit which had made unification possible was easily aroused to insist that Italy play the part of a great power. This led her into ambitious colonial projects in Africa, which in turn led to large expenditures on army and navy.

While the per capita income was lower than that of any other great power of western Europe, taxation was higher. Every form of property and activity was taxed, but the heaviest burdens fell on the poor, some workers and peasants being forced to pay from one-fourth to one-third of their total income to the government. The heavy taxation, added to low wages and the requirement of universal military service adopted in 1870, led many Italians to leave the fatherland to seek their fortunes elsewhere. The government estimated in 1915 that eight million had emigrated, most of them peasants from the south who went to the United States or to South America. In 1911 alone over half a million emigrated. Many of the emigrants returned after a few years, but up to 1914 Italy had lost probably six million persons. Imperialists used the large emigration as an argument for acquiring colonies.

Wide World Photos

THE PONTINE MARSH LAND AFTER RECLAMATION
Modern tractors speed the work of cultivation.

In spite of emigration the population grew from twenty-five million in 1870 to thirty-five million in 1910, a fact which bears witness to improved economic conditions. As an aid to agriculture the government assisted in reclamation projects; new crops were introduced; coöperative societies were organized to furnish credit to agricultural enterprises. Industry developed rapidly, particularly after 1900. Large amounts of foreign capital, especially German, were invested in Italian enterprises. The value of foreign trade and of exported manufactures nearly trebled from 1870 to 1914.

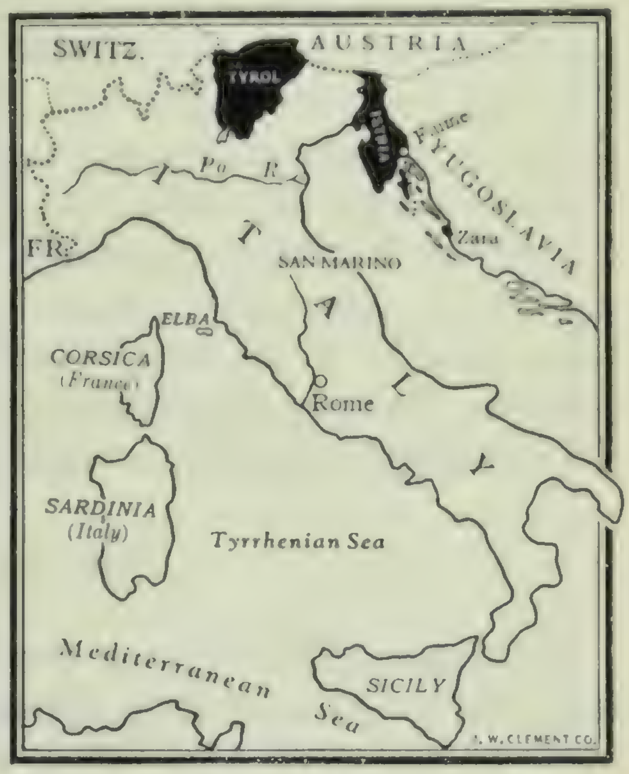
II. GOVERNMENT, 1870-1920

A. The constitution. The constitution of Italy is the *Statuto* granted to Piedmont by Charles Albert in 1848 and extended to the Kingdom of Italy in 1861. (See pages 373, 377.) It contains no provision for amendment and has never been formally amended, but changes in the form of government have been made by statute law and by custom. In form the government closely resembles that of England. The king has little actual power but, because of the popularity of the House of Savoy and the tact of most of the sovereigns, he has considerable indirect influence. The legislature consists of two houses—the Senate, appointed for life by the crown, and the Chamber of Deputies, popularly elected. In theory the two houses are equal in power, but in practice the Senate is subordinate to the lower house. The cabinet, which like the English cabinet is the real governing body, is responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. This description applies to the government as it existed before Mussolini came into power in 1922. Whether the revolutionary changes made by Mussolini (described below) will be permanent it is impossible to predict at the present time.

Because of the high percentage of illiteracy, suffrage has always been a problem. By the law of 1860 only male property owners twenty-five years of age who were able to read and write and who paid an annual tax of at least forty lira (eight dollars) were allowed to vote. In 1882 the requirements were reduced and in 1912 a law which practically amounted to universal male suffrage was adopted. This law raised the number of voters from three and one-quarter to eight and one-half millions.

B. Why was Italian democracy not more effective? While the form of government of Italy closely resembles that of England, it has not worked so democratically or so efficiently. As we know, the government of England is the result of centuries of gradual development and adaptation to English conditions. It was hardly to be expected that such a government, transplanted to a country unused to self-government and in which a majority of the citizens were illiterate, would be entirely satisfactory. The percentage of those entitled to vote who have availed themselves of the privilege has always been small. An enlightened public opinion has been lacking on most questions. The administration of public affairs has been usually inefficient and often corrupt, many unnecessary positions having been created in the civil service in order to provide jobs and thereby build up the political organizations of the party leaders.

C. Political parties. One reason why parliamentary government did not work so well in Italy as in England was the lack of well-organized political parties. Italian parties were mainly the personal followings of popular leaders, continually shifting, without well-defined aims or concrete programs. Since no one party was ever strong enough to win a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, cabinets were always made up of a *bloc* of small parties.



Italy Before and After the World War

The territory shown in black was gained as a result of the World War. See page 378.

Since unification there were always groups who, recalling the greatness of Italy in former days, demanded the reannexation of *Italia Irredenta,* that is, unredeemed Italy, the territories inhabited largely by Italians but still under Austrian control. They also declared that Italy must acquire colonies in order to maintain her position as a great power. About 1905 these nationalists and imperialists were united in the Nationalist party. This party was instrumental in bringing about the Tripolitan war of 1911 and took the lead in bringing Italy into the World War on the side of the Allies.

At the outbreak of the World War the Socialist party was the only party with a national organization. It had attracted many intellectuals and middle-class people as well as workers. Although during the first year of the war many Socialists left their party and joined the group of extreme nationalists, the majority of the party opposed the war. The reverses which the Italian army suffered in the early years of the war, the suffering among the troops, and the economic distress among large parts of the civilian population were all blamed on the inefficiency of the government. The Socialists, being the only party not represented in the coalition ministry, reaped the benefit. In the elections of 1919 they won one hundred and fifty-six seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The conflict between the Italian government and the pope (see page 317), which resulted in the pope's declaration that it was undesirable for Catholics to take part in the government, kept many Catholics from voting until 1905. The changed attitude of the pope, shown by an encyclical letter of that year, resulted in more and more Catholics taking part in politics. In 1919 a new Catholic party, the *Popolari,* or People's party, was formed with the full sanction of the pope. Its program called for political reforms and especially for economic reforms which would benefit the factory workers and the peasants. In 1919 the *Popolari* won one hundred and one seats in the Chamber of Deputies, being next in strength to the Socialists.

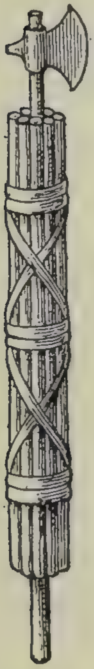
III. FASCISM

A. Origin. The economic conditions prevalent throughout Europe after the war—crushing national debts, unbalanced budgets, depreciated currencies, high prices, and widespread unemployment—were especially marked in Italy. The government showed little evidence of ability to meet the situation. Ministries followed each other in rapid succession, each based on a coalition of various groups, none of which had a definite program or the courage to adopt any but temporary measures. Grumbling was heard on all sides. Radical peasant organizations refused to pay rent and destroyed property of the landlords. Many of the Italian Socialists sympathized with the Russian Bolsheviks. Workers began to organize workers' councils on the Russian model. It seemed for a time that another communist state might be established in Italy. Strikes of postal and railway employees in January, 1920, paralyzed the country. In August, 1920, factory workers in northern Italy, fearing a lockout, took possession of many factories, continuing operations as far as possible under the direction of workers' councils. The owners called on the government to interfere, but the government fearing bloodshed and civil war, at first refused. The workers, unable to secure raw materials from foreign capitalists, found that they could do little and were soon in a more conciliatory mood. At a conference of employers and employees a compromise was made whereby the workers returned the factories to their owners in return for an increase in wages and a promise of the right of labor's representatives to participate in the management of the factories. The propertied classes and many of the common people, sick of disorder and the do-nothing policy of the government, were ready to welcome any group strong enough to maintain order when the Fascisti appeared. The name was taken from the *fasces*, the bundle of sticks with an axhead bound up in them which had been the symbol of power of the Roman consuls. They were mostly young ex-soldiers, extremely nationalistic, extremely anti-socialist. Well supplied with money and arms, evidently by the frightened business men, proclaiming themselves the saviors of the nation's honor and the protectors of private property, they attacked all Communists and Socialists indiscriminately, raiding party headquarters, wrecking newspaper offices, roughly handling any who dared oppose them. Although the seizure of the factories had collapsed before they appeared, they claimed the credit for saving the country from Bolshevism.

The leader of the Fascisti was Benito Mussolini, formerly a prominent left-wing Socialist. At the outbreak of the war Mussolini had resigned from the Socialist party because of its pacifist policy and enlisted in the army. Disabled by wounds, he started publication of a newspaper in which he urged an extreme nationalistic program and opposition to all communistic ideas.

B. Methods. The Fascisti did not at first form a political party, but worked through labor unions and peasant organizations, molding their organization and their program in each section of the country to fit the needs of that particular section. They had the backing of the employers and the landlords so that members of Fascist trade unions could secure employment when there was none for members of Socialist trade unions, and members of Fascist peasant organizations could secure land on far more favorable terms than members of Catholic peasant societies. By this means and by violence—a favorite device was the forcible administration of large doses of castor oil—they won over large sections of the population. In many parts of the country the old trade unions and peasant organizations were completely destroyed.

In November, 1921, they definitely constituted themselves a national political party, announcing as their program the upholding of the rights of private property, abandonment of government ownership and operation, labor legislation for workers, land for peasants, centralization of power in the hands of the national government, and an aggressive foreign policy aimed at making the Adriatic and, ultimately, the Mediterranean, Italian lakes. Several members of Parliament announced their conversion to the new faith.


Roman Fasces

C. The march on Rome. The Fascists continued their policy of violence against all shades of Socialists throughout 1921 and 1922. Many city governments were overthrown; whole provinces were terrorized. The Socialists met violence with violence so that a state of civil war existed in many parts of the country. Meanwhile, one cabinet followed another, no government seeming able to stop the disorder. Finances went from bad to worse. Finally, in October, 1922, Mussolini announced at the Fascist congress at Naples that unless the government gave way to the Fascists they would seize it by force. The next day the cabinet resigned and from all over Italy Fascists began to march to Rome. The king, accepting the inevitable, asked Mussolini to form a ministry. Appearing before the Chamber of Deputies on November 16, Mussolini, casually mentioning his army of four hundred and fifty thousand armed men and boasting of his restraint in not having padlocked Parliament, asked for a vote of confidence and a free hand. Parliament, with only a handful of Socialists and *Popolari* dissenting, granted the new government full powers to adopt any bureaucratic or financial reforms desired up to December 31, 1923. Since 1923 this power has been indefinitely extended.

D. The Fascists in power. Nothing succeeds like success. With Mussolini in power politicians of all shades of opinion flocked to the Fascist ranks. Several prominent leaders of the old Nationalist party, preachers of imperialism and a greater Italy, received positions in Mussolini's cabinet. Many ex-Socialists and labor leaders became ardent Fascists. Fascism began to be more of a party and less of a mob. Violence was ostensibly frowned on in high official circles but it remained Fascism's main weapon, a weapon concealed instead of openly brandished, but one that was frequently resorted to whenever it seemed to be necessary.

Wide World Photos

THE FAMOUS MARCH ON ROME

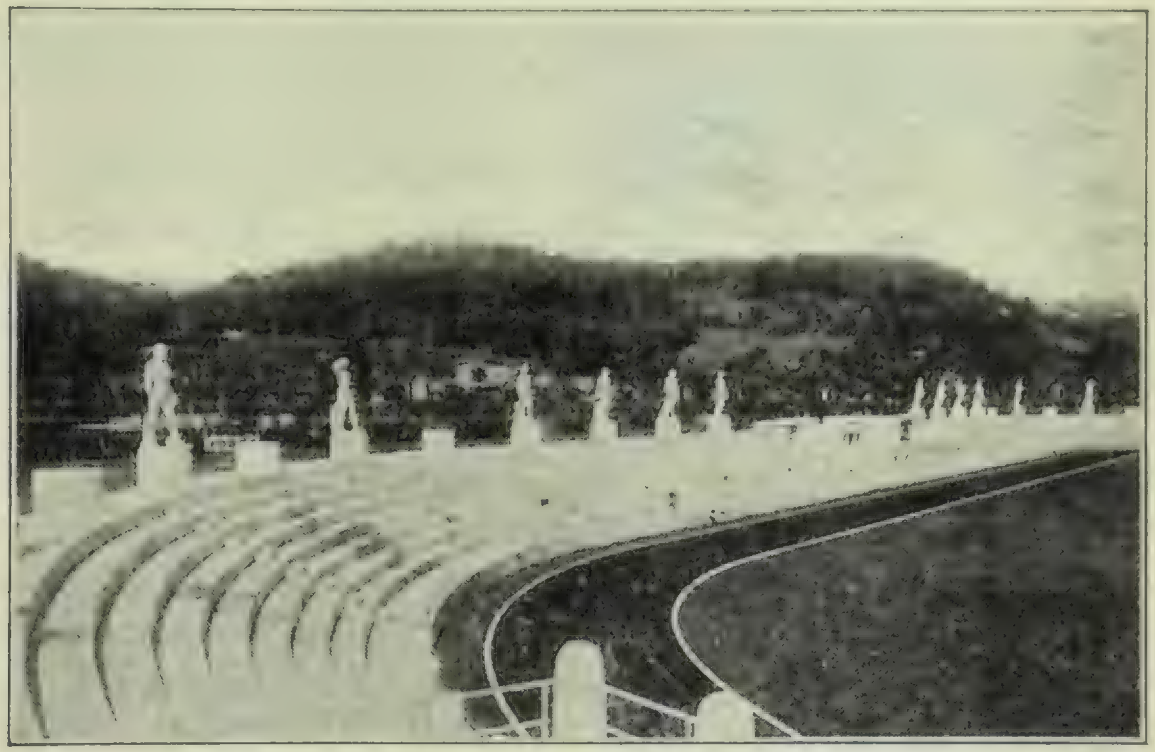
Mussolini and his staff in the streets of Rome immediately after he arrived to take over the government in October, 1922.

Mussolini believed that a government which could function was preferable to one that was continually handicapped by the bickering of minor parties, however representative such a government might be. In July, 1923, at Mussolini's dictation, Parliament passed a new election law providing for a system of proportional representation, with the unique provision that the party polling the most votes, providing it secured 25 per cent of the total, should be assigned two-thirds of the seats in the chamber, the remaining one-third of the seats to be apportioned among the other parties according to the vote which they received. The Fascists however proved strong enough to control Parliament without this device. At the election in April, 1924, an election marked by organized Fascist violence, the Fascists polled 65 per cent of the total vote.

E. The balance sheet of Fascism. On no subject do opinions differ more widely than on Italian Fascism—unless it be on Russian Communism. Admirers of Mussolini—Fascism is inextricably bound up with the personality of Mussolini—believe that he combines unusual courage and insight with great personal magnetism and executive ability, that he is the greatest statesman of modern times. His opponents see in him nothing but a self-seeking adventurer, who tramples upon liberty and who is the willing tool of capitalists who are anxious to exploit the workers and promote imperialistic projects for their own benefit. A few observers point out that both Fascism and Communism have accomplished much that is of value, but that both have done so at the price of liberty. A brief review of the accomplishments of Fascism will help us to form an intelligent opinion on this important question.

1. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. Foremost among Mussolini's accomplishments must be put the improved relations with the Vatican which culminated in the Concordat of 1929. (See page 318.) From an annual deficit the budget has been made to show a surplus of revenue over expenditure. The lira, which reached the low value of 3.26 cents in 1926, was raised in value and stabilized at 5.26 cents in December, 1927. State railways, telegraphs, and telephones show a profit instead of a deficit. Railway service has been improved; railway traffic has increased 30 per cent while the number of employees has been decreased 15 per cent. Unemployment has decreased, or had until the depression of 1930. The foreign debt has been funded on advantageous terms and the domestic debt has been decreased. Opponents, however, claim that much of this prosperity exists only on paper. The lack of any effective parliamentary opposition to examine the figures forces the acceptance of the government's finan-

cial statements at their face value. It is also true that much of the progress seems to have been made at the expense of labor by lowering wages already pitifully low. The eight-hour day was superseded in June, 1926, by a decree establishing the nine-hour day.



Alinari

THE MUSSOLINI FORUM

A workers' stadium for games and public meetings. It is surrounded with marble statues of athletes, each donated by an Italian city. As the playground is one of Mussolini's recent projects some of the statues had not been received when this picture was made in 1933.

2. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. The value of Mussolini's foreign policy has also been the subject of much dispute. By a treaty of 1924 he secured Fiume from Yugoslavia. By the Locarno pacts he guaranteed the boundary between France and Germany. His other accomplishments include treaties of commerce and friendship, some of them providing for arbitration of certain disputes, with Great Britain, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Rumania. He has settled colonial boundary disputes with England and Egypt. However, his open boasts that Italian destiny demands that the Adriatic and ultimately the Mediterranean become Italian lakes, his constant meddling in Balkan politics and especially his treaty

with Albania in 1927, which made Albania practically an Italian protectorate, worried all his neighbors. In 1924 some Italian officers, serving on an international boundary commission, were murdered by bandits on Greek soil. Although Italy was a permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations, Mussolini ignored the League, bombarded and occupied the island of Corfu, and made drastic demands on Greece, including the payment of a heavy indemnity. Only after much diplomatic pressure did he accept the recommendations of the Council of Ambassadors and withdraw from Corfu.

For several years Mussolini was indifferent or opposed to the plans of the League of Nations and other agencies for disarmament and for the further provision for peaceful settlement of international disputes. Recently, however, he has adopted a much more pacific tone. Italian finances were seriously affected by the depression and perhaps the need for loans from foreign bankers has been partly responsible for this change. An added reason has been that the bitter feeling against France, because of her refusal to concede naval parity to Italy, has caused Italy to draw much closer to Austria and Germany, and to back their demands for a revision of the peace treaties. Whatever the reasons, in recent international conferences Italy has thrown her weight on the side of moderation and conciliation. At the Disarmament Conference in 1932 and 1933 her representatives advocated radical reduction of all forms of armament. Following Germany's withdrawal from the League the Fascist Grand Council in December, 1933, threatened to leave the League unless changes were made in the League organization.

The Fascist experiment in Italy has attracted world-wide attention. Overwhelmed by the problems of the depression and alarmed at the growth of radical economic ideas, several prominent financial and industrial leaders in other countries have declared that Fascism offers the only way out. Fascist parties under various names have been started in several countries. The German Nazis, often called Fascists, borrowed many of their ideas and methods from the Italian Fascists. Mussolini, however, was not too well pleased by Hitler's rise to power in Germany. He saw in an intensely nationalistic and a rearmed Germany a threat to his ambitions along the Adriatic and in the Balkans. He particularly feared the joining of Austria to Germany and encouraged the Austrian government to resist the Nazis. To bind Austria more closely to Italy he made a treaty opening part of the port of Fiume to Austria as an outlet for her exports. It was rumored that he was negotiating with Hungary and the other states bordering the Danube for a Danubian pact which would tie all these countries more closely to Italy. In 1933 Mussolini also made a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Russia by which each nation promised not to make war on the other and not to aid any country which might attack the other.

Alinari

A VIEW OF MODERN ROME

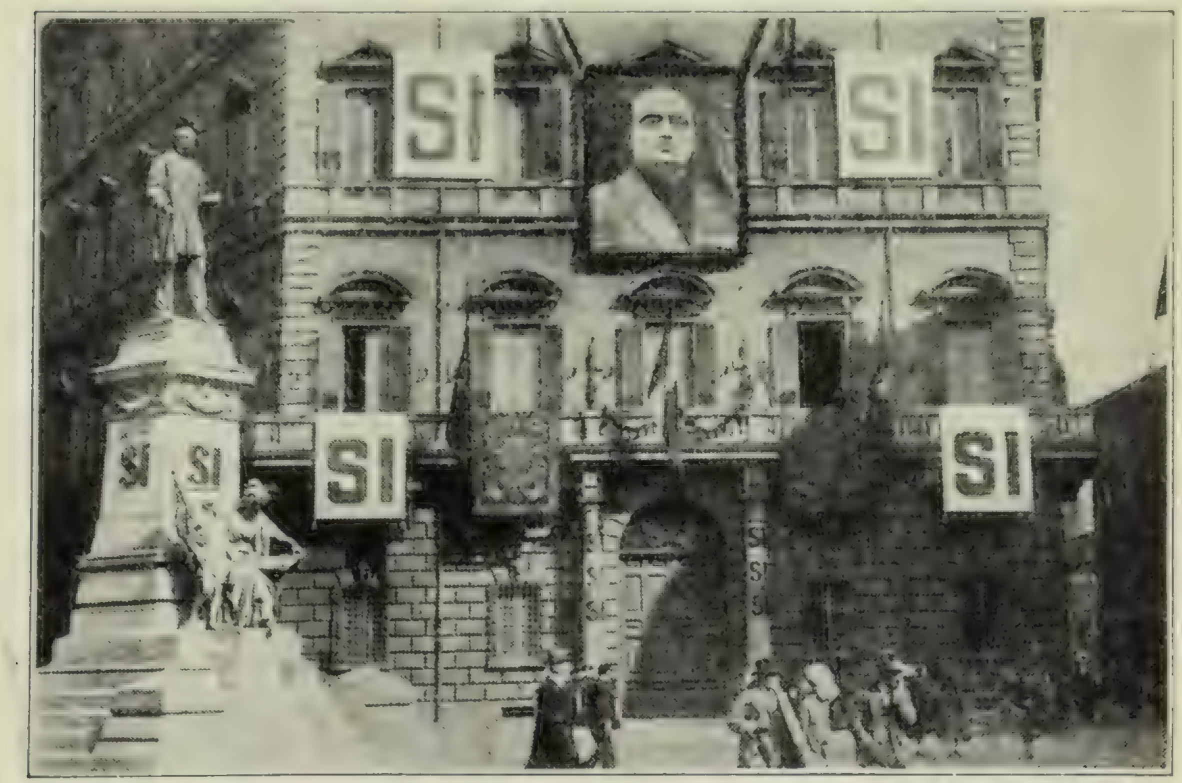
Another of Mussolini's local improvements is the construction of the new Imperial Way which runs from Rome to Ostia Lido. In the distance may be seen the Victor Emmanuel monument, framed by an arch of the Colosseum.

3. LACK OF DEMOCRACY. Against improved economic conditions, the maintenance of order, and the prestige gained by Mussolini's foreign policy, must be set the fact that Italy is under a frank dictatorship. According to Mussolini, the old watchwords—liberty, equality, fraternity—have been replaced by the new ones—authority, order, justice. Under the form of the old constitution Mussolini governs Italy as autocratically as any czar ever governed Russia. At one time he held eight different cabinet offices, but in 1929 he resigned from all except those of prime minister and minister of the interior. By a new law he is responsible to the king, not to parliament. No question may be discussed in either house without his consent. He has power to issue decrees which have the force of

laws. Special military tribunals may invoke the death penalty for any attempt on his life. By a decree of August, 1927, all local self-government was abolished, an officer appointed by and responsible to the central government being substituted for elected officials. By a law of December, 1926, all anti-Fascist parties and organizations were dissolved. Opposition newspapers have been suppressed and those that are left are under strict censorship. Unfriendly foreign correspondents find their dispatches mutilated and those who have persisted in criticism have been expelled. Critics are persecuted and, where arbitrary laws and subservient courts are not sufficient to quiet them, violent methods are freely used.

4. The corporate state. Fascists and their supporters declare that with half the population illiterate and uninterested in public questions democracy is impossible in Italy. They offer as proof that Fascism is working in the interests of all classes of Italians the development of the "corporate state," the name given to the attempt to organize all economic groups in the country into coöperating Fascist organizations. In 1921 there were organized six national confederations of syndicates of employers—Industry, Agriculture, Merchants, Maritime Transportation, Land Transportation, and Bankers—and six corresponding confederations of labor with a thirteenth "Federation of Fascist Syndicates of Intellectuals." Acting together as a "corporation," the confederation of capital and the confederation of labor in each field draw up contracts agreed upon after the suggestions of both sides have been discussed. These contracts are obligatory on all persons in the group concerned whether they are members of the confederations or not. They deal with wages, prices, conditions of work—anything which affects the industry concerned—and are enforced by special labor tribunals. No other unions or associations of employers are recognized. Strikes and lockouts are prohibited. Any dispute is settled by the ministry of corporations presided over by Mussolini from whose decisions there is no appeal.

Following the establishment of this system in November, 1927, the Grand Council of the Fascist party announced that in electing the new parliament there would be but one list of candidates; each corporation would nominate candidates; the Grand Council would revise the list, dropping those deemed unfit and adding candidates of its own; finally, the thirteen corporations would be allowed to vote for the selected list, there being no other list in the field. This plan of election was formally adopted by parliament in March, 1928, and the first election under the new system was held in 1929. A list of four hundred names, headed by Mussolini, was submitted to the voters who had the privilege of voting "yes" or "no" to the entire list. Of the 9,460,727 entitled to vote 8,666,412 voted "yes" and 135,761 voted "no." Even allowing for the large number who voted "yes" because of fear, it would seem that an overwhelming majority of the Italian people approved of Fascism.



Wide World Photos

PRO-FASCIST PROPAGANDA

During the election campaign in 1928 Rome was covered with posters of this type urging voters to vote "yes."

In November, 1933, speaking to the National Council of Corporations, made up of representatives of the various federations of employers and workers, Mussolini declared that in 1934 this body would be given the power to legislate for the nation on all economic questions. "The corporative structure," he said, "will then wholly replace the present institution called the Chamber of Deputies. . . ." In the same speech he declared, "When the Fascist régime was created we buried political liberalism. Today we bury economic liberalism."

The whole scheme of the corporate state has been in effect for too short a time to make worth while any estimate of its workings. Will it develop into a real system of economic democracy, or will it become merely an instrument by which employers enforce their will on employees through the ministry of corporations? He who can answer this question can say whether Fascism is but a passing phase which will die with Mussolini or whether it is destined to develop into a type of government which will rival democracy.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. "After 1870 Italy tried to play the part of a great power, a part she could ill afford to play." Explain.
2. Compare the Fascist government in Italy with the Communist government in Russia as to attitude toward democracy and economic policies.
3. How do you account for the fact that many who oppose the Russian government approve of the Italian, and vice versa?
4. What pre-war conditions in each country help to explain why dictatorships arose?
5. It has been said that Mussolini's belligerent speeches are made for "home consumption" rather than foreign. Explain.
6. An American writer has defined Fascism as the use of force to preserve capitalism. Do you think this is a good definition? Give reasons.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Political Conditions Before the War

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 367-378
Schapiro, pp. 366-375

Scott and Baltzly, pp. 324-326
Ogg, *Governments*, pp. 504-554
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 369-379
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe*, pp. 65-68

Fascism

Cole, pp. 423-447
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 601-610
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 850-861
Schapiro, pp. 802-807
Benns, Chap. XVI, pp. 416-451
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Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*
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Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 1021-1042
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Consult also the *Readers' Guide*

CHAPTER XXIII

DEMOCRACY'S POSITION IN THE MODERN WORLD

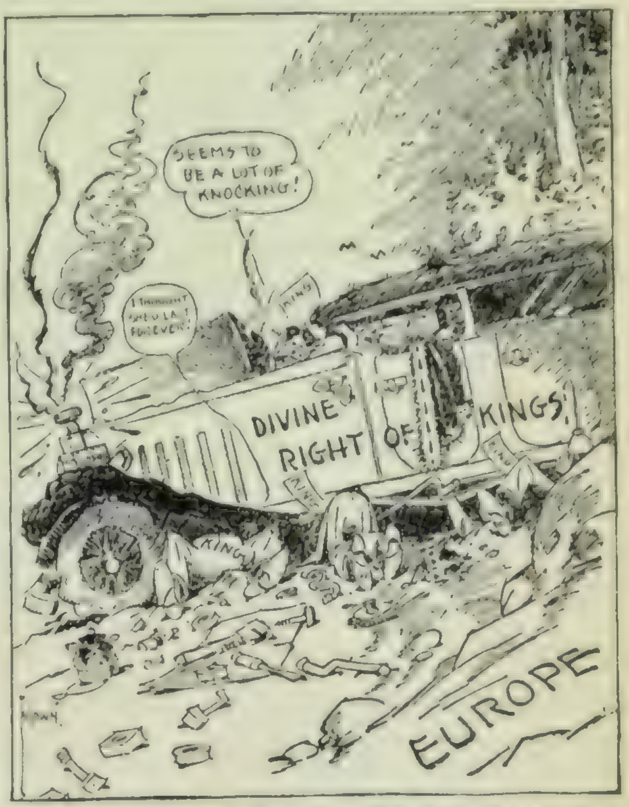
I. The Spread of Democracy

We have carried our story of the ups and downs of democracy in the five great countries of Europe down to the present time. Before leaving the subject let us pause to consider the extent to which democracy had spread by 1914, and the general effects of the World War on democracy.

A. In Europe. We shall not try to describe the governments of the smaller states of Europe in 1914 in any detail. Their development had not been strikingly different from that of the great powers. All of them in varying degrees had felt the effects of the Industrial Revolution. In all of them there had been a growth of democracy although the rate of progress had varied greatly. Austria, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Balkan states all had practically universal suffrage before the World War. All, imitating in general outlines the British system (see pages 432-438), had a ministry responsible to the legislature, although the actual control exercised by the legislature over the ministers varied considerably. With the exception of Switzerland, which has had a republican form of government since the Middle Ages, and Portugal, which became a republic in 1910, all had retained their kings, who, however, enjoyed little real power.

B. In other continents. Democracy was by no means confined to Europe. The United States had led the way in establishing universal suffrage and in applying democratic methods to the government of a vast territory. The governments of Latin America had become more democratic as they became more stable. Imperialism had carried ideas as well as capital and manufactures to Africa and Asia. Japan adopted a constitution with some democratic features in 1889. China overthrew the Manchu dynasty and became a republic in 1912. She is still struggling toward democracy.

C. Shortcomings of democracy. Democracy, however, had not accomplished all that its friends had hoped that it would. The democrats of the early nineteenth century had believed that the establishment of representative parliaments elected by universal suffrage would solve all the problems of government. These reforms were quite generally established by the close of the nineteenth century, but by that time the Industrial Revolution had introduced a host of new problems which the voters found it difficult to understand. At the same time the Industrial Revolution had made the control of government by selfish groups more profitable. Cheap newspapers, the telegraph, the telephone, and later the moving picture and the radio made it easier to control public opinion. Through the control of public opinion in a democracy government is controlled. Too often, therefore, selfish groups control governments.


SEEMS TO BE A LOT OF KNOCKING!
I THOUGHT SHE'D LAST FOREVER!
KINGS
DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS
KINGS
EUROPE

© *New York Tribune, Inc.*

"THE OLD BUS DOESN'T RUN LIKE IT USED TO"

In spite of the forms of democracy, then, minorities still exerted undue influence and selfish interests accomplished their own rather than the common good. Too often people were satisfied with the externals of democracy and did not attain the real substance. The tendency of political parties to evade real issues, the futile wrangling of legislatures split into powerless minorities, the power of organized propaganda to mold public opinion for selfish ends, all combined to lead many to question the value of democracy. Friends of democracy, however, repeated the assertion of Burke that the cure for the ills of democracy was more democracy. They claimed that the failures of representative government were due to the fact that it was not really representative, and that the remedy was to bring governments more directly under popular control. With this end in view they urged the adoption of several devices, among them proportional representation and the initiative and referendum, which have been experimented with for some time on a limited scale.

D. Plans for more democracy. 1. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. Proportional representation is a device for making the number of representatives of each party in the legislature proportional to the number of voters of that party in the country. It is obvious that where a system of districts is used in which each district elects one member the voters of the different parties may be so distributed that one party may have practically all the seats in the legislature although its voters constitute less than a majority of the electorate. This is especially likely to happen where there are three or more parties in the field. In the election for the English House of Commons in 1931, for example, the Conservative party polled 11,873,000 votes and won 472 seats, a seat for approximately every 25,000 votes; the Labor party polled 6,642,000 votes and won 52 seats, a seat for approximately every 127,000 votes; the various factions of the Liberal party polled 2,548,000 votes and won 76 seats, a seat for approximately every 34,000 votes. The Conservatives polled roughly 55 per cent of the total vote and won 76 per cent of the seats, while the Labor party with 30 per cent of the vote won only 8 per cent of the seats.

There are two principal schemes for proportional representation. One of them—the single transferable vote or the Hare system as it is commonly called from the Englishman who developed it—involves preferential voting; that is, the indication by the voter of first, second and third choices. It is used in several American cities which have the city manager or commission form of government in choosing the city council or commission. (Described on following page.) The other system, the one more commonly used in Europe, is the so-called list system. Like the Hare system it requires the establishment of electoral districts which elect from three to ten representatives. Each party nominates a list of candidates and the voter votes for the list

THE SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE PLAN OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(The Hare System)

The single-transferable vote may be used in non-partisan elections where no party names appear on the ballot or in elections where nominations are made by parties. In either case the principle is the same. For convenience we shall take for illustration a non-partisan election in a district polling 100 votes from which three candidates are to be chosen. (Obviously the result would not be changed if we multiplied the number of votes by ten or by one thousand.) Suppose that there are seven candidates nominated. Each voter votes by indicating as many choices as he pleases, placing a 1 opposite the name of his first choice, a 2 opposite his second choice, a 3 opposite his third, etc. If the total number of votes cast is 100 the quota of votes necessary to elect a candidate will be 26, that is, 26 is the greatest number of votes that each of three candidates, but not each of four, can receive.

The count of the vote proceeds as follows: First the ballots are distributed according to the first choice indicated on each. Suppose this gives the following result:

First	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*
count	40	20	15	8	7	6	4

A, having more than the quota of 26 votes, is immediately declared elected. But A has 14 votes more than necessary. Accordingly 14 votes are drawn by lot from A's ballots and distributed according to their second choices. Suppose D is second choice on ten of these ballots and G on 4. This would give the following result:

Second	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*
count	elected (26)	20	15	18	7	6	8

Next F, who has the smallest number of votes, is dropped and his votes distributed according to the second choices indicated. Suppose B is second choice on 3 of these ballots, C on 2, and the other has no second choice indicated, and is therefore exhausted. The result would be as follows:

Third	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*Exhausted*
count	elected (26)	23	17	18	7	dropped	8	1

Next E, with the smallest number of first choices, is dropped and his votes redistributed according to second choices (or according to third rather than for individual candidates. Seats in the legislature are assigned according to the vote cast. For example, if there are ten representatives to be chosen, a list which receives one-tenth of the total vote will receive one seat, a list that receives three-tenths three seats. Under the German system the country is divided into thirty-five districts. In each district the voter votes for a party list, and a seat in the Reichstag is given to each 60,000 votes which a party list receives. Consequently the number of members of the Reichstag is not always the same but varies according to the number of votes cast.

Although proportional representation has been advocated for years and successfully used in some of the smaller countries it is only since the World War that it has become common. Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, and Sweden used it before the war. All of the new constitutions adopted since the war have included some form of it.

2. The referendum and the initiative. The referendum (plebiscite) is the submission of a question to popular vote. It will be recalled that a referendum was used by both Napoleons in France to sanction their *coups d'état* (pages 159, 366) and in the various Italian states on the question of annexation to Piedmont (page 375). The referendum on ordinary legislation was first established in the Canton of St. Gall in Switzerland in 1830, and was soon taken up by

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choices if second choice is for A, who has already been elected or for F, who has been dropped). Suppose 3 of E's 7 ballots go to B, 3 to D, and one is exhausted. B now has 26 votes and is elected. The result would be as follows:

Fourth count	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*Exhausted*
	elect. (26)	elect. (26)	17	21	dr.	dr.	8	2

Next G is dropped and his votes distributed according to second or later choices. Suppose of G's 8 votes 5 go to D and the other three are exhausted. D would now have 26 and be the third candidate elected. The final result would be as follows:

Fifth count	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*Exhausted*
	elect. (26)	elect. (26)	17	elect. (26)	dr.	dr.	dr.	5

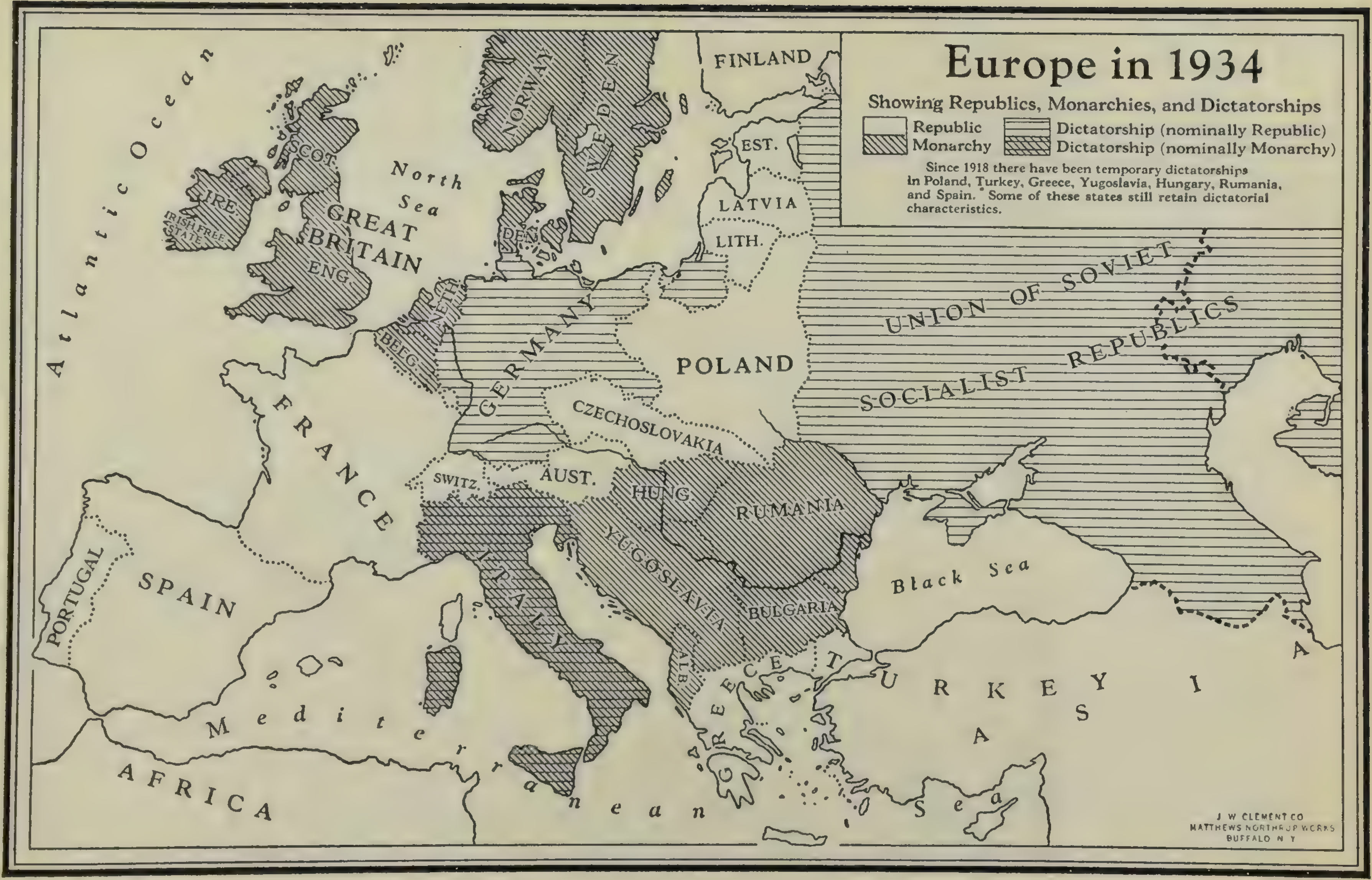
the other cantons and by the federal government. The usual practice is that where a percentage, usually from 5 to 15 per cent. of the voters request it, a law which has been passed by the legislature must be submitted to the voters and receive their approval before it goes into effect. In some of the Swiss cantons the referendum is compulsory on all laws passed by the legislature. The referendum on constitutional changes is used in several European countries and in many of the state governments in the United States. It is used for ordinary legislation in a few states in the United States and in several of the post-war governments of Europe, notably in Germany.

With the referendum is often, though not always, associated the initiative, by which a percentage of the voters may bring forward a proposition to be submitted to a referendum. Sometimes action by the legislature is required on an initiative proposal and sometimes not. The initiative is in use in the Swiss cantons and on constitutional amendments in the Swiss federal government. It is used in a few of the American states and in several of the new governments of Europe.

The initiative and referendum have not been widely used by the governments which have established them. They were designed to check the abuses of representative government, not to be a substitute for it. A few years ago they were looked upon as radical schemes, but experience has shown that the vote on referred questions is likely to be conservative. The power of organized propaganda through newspapers, magazines, the radio, and moving pictures, controlled by powerful interests, has become so great that many conservatives who formerly feared the referendum have come to advocate it. This power of special interests to control public opinion concerns not merely the advocates of the initiative and referendum but all believers in democracy. Education becomes doubly important when there are so many complex questions to be decided.

II. EFFECT OF THE WORLD WAR ON DEMOCRACY

A. Gains. Democracy made some substantial gains as a result of the World War. Germany overthrew her autocratic government



Europe in 1934

Showing Republics, Monarchies, and Dictatorships

Republic
Monarchy
Dictatorship (nominally Republic)
Dictatorship (nominally Monarchy)

Since 1918 there have been temporary dictatorships in Poland, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, and Spain. Some of these states still retain dictatorial characteristics.

Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
IRE.
IRISH FREE STATE
SCOT.
GREAT BRITAIN
ENG.
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DEN.
FINLAND
EST.
LATVIA
LITH.
NETH.
BELG.
GERMANY
POLAND
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUST.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HUNG.
RUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
BULGARIA
ALB.
GREECE
ITALY
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Black Sea
TURKEY
ASIA
Mediterranean Sea
AFRICA
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and for a time established what many believed to be the most democratic constitution ever put in effect. The governments of the new states that were carved out of the empires of Austria and Russia have many democratic features. We shall not give any detailed description of them, but shall note some of the democratic characteristics which are common to them all.

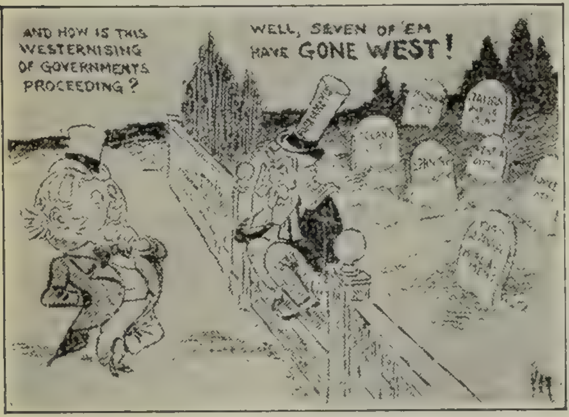
Wide World Photos

PROCLAMATION OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

Colonel Macia, provisional president, signs the document which officially creates the republic.

The trend toward republicanism was marked, Yugoslavia and Hungary being the only two to adopt monarchy. None of them copied the American system of the separation of powers, with a president independent of the legislature and a court with the right to declare laws unconstitutional. All of them established the cabinet system with the cabinet responsible to the legislature, as in England. Poland and Czechoslovakia have the president elected by the legislature as in France. All granted universal suffrage to both men and women; all of them provided for proportional representation in the election of the legislature. Esthonia, Yugoslavia, and Finland have single-chambered legislatures; the others have two houses, but in all of them the upper house is subordinate to the lower.

In Spain chaotic conditions led King Alfonso to dissolve parliament in 1923 and accept the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. In 1930 de Rivera was overthrown and after a year of frantic efforts to restore the constitutional monarchy the king abdicated and fled to England. A Spanish republic thus took the place of the century-old Spanish monarchy. The constitution of the new Spanish republic (December, 1931) illustrates some advanced democratic tendencies. It provides for a single-chambered legislature, elected by universal suffrage; for the separation of church and state; for the control of education by the state; for an elaborate code of social legislation; and for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Especially significant is the provision that "all the wealth of the country, regardless of ownership, is subordinate to the interests of national economy. . . . Public services and enterprises which affect the common interest may be nationalized in such cases as social necessity may require."


AND HOW IS THIS WESTERNISING OF GOVERNMENTS PROCEEDING?
WELL, SEVEN OF 'EM HAVE GONE WEST!

Evening News, London

"WESTWARD HO!"

Since the publication of this cartoon in 1929 Spain's parliament has been restored, but Germany's parliament has "gone West."

B. Losses. The World War resulted in losses as well as gains for democracy. During the war, even in the most democratic states, executives assumed dictatorial powers; vital decisions were made by small groups; constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and press were ignored; never had governments used propaganda so boldly to get the backing of public opinion for their arbitrary acts. Since the war democracy has regained some, but not all, of its lost ground. Constitutional rights have been, for the most part, restored; parliaments have reasserted their power over executives; but the memory of war-time losses has convinced many democrats that war must be abolished if democracy is to survive.

One of the most severe blows at democracy has been the dictatorships which have arisen in Europe in the troubled days of reconstruction. We have studied the dictatorships in Russia, Italy, and Germany in some detail. Other dictatorships have arisen in Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Spain. Some of these dictatorships have been temporary; others will doubtless be replaced by democratic forms as soon as the economic conditions which brought them about are remedied. Russian Communists and Italian and German Fascists, however, attack the fundamentals of the philosophy of democracy.

III. The Future of Democracy

It is still too early to prophesy as to the future of democracy or even to strike a balance between the gains and losses to democracy from the World War. The spread of dictatorships is evidence that democracy is on trial. Its supporters are challenged to take stock of their fundamental ideas, to test their theories in the acid of facts, to face the problems of the modern world with open minds. It should be noted that in those countries in which dictatorships have arisen democracy has never really been tried. Either the people were excluded from all participation in the government, as in Russia, or they had a constitution, for which they were not prepared, presented to them, as in Italy. In spite of its failures, democracy is still the ideal of the majority of people throughout the civilized world.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What were the main issues in the last presidential election in the United States? In the last election for governor in your state? Compare these issues with those of elections one hundred years ago. Does this comparison bear out the statement that the Industrial Revolution has introduced a host of new problems that the voters found it difficult to understand?

2. "In a democracy the people deserve the kind of government that they get." Explain this statement and give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with it.

3. Why is education of greater importance today than ever before?

4. Why does democracy never thrive in war time?

5. Would you prefer to live under a democratic government, a Fascist dictatorship, or a Communist dictatorship? Why? Why do some people prefer another type than you?

6. "The form and character which the government of a country takes depend largely on social and economic conditions." Explain and give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing.

7. Do you believe that "the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy"? Give reasons.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Political Conditions in Other Countries

Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 301-306, 400-406, 431-433
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 426-452, 577-586
Schapiro, pp. 366-382, 420-441
Magruder, Chaps. 7, 8, 10-12, 15, 17, 19-21
Cole, pp. 33-102, 171-189, 385-402
Langsam, *The World Since 1914,* pp. 414-478

Effect of the World War on Democracy

Scott and Baltzly, pp. 673-682
Schapiro, pp. 807-816
Benns, Chaps. 18, 19, 20, pp. 497-590
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 853-862
Bowman, *The New World,* Chaps. 6, 11, 18, 19
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 634-644
McBain and Rogers, *The New Constitutions of Europe*
Graham, *New Governments of Central Europe*
Consult also the *Readers' Guide*

SECTION VI

IMPERIALISM

Chapter XXIV. The Decline of the Old Imperialism and the Rise of the New
Chapter XXV. The Fields of Imperialism
Chapter XXVI. The British Empire
Chapter XXVII. The Results of Imperialism

PREVIEW

"Imperialism is the most impressive achievement and the most momentous world-problem of our age." Such is the judgment expressed by Parker T. Moon in his able study, Imperialism and World Politics. *Imperialism, simply defined, is the building up of an empire. In recent times, however, it has come to mean the economic or political control, direct or indirect, of a backward region by a powerful state. By backward region is meant one whose economic resources are undeveloped and whose government is weak. It is the purpose of this section to examine some of the achievements of imperialism and to understand why it is so momentous a world problem. It should be clear as we proceed that all the forces that operate so strongly in modern history—the Industrial Revolution, nationalism, democracy, imperialism—are closely connected with each other; in particular it should become clear that imperialism is the inescapable result of the Industrial Revolution and the organization of society into national states.*

The states of Europe struggled for the glories of empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but the first half of the nineteenth century saw a slight pause in the struggle for empire as the states of Europe put their houses in order after the Napoleonic upheaval and as they adjusted themselves to industrialism, democracy, and nationalism. The last half of the century witnessed a great revival of interest in gaining colonies. This revival came at a time when science and invention had made the world an economic unit; hence the new rivalries engendered by the awakened interest in imperialism were keener and more bitter than ever before. We shall examine some of the areas of imperialistic conflict and study in some detail how the greatest of modern empires—the British—has struggled to solve the problems of empire. The important and very difficult question about which we should endeavor to form careful judgments and reasoned opinion is, What is the solution to the problem of modern imperialism?

CHAPTER XXIV

THE DECLINE OF THE OLD IMPERIALISM AND THE RISE OF THE NEW

I. The Old Imperialism

The building of colonial empires is, of course, no new thing. Throughout history people and nations have brought other peoples under their control, usually for the purpose of exploiting their resources. The ancient Assyrians and Persians, then the Athenians, Alexander, and finally the Romans all established great empires. No sooner had the national states of Europe emerged from feudalism than the building of empires began again. The revival of trade with the East, the discovery of new routes and a new hemisphere led to struggles for colonies. Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England, one after another, staked out their claims. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were centuries of discovery and exploration, the seventeenth and eighteenth were centuries of settlement and wars for colonies and trade.

A. Accomplishments. By the end of the Napoleonic period England's supremacy as a colonial power was clearly established. She had lost some of her American colonies, but she had Canada and India, Ceylon and Cape Colony, and strategic islands scattered through the seven seas, to say nothing of the vast, little-valued area of Australia. France's once great empire had shrunk to a few ports in India, French Guiana in South America, and a few unimportant islands. Spain still feebly held most of South and Central America and Mexico, but was to lose them in the next decade, as Portugal was to lose Brazil. The Dutch still held valuable colonies in the East Indies. Africa, except for scattered settlements along the coast, was still the Dark Continent. Russia had been pushing across the vast plains of Siberia, but most of Asia was still untouched by European civilization.

B. Why the old imperialism declined. For the next fifty years there was little interest in colonies. England was so far in the lead that it seemed hopeless to compete with her, but even in England there was a feeling that colonies were not worth the trouble it took to acquire and hold them. Various factors combined to weaken Europe's interest in colonies. The Napoleonic wars had destroyed a great amount of capital and exhausted the energies of all the great powers. The revolutions and upheavals of the thirties and forties together with the struggle for unification in Italy and Germany took interest away from colonial enterprises. Large quantities of capital were required for the factories and new machinery that were being introduced. The Industrial Revolution meant employment for more people; fewer were anxious to emigrate to improve their economic condition. Finally, the economic philosophy on which the old empires had been based was being replaced by a new one.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, while the old colonial empires were being established, mercantilism was universally accepted by the nations of Europe. According to the mercantilist theories it was all-important for a nation to have a surplus of precious metals. Colonies were important as a source of gold and silver and also as a source of raw materials and foodstuffs not produced at home. In turn, colonial goods would be paid for with goods produced at home, thus keeping the gold and silver in the country. Trade with the colonies should, therefore, be monopolized by the mother country. The Industrial Revolution changed the economic situation and a new philosophy was necessary to fit the new facts. Manufacturers wished to be free from the old mercantilist restrictions. England was so far ahead of the other countries in manufacture that she did not fear competition in her colonies. What she wanted was free access to the markets of Europe. English economists began to preach free trade; gradually *laissez faire* replaced mercantilism. The fact that England's trade with the independent United States soon surpassed what it had been while they were colonies, strengthened the arguments of the free traders. Spain's loss of her colonies and Portugal's loss of Brazil seemed to show that it was impossible to maintain a monopoly over colonial trade. If the trade of colonies could not be monopolized, why go to the trouble of founding and protecting them?

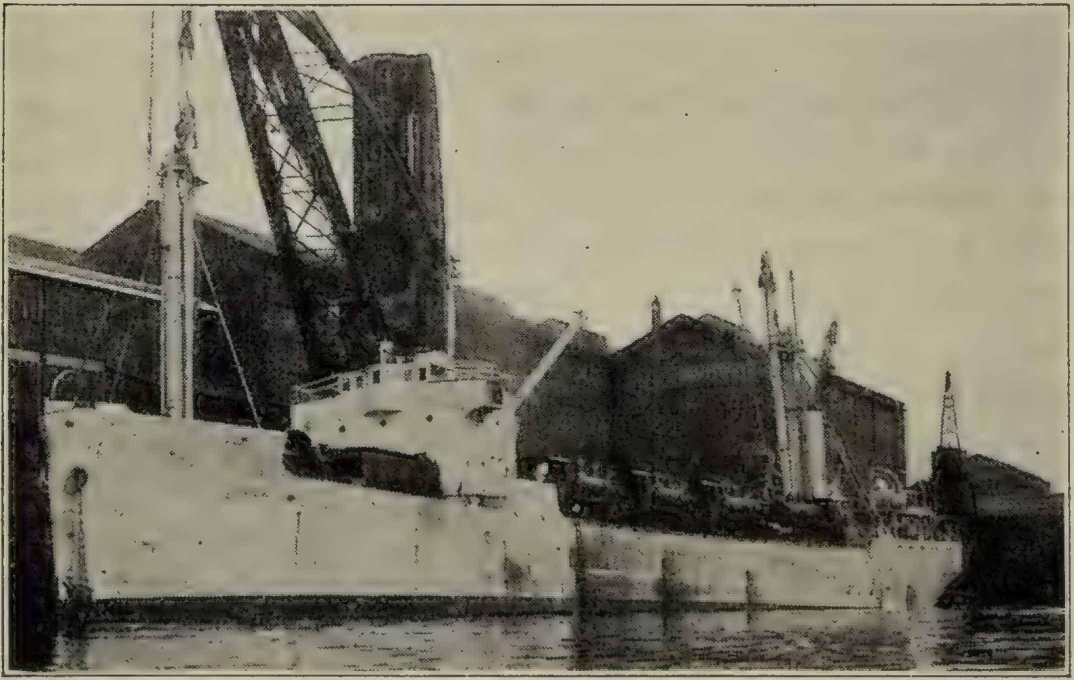
Although England did add some new territory during the first half of the nineteenth century—notably New Zealand in 1840, Hong Kong in 1842, and Natal in 1843—statesmen were not keen for acquiring territory and at times discouraged it. Gladstone always believed that colonies were a nuisance. Richard Cobden declared that the possession of India would bring "all sorts of trouble, loss, and disgrace." Even Disraeli, later the arch-imperialist, said in 1852, "These wretched colonies will all be independent, too, in a few years and are a millstone around our necks." Other countries were even less interested than England. Napoleon III, while he gained a foothold in Cochin China and Cambodia, opened the French colonies to the trade of all nations. Bismarck long opposed colonies, asserting that "a colonial policy for us would be just like the silken sables of Polish families who have no shirts."

II. The New Imperialism

A. Accomplishments. About 1875 Europe began again to be interested in colonies and the great powers embarked on a career of imperialism that made the accomplishments of the old colonialism seem meager indeed. The following table shows the acquisitions of territory during the forty years that preceded the World War.

	Square Miles	*Population*
England	4,037,000	119,000,000
France	2,925,000	36,000,000
Russia	1,117,000	18,766,000
Germany	1,136,000	13,229,000
Belgium	910,000	15,000,000
Italy	591,000	1,380,000
United States	284,500	16,788,000
Spain	135,000	1,486,000
Japan	114,200	19,213,000

Less than a century ago Africa was the "Dark Continent," unexplored except for a few settlements along the coast. Today, Abyssinia and Liberia are the only independent states, and even they are largely dependent on foreign capitalists. On the mainland of Asia there are few independent states—China and Siam are the most important. Even these nations are largely under the influence of foreign capitalists. The reasons for this change of attitude are many and varied. Most of them are related directly or indirectly to the Industrial Revolution and the new conditions it ushered in.



Wide World Photos

European Goods for Colonial Markets

Specially constructed freighters carry locomotives from England for use in Australia and other British possessions.

B. Causes of the new imperialism. 1. The Industrial Revolution makes it practicable. In the first place, the invention of the steamboat and the locomotive, the telephone and the telegraph, made imperialism on a large scale possible. The new means of transportation made markets world-wide and made practical the carrying of heavy and bulky products over long distances. The new means of communication made it possible to administer distant colonies more easily and more efficiently.

2. THE DESIRE FOR MARKETS FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS. The spread of the Industrial Revolution raised up rivals to England's industrial supremacy. Germany, France, and the United States began to produce their own manufactures and to build up tariff walls against those of foreign countries. Manufacturers began to have a surplus of manufactured goods and looked to colonies as a means of disposing of this surplus. Yet, as Norman Angell pointed out in his *Great Illusion*, a large export of manufactures does not depend on colonies. For example, in 1913 only one-half of 1 per cent of Germany's foreign trade was with her colonies. Germany exported large amounts to British colonies, notably Canada; England furnished a larger percentage of the imports of Argentina than of Canada. Nevertheless it was argued that the merchants of the mother country had advantages in colonial trade. Although no nation has gone back to the old mercantilist policy of allowing no foreign country to trade with its colonies, some countries have adopted the device of putting a tariff on goods imported into the colonies, but allowing imports from the mother country to pay a lower rate or none at all. This system of preferential tariffs, as it is called, may also be applied to colonial goods sent to the mother country. Desire for colonial markets for surplus manufactures was one of the main reasons for wanting colonies, at least in the early period of the new imperialism.

3. THE DESIRE FOR SOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS. Another reason for wanting colonies was that they supplied tropical foodstuffs and raw materials for manufacture—coal, iron, oil, cotton, rubber, tea, coffee, sugar, grains, and fruits. This reason has been much emphasized by advocates of imperialism but there has never been a time when these goods could not be purchased in the open market. When Englishmen get goods from English colonies they have to pay the cost of production just as though they bought them from German colonies or independent states. As natural resources become exhausted, the time may come when governments will restrict sales of raw materials to their own nationals, but so far the ability to pay, not the nationality of the customer, has determined sales.

4. The desire for places for the investment of surplus capital. The main reason for imperialism, one that has steadily grown and is still growing, is the desire to have a place for investment of capital. The Industrial Revolution produced great fortunes. The owners of these fortunes wanted to invest them so as to produce still greater fortunes. There has, of course, never been a time in any country when capital could not be invested within the country; but once a country's resources are developed, once its railroads and factories are built, the return on capital is likely to be small. Capital invested at home in established enterprises will bring 5, 6, or 7 per cent. Capital lent to the ruler of a backward country, capital invested in developing the mines or railroads of an undeveloped region may bring 10, 20, 30 or even 100 per cent. By 1914 France had invested ten billion dollars in foreign countries, Germany seven billion, and England nearly twenty billion.

OROC

At a Commissary in the Belgian Congo

There are several huge copper mines in the Belgian Congo operated by European capital. These African women are waiting to receive their weekly rations, issued and regulated by the Belgian government.

Why, it may be asked, cannot capital be invested in any undeveloped territory? Why does a capitalist want his country to annex, or at least control, the territory where his capital is invested? Capitalists prefer investments under their own flag because they desire to have a government strong enough to preserve order and protect the investment. Millions of foreign capital were invested in the United States without thought of political control because the United States government was strong enough to protect private property; hence there was no need of foreign protection. Governments, once they have gained control of an undeveloped area, naturally favor their own citizens in granting concessions.

C. The advocates of imperialism. These, then—markets for manufactures, sources of raw materials, above all, places for investment of surplus capital—are the main reasons for imperialism. Manufacturers of goods for colonial markets, importers of colonial products, capitalists with colonial investments, bankers who represent all these groups—these are the ones who benefit from imperialism and are largely responsible for it. To these should be added manufacturers of munitions and other army and navy supplies since a country with colonies needs large armies and navies to protect them. Altogether they represent but a very small fraction of the total population of any country and a small minority of even the capitalist class, many capitalists in fact being injured by colonial competition. Besides these there are various groups who benefit from imperialism in a less direct way—military and naval officers, diplomatic and colonial officials, missionaries.

Imperialism necessitates greater armies and navies and, since advancement in their profession depends on these greater armies and navies, most military and naval officers are sincerely convinced that a policy of imperialism is for the best interests of their country. In a similar category is the large number of civil officials in the colonial service.

"Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel" was a teaching of the Founder of Christianity which has been zealously carried out by the Christian churches. The Catholic Church played an important part in the exploration and settlement of the Americas and its missionaries have penetrated all parts of the world. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and other Protestant sects formed missionary societies and raised large sums to carry their message to the heathen. These missionary societies have been and usually are supporters of imperialism since their work is made easier and safer if their mother country has some control over the missionary field. Mistreatment of missionaries has often been the occasion for intervention in a backward country. A notable example is Germany's securing the lease to Kiaochow from China as the result of the murder of two German missionaries.

OROC

BARTER IN CENTRAL AFRICA

To the natives money is of little value but they are glad to exchange bananas for the white man's cloth. Thus there is an outlet for surplus textile manufacture, while tropical fruits find their way to the tables of factory workers.

D. How imperialism is linked with nationalism. Even when we add military and naval officers, colonial officials, and those interested in missionary activities to the groups who benefit from imperialism, we still have but a small portion of the population of any country. Why, then, should the majority favor, or at least acquiesce in, a policy which does not benefit them directly and which has such serious consequences for the country as a whole? In the first place the interested groups, while small, are powerful. They understand thoroughly the art of propaganda; they have money to spend; they control many magazines and newspapers; by generous contributions to campaign funds they get the support of politicians. In the second place they appeal to a sentiment to which most modern people are particularly susceptible—nationalism.

The appeal to nationalism takes various forms. In densely populated countries which have a large emigration, such as Japan and until recently Germany and Italy, it is argued that colonies should be secured so that the thousands who leave the country each year may be kept under the flag and not be lost to the fatherland. This argument sounds plausible. The only trouble with it is that when emigrants are picking out a place to which to go, they look at economic conditions rather than at the flag. They prefer to go where they can make a good living rather than where they can retain their citizenship. Practically all the colonies acquired within the last fifty years have been in tropical regions unfit for white men. Less than 1 per cent of the German emigrants from 1870 to 1910 went to German colonies. There are several times as many Italians in New York City as in all the Italian colonies combined.

Another form of the nationalist-imperialist argument is that colonies to be used as naval bases and coaling stations are essential to the military and naval strength of the nation. Preparedness is an ever popular slogan. Since they are assured by military and naval experts that colonies are necessary for preparedness, people demand colonies. Preparedness is, so the argument runs, only for defense. But, say the anti-imperialists, distant colonies require larger armies and navies for their protection; they would seem, therefore, to be a source of weakness rather than of strength in a defensive war. Of course, once a nation has colonies she needs other colonies to protect them, and then still other colonies to protect the new ones, and so on without end.

Another phase of the preparedness argument is that it is necessary to have colonies so that raw materials will be available in time of war. It is all right, so it is argued, to buy rubber or cotton or phosphates from the colonies of other countries in time of peace, but what would happen if a nation did not have its own supply of these necessities when war came? In time of war goods cannot be imported from colonies unless the mother country controls the seas. Germany's colonies, for example, did Germany no good in the World War and it is doubtful if any colonies, except those of the supreme naval power, will be of much value in war time.

Back of all the nationalistic arguments is the belief that "national wealth" is of direct concern to the average citizen. The workingman's wages are not increased, his standard of living is no higher, but somehow he feels richer when he reads in his newspaper that the number of millionaires in his country has doubled. In the same way he welcomes the news that his country has acquired a new colony or that some group of his fellow-citizens has secured the right to drill oil wells in some distant land. The Englishman may get a thrill from the thought that "the sun never sets on the British Empire," or the American may swell with pride on hearing that the natives of Timbuctoo are learning to drive American automobiles, but is either any better off economically?

Along with the average citizen's belief that national wealth concerns him directly and his pride in the fact that he belongs to a great empire goes a jealous concern for his nation's honor. He does not feel that his national honor is affected by the fact that one fellow-citizen has been lynched by a mob of other fellow-citizens; or that thousands of his fellow-citizens are living in poverty or dying of preventable diseases; but let a citizen of his country be maltreated in a foreign country—especially a weak foreign country—let his property rights be interfered with, and immediately he feels that his national honor has been assailed and must be avenged.

Nationalism is never more insidious than when it is altruistic. The patriot feels that his is the greatest of all nations, that its institutions, customs, and ideals are superior to those of all other nations. What greater service to humanity can be performed than to spread this superior civilization to less fortunate peoples? This is the idea that Kipling has made immortal by his famous phrase "The White Man's Burden"—that is, to educate and uplift the brown or yellow or black man to the white man's standard.

> Take up the White Man's burden,
> Send forth the best ye breed,
> Go bind your sons to exile,
> To serve your captive's need.

A Frenchman can easily see the hypocrisy and buncombe in Germany's talk of spreading her *Kultur* (civilization) in backward areas, but he solemnly accepts the pious platitudes of French politicians about France's *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission). The fact that the backward people may not appreciate the superior civilization offered them and may have to be taught its benefits by machine guns and bombing planes does not deter the ardent nationalist.

OROC

A WESTERN STOVE COMES TO AN AFRICAN VILLAGE

The manufactured goods which they do not produce themselves are in great demand in some undeveloped communities. Although the stove weighs two hundred pounds the native seems to carry it alone with comparative ease.

E. The methods of imperialism. 1. SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND PROTECTORATES. The statement is often heard that most of the great colonial empires have grown up by accident. This is only partially true. Many statesmen have made the acquisition of colonies a definite part of their policy and have laid careful plans for securing coveted regions, as for example, Leopold of Belgium in the Congo and Bismarck in Southwest Africa. The statement is true in the sense that the trader, the investor, or the missionary, with or without the encouragement of their government, have usually penetrated new areas before the government has taken any active part. The usual sequence of events is somewhat as follows: Capitalists lend money to some weak ruler or secure a concession to build a railway or drill oil wells from the government of some economically undeveloped country. (A government often makes an agreement with other governments to restrict the activity of its citizens to certain districts in return for a recognition of its special interests in that district. This district where one nation has a recognized monopoly is called a "sphere of influence.") The ruler is unable to keep up the interest on his bonds, or native bandits whom the weak government is unable to control attack the property of the foreigners. The foreign investor immediately applies to his home government for help. Troops are sent to protect the life and property of citizens. The native government as compensation for damages done is forced to grant further concessions. More trouble breaks out; more troops are sent. This time, or some time, the troops stay, the native ruler being forced to accept control of his army and his finances by officials from the home government. The native government is still nominally in power but is in reality controlled by its foreign "advisers." This is called a protectorate. The advantages of a protectorate to investors is that thereby a government strong enough to maintain order is provided. Sometimes, because of native uprisings or interference by other powers, the final step of annexation is taken.

The great powers have grown increasingly insistent on their right to intervene with armed force, anywhere, at any time, for the protection of the lives or property of their citizens. In recent times it has become common for great powers to send armed expeditions into the territory of weak powers without any declaration of a protectorate and even with loud protestations that no political control is intended. There is no legal definition of a protectorate and sometimes it is a matter of opinion whether one exists or not. As long, however, as foreign property in backward countries is protected by foreign armed force, imperialism exists, whatever it may be called.

2. HOW ENGLAND OBTAINED A PROTECTORATE OVER EGYPT. The story of England's acquisition of Egypt is typical of imperialistic enterprise. Egypt in the last half of the nineteenth century was nominally a province of the Turkish Empire, but was practically independent. Her ruler, Ismail Pasha, 1863-1879, was ambitious and extravagant. In ten years he borrowed more than three hundred million dollars mainly from French and English bankers. As the debt increased he was forced to pay ever higher rates of interest and sell his bonds at a large discount. The sale of his stock in the Suez Canal to England gave him only a temporary respite. When he asked for further loans an international debt commission was set up to take charge of his finances and French and British citizens were given positions in his government. When Ismail rebelled against the restrictions placed upon him by his foreign advisers, the French and British governments persuaded the Turkish sultan to depose him and appoint a new khedive more friendly to foreign suggestions. This "Dual Control" by England and France, which lasted from 1879 to 1883, put Egyptian finances on a firmer basis but stirred up Egyptian nationalism. Arabi, an army officer, started a revolt against the foreigners. France, deep in other colonial enterprises and with a cabinet crisis at home, withdrew. An English fleet bombarded Alexandria and English troops put down the revolt. Egypt adopted a new constitution by which power was nominally vested in the khedive and an elected assembly but really put in the hands of the British consul-general and the British advisers who were installed in every department of the government. The commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army was an Englishman and five thousand British troops remained in Egypt.

In a note to the other powers, England announced that she would withdraw from Egypt "as soon as the state of the country . . . will admit of it." That time has never arrived. Until 1914 Egypt remained nominally a part of the Turkish Empire. When the sultan entered the World War on the side of Germany, England formally declared Egypt a British protectorate. In spite of harsh suppression, Egyptian nationalism grew steadily during the war and finally, in 1922, England recognized Egypt as "an independent sovereign state." England retained, however, the right to defend the Suez Canal, the right to defend Egypt against all foreign aggression, the right to protect foreign interests in Egypt, and the control of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. British troops are still in Egypt and Egypt remains, for practical purposes, what she has been ever since 1883, a British protectorate.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show the connection between imperialism, militarism, and nationalism.

2. Would the Philippines be a source of strength or a source of weakness to the United States in a defensive war?

3. "It is more nearly correct to say that the flag follows trade than that trade follows the flag." Explain.

4. What colonial possessions did the United States have in 1890? What does she have today? Do the causes of imperialism as given in this chapter explain why this change has taken place?

5. In 1929 the exports of the United States to the Philippines were about one-eleventh of her exports to Canada and about one-tenth of those to England. Does this fact have any bearing on the argument as to the value of colonies as places for the export of home goods?

6. Is the statement made above that Egypt is for practical purposes a protectorate of England justified by the facts?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Old Imperialism

Schapiro, pp. 607
Hayes, pp. 546-550
Moon, pp. 8-25
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. III, pp. 641-662; Vol. VII, pp. 605-612

The New Imperialism

SCHAPIRO, pp. 608-611, 614, 647-654
MOON, pp. 25-75
SCOTT and BALTZLY, pp. 430-442
ROBINSON, Vol. II, pp. 396-401
HAYES, Vol. II, pp. 550-560
ROBINSON and BEARD, Vol. II
BARNES, *World Politics,* pp. 187-245
BUELL, *International Relations,* pp. 305-370
KNIGHT, BARNES, and FLUGEL, *Economic History of Europe,* pp. 745-747
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VII, pp. 605-613

Methods of Imperialism

SCHAPIRO, pp. 611-612
MOON, Chaps. 5-16
SCOTT and BALTZLY, pp. 461-469
ROBINSON, Vol. II, pp. 401-415
MAGRUDER, pp. 495-500
BUELL, *International Relations,* pp. 370-499
GOOCH, *History of Modern Europe, 1879-1919,* pp. 73-115
EARLE, *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway.* An excellent, readable, detailed study of imperialism.

CHAPTER XXV

THE FIELDS OF IMPERIALISM

I. LATIN AMERICA

THE whole world has served as a field for the imperialistic activities of the industrial states of western Europe. In Latin America, in Africa, in the Near East, and in the Far East strong states have vied with one another to secure special advantages for their citizens. Because of the dominant position of the United States in the Western Hemisphere the course of imperialism in Latin America has been different from that in other fields. Except for some of the West Indies, the Guianas, and British Honduras, Latin America at the beginning of the age of modern imperialism consisted of independent republics. While the investment of capital both from the United States and Europe has grown enormously, especially in recent years, the Monroe Doctrine has prevented any direct interference with the nominal independence of the Latin-American republics. In this region, on the surface at least, imperialism has been economic rather than political.

II. AFRICA

At the middle of the nineteenth century Africa was still the "Dark Continent." The main contact of Europeans with Africa had been for purposes of the slave trade which led to the establishment of posts along the coast rather than the penetration of the interior. Northern Africa had been part of the Roman Empire but since the conquests of the seventh century Europe had had little intercourse with it. Except for Morocco and Algeria, which were occupied by France in 1830, all the states of northern Africa were still ruled in 1870 by native rulers who owed but a shadowy allegiance to the

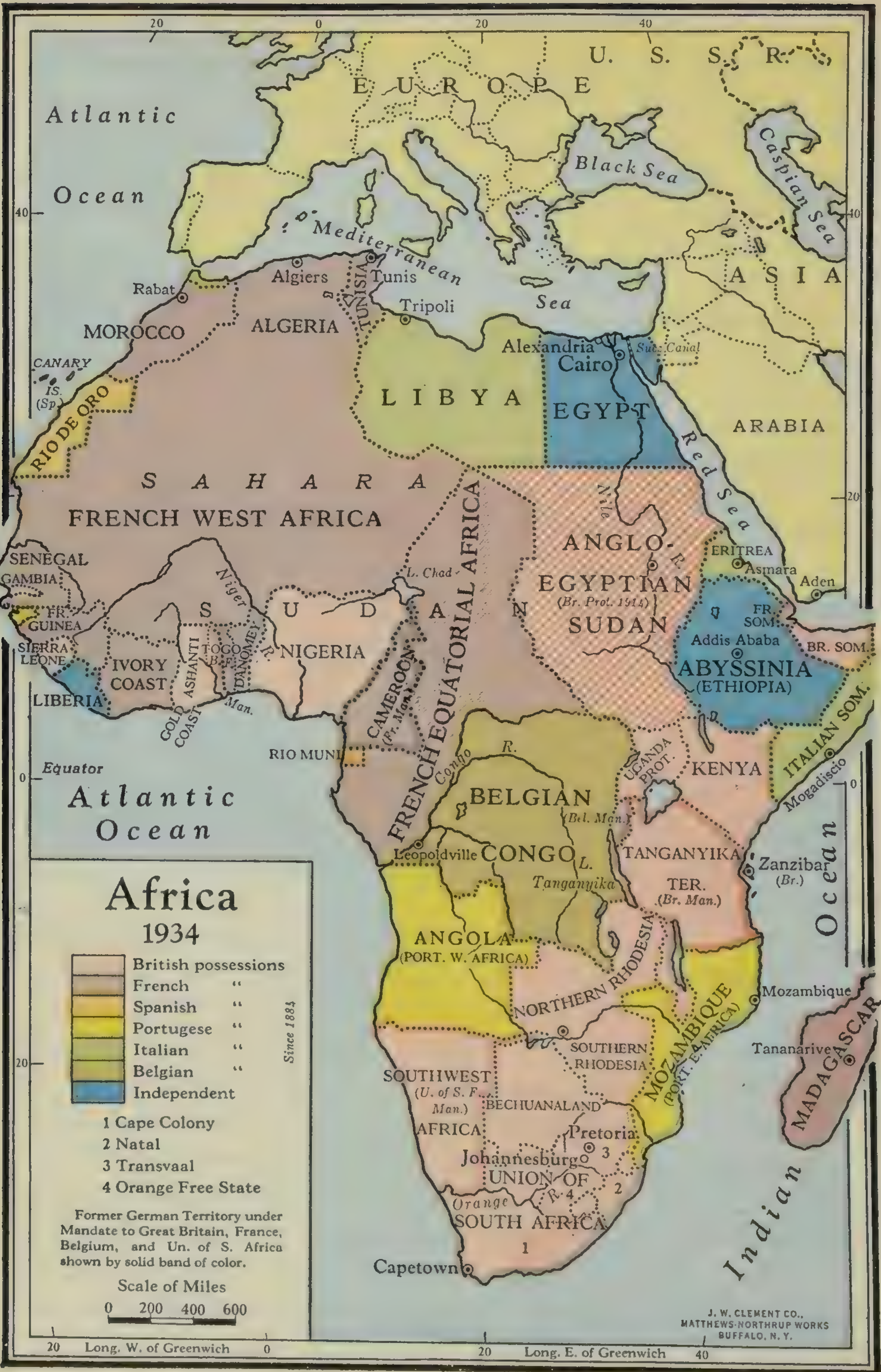
Turkish sultan. A few trading posts along the coast remained from those established by the explorers of the seventeenth century. The Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope had been turned over to England by the Congress of Vienna (see page 180), and since the Dutch disliked British rule, they migrated northward, leaving to the English the rapidly growing Cape Colony and Natal. All the vast interior was still unexplored and unknown.

Keystone View Co.

WHERE STANLEY FOUND LIVINGSTONE

The monument erected in honor of the incident at Ujyi, Tanganyika.

Africa was brought to the attention of the world largely through the work of missionaries of whom the greatest was David Livingstone, a Scotchman, who spent the best part of his life exploring central Africa. Livingstone's exploits were given wide publicity when James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald,* sent Henry M. Stanley to find out what had become of him. Stanley's account of his own and Livingstone's adventures in the Congo region made a thrilling tale and aroused business men to the possibilities which Central Africa offered. In 1876 King Leopold of Belgium called an international conference to consider the development of Africa and out of this grew the International Association of the Congo, a commercial company mainly controlled by Leopold and other Belgian capitalists. In 1885 Leopold became ruler of the Congo Free State, which was the outgrowth of the activities of this commercial company, and made millions out of Congo rubber and ivory. After the mistreatment of the natives had become an open scandal, the "Free State" was annexed to Belgium in 1908.


Africa
1934
British possessions
French "
Spanish "
Portugese "
Italian "
Belgian "
Independent
Since 1884
1 Cape Colony
2 Natal
3 Transvaal
4 Orange Free State
Former German Territory under Mandate to Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Un. of S. Africa shown by solid band of color.
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600
Atlantic Ocean
EUROPE
U. S. S. R.
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
ASIA
Mediterranean Sea
Rabat
Algiers
Tunis
TUNISIA
Tripoli
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
CANARY IS. (Sp.)
RIO DE ORO
LIBYA
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez Canal
EGYPT
ARABIA
Red Sea
SAHARA
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
FR. GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
ASHANTI
TOGO Br. Fr.
DAHOMEY
Niger R.
SUDAN
NIGERIA
L. Chad
Man.
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
CAMEROON (Fr. Man.)
Nile R.
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN (Br. Prot. 1914)
ERITREA
Asmara
Aden
FR. SOM.
BR. SOM.
Addis Ababa
ABYSSINIA (ETHIOPIA)
ITALIAN SOM.
Mogadiscio
Equator
Atlantic Ocean
RIO MUNI
Congo R.
BELGIAN CONGO
(Bel. Man.)
Leopoldville
UGANDA PROT.
KENYA
TANGANYIKA TER. (Br. Man.)
L. Tanganyika
Zanzibar (Br.)
Indian Ocean
ANGOLA (PORT. W. AFRICA)
NORTHERN RHODESIA
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE (PORT. E. AFRICA)
Mozambique
Tananarive
MADAGASCAR
SOUTHWEST (U. of S. F. Man.) AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
Pretoria
Johannesburg
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Orange R.
1
2
3
4
Capetown
J. W. CLEMENT CO., MATTHEWS-NORTHROP WORKS BUFFALO, N. Y.
20
0
20
40
40
20
0
20
Long. W. of Greenwich
Long. E. of Greenwich

We shall not take the time to tell the long and complicated story of high adventure and sordid intrigue by which Africa was occupied and divided bit by bit among the great powers. The map opposite shows the possessions of the various powers at the present time with the dates of annexation. The tiny segments still independent bear witness to the rapid strides of imperialism. Egypt is under British control though nominally independent. In a later chapter we shall tell of some of the struggles for the control of Africa which illustrate the part played by imperialism in bringing on the World War.

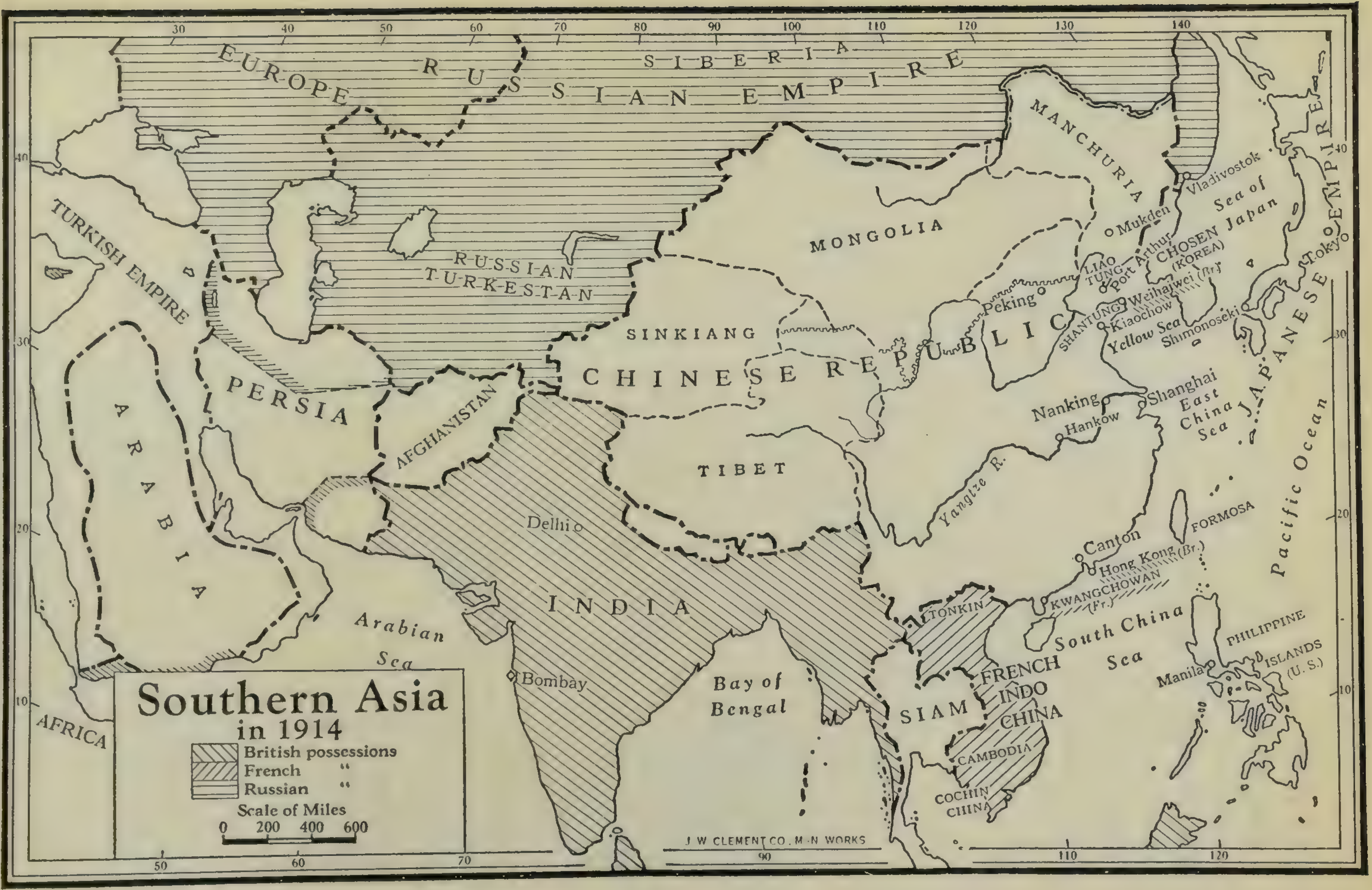
III. THE NEAR EAST

Like other economically backward parts of the world the Turkish Empire and the Balkan states have been ripe fields for imperialism because of their undeveloped resources. Because of their strategic location, rivalry to gain control of them has been especially keen among the great powers. It will be more convenient, however, to postpone the account of imperialistic rivalries in the Near East until we take up the question of international relations, with which they were so closely related. (See pages 659-663, 675-682.)

IV. THE FAR EAST

A. China becomes a field for imperialism. In no part of the world is the problem of imperialism more acute than in the Far East, particularly in China. China differs in many ways from other fields of imperialism. Here merchants and inventors found no savage tribes as in Africa, few great unpopulated areas as in America, but a densely populated region with a civilization older and in some ways superior to their own. China is a field for imperialism only because she has not developed modern science, has not yet had her Industrial Revolution, has not yet achieved political strength and solidarity, and has rich natural resources still unexploited.

Let us recall that China has always been a loosely federated state. The bonds which bind the Chinese together are cultural rather than political. What was called the Chinese Empire of modern times consisted of China proper, divided into eighteen provinces, and the



Southern Asia in 1914

British possessions
French "
Russian "
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600
EUROPE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SIBERIA
RUSSIAN TURKESTAN
TURKISH EMPIRE
ARABIA
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
INDIA
Delhi
Bombay
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
AFRICA
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
SINKIANG
CHINESE REPUBLIC
TIBET
Peking
Mukden
LIAO TUNG
Port Arthur
CHOSEN (KOREA)
Vladivostok
Sea of Japan
JAPANESE EMPIRE
Tokyo
SHANTUNG
Weihaiwei (Br.)
Kiaochow
Yellow Sea
Shimonoseki
Nanking
Hankow
Shanghai
East China Sea
Yangtze R.
Canton
Hong Kong (Br.)
KWANGCHOWAN (Fr.)
FORMOSA
Pacific Ocean
South China Sea
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (U. S.)
Manila
TONKIN
FRENCH INDO CHINA
SIAM
CAMBODIA
COCHIN CHINA
J. W. CLEMENT CO. M.-N WORKS
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
110
120
130
140
10
20

dependent but loosely controlled provinces of Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. In addition, Korea, Burma, Siam, and Annam had received a large part of their culture from China and at times in the past had been parts of the empire. At the opening of the nineteenth century they were practically independent states, still however vaguely acknowledging Chinese sovereignty. There was at different times some trade between China and the West from the days of the Roman Empire on, and in the seventeenth century several trading posts were established by Europeans in China. The sharp practices of the Europeans soon led to their expulsion, however, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century foreign trade was allowed only at Canton. Even at Canton Europeans were allowed to trade only with especially licensed Chinese merchants.

Publishers' Photo Service

THE WATERFRONT, HONG KONG, 1931

Hong Kong is a great commercial port and a strategic British naval base.

Supplications and threats proved equally futile to persuade China to open her doors wider. Suspicion and fear mingled with racial conceit and arrogance to make the Chinese look down upon Europeans as uncivilized barbarians and to feel that they had nothing to learn from them and nothing to gain through association with them. Toward the close of the eighteenth century the emperor declared to a British mission seeking trade privileges, "Swaying the whole world I have but one aim in view, namely, to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfill the duties of the state; strange and costly objects do not interest me." Finally, however, England by the use of force compelled China to grant trading privileges. English merchants had developed a lucrative trade by importing opium into China from India. The Chinese government forbade the importation of the harmful drug; the English smuggled it in; China seized and destroyed large quantities of it. England thereupon waged what is called the Opium War (1840-1841) and China was, of course, defeated. The treaty concluding the war did not settle the opium question, but China was compelled to pay England an indemnity, to agree to allow trade at five ports, called the Treaty Ports, and to cede the island of Hong Kong, opposite the port of Canton, to England. The treaty also contained provisions which, with later elaborations, gave foreign powers the right to control China's tariff and the right of extraterritoriality. This means that foreigners, resident in China, have the right to be tried for any offense in courts conducted by consuls or other officials of their own nation instead of by the regular Chinese courts.

Inspired by England's example, the United States through a treaty negotiated in 1844 secured trading and extraterritorial rights similar to those of England. Other nations were quick to follow. China remained hostile to foreigners and attacks on traders were seized upon as an excuse for further intervention. In the following years the Chinese were compelled to open more than forty treaty ports and to allow trade in the interior. The French annexed Cambodia, Annam, and Tonkin, organizing the French colony of Indo-China. Russia obtained a district along the coast which gave her Vladivostok, later a terminus for the Trans-Siberian Railway.

B. Japan becomes westernized. Nippon, or the "land of the rising sun" as the Japanese call their country, consists of five large and innumerable small islands of volcanic origin that lie off the northeastern coast of China. Portuguese navigators visited these islands in 1542, and five years later Jesuit missionaries under the leadership of St. Francis Xavier succeeded in converting many of their inhabitants to Christianity. But, as in China, the Japanese government felt that the Europeans were conspiring against it and, after a series of persecutions, the government determined upon a policy of excluding foreigners, their trade, and their religion. Only the Dutch were allowed to trade with the Japanese until the middle of the nineteenth century when the United States succeeded in opening up Japan to foreign trade.

Japanese hatred of foreigners was so great that it led to cruel treatment of sailors shipwrecked on the coast. After Mexico had ceded California to the United States and the gold rush had carried thousands to the Pacific Coast, American interest in the Far East increased and the United States decided to put an end to the barbarous treatment of sailors. In 1853 Commodore Perry was sent with four American warships to request the Japanese emperor to allow Americans to put into Japanese ports for supplies and repairs. Perry sent models of the telegraph and railway as gifts to the emperor, informing him that he would return the following year for an answer. In 1854 he went back with twice the number of warships and the Japanese signed a treaty which opened up two harbors to American trade. In the next few years Russia, Great Britain, Holland, and France made similar treaties.

At the time Japan was a feudal state; the mikado, as Europeans called the emperor, was merely a nominal ruler living in seclusion at his palace in Kioto. The real power was exercised by the shogun, the chief of some three hundred petty feudal lords who, like the European lords of the Middle Ages, lived on their vast estates, lording it over their humble serfs and engaging in wars with one another. The treaties that Japan had made with foreigners opened up for discussion the momentous problem as to whether the Japanese should adapt themselves to European ways. The Opium War of 1840 gave occasion for a group of Japanese reformers to petition the shogun for changes, declaring that Japan would suffer the same fate as China. After European warships had bombarded Japanese towns in 1863 in revenge for outrages against Europeans, the reform party became increasingly active and found its greatest support not in the shogun, but in the great Emperor Mutsuhito who came to the throne in 1867. Under his benevolent despotism Japan underwent a prodigious change in an incredibly short time. The emperor assumed his position as the real head of the Japanese, forced the shogun to resign, and began a series of far-reaching reforms. Treaties were made voluntarily with the foreigners; foreign ambassadors were admitted and Japanese ambassadors sent to foreign countries.

The emperor promised to establish a parliament and dispatched commissions to study European systems of government. Before this reform could be inaugurated, the whole social fabric had to be transformed. Feudalism was abolished in 1871 and with it went the transfer of local government from the feudal lords to officials appointed by the emperor, the elimination of the professional warrior class, and the end of serfdom. In 1873 a national army modeled after Germany's, equipped with modern implements of war, was organized. Schools were established; students were sent abroad; foreigners were employed by the government; the European calendar was introduced; religious freedom was established; new civil and criminal codes of law were adopted. The Industrial Revolution came to Japan: railways were built; machinery was introduced; textile mills increased in number, and factory goods began to take the place of those made by hand; copper and iron mines were opened; shipbuilding and a merchant marine developed; foreign commerce increased amazingly; a capitalist and a labor class developed. In short, Japan became a modern state.

In 1889 the enlightened Mutsuhito promulgated a constitution which transformed his government into a constitutional monarchy. The government of Japan is not democratic in the Western sense, autocratic traditions being strong and army offcers having such great prestige and power as to overshadow the civil authorities. In 1925 suffrage was extended to all men over twenty-five, increasing the electorate from three to thirteen million.

In the process of change the Japanese showed themselves to be alert, aggressive, intelligent, fired with the same consuming patriotism that characterized the national states of Europe. Like them

Japan became imperialistic and her arguments for expansion were similar to theirs. Japanese pointed out that their island kingdom had much uncultivable land—the arable area is about equal in size to the state of Indiana—and that it housed a population of more than fifty millions. Overcrowded Japan must have an outlet for this surplus; unproductive Japan, like England, needed to import foodstuffs to feed her millions. To pay for her imports she must sell manufactured articles. What more natural than she should turn to near-by China for her markets, foods, and raw materials? The Japanese are wont to defend their imperialistic policy in China by making comparisons with American activity in the Caribbean. It is natural, they claim, for industrial states to have special interests in undeveloped countries that are near them.

OROC

THE OLD AND NEW IN JAPAN

In Tokyo modern office buildings rise above one- and two-story frame houses which are mostly of cheap and flimsy construction.

C. International complications in the Far East. 1. THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR. Japan, then, turned her attention to the vast Chinese Empire which her European teachers were exploiting. In 1874 she extended her Island Empire southward by annexing the Liukiu Islands, long tributary to China, and soon began to interfere in Korean affairs. Korea had been under the suzerainty of China; to China the king of Korea appealed for help. The result was a clash of interests between the two yellow races—the one modernized, the other still clinging to its ancient customs. In the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 the Japanese army and navy crushingly defeated the Chinese. By the treaty of Shimonoseki ending the war, April, 1895, China agreed (1) to pay Japan a war indemnity, (2) to cede to Japan the Island of Formosa and the Liaotung peninsula on which was situated the important naval base of Port Arthur, (3) to surrender all claim to Korea, which meant that it was to be a Japanese sphere of influence.

2. THE GREAT POWERS INTERFERE. Europe was surprised at the success of the Japanese. Russia was alarmed, for she had been casting longing eyes upon Manchuria and Korea, hoping to get the Liaotung peninsula and make Port Arthur a terminus for the Trans-Siberian railroad. German statesmen felt that seizure of territory on the mainland should not be tolerated and, in coöperation with Russia and France, politely advised Japan not to take any mainland territory. Piously expressing deep concern for the integrity of the Chinese Empire, the three powers forced Japan to surrender the gains she had made by the treaty of Shimonoseki. Japan, furious at the Europeans, gave up the Liaotung peninsula, but as compensation had the indemnity increased and obtained the promise from China that she would not cede the territory that Japan returned to her to any other nation.

In the next few years Japan learned some interesting lessons. The murder of some German missionaries in China gave Germany a chance to demand and get from China a ninety-nine-year lease of the valuable port of Kiaochow and the right to build a railroad and develop the natural resources of the Shantung peninsula. Russia obtained the right to build her Trans-Siberian railway within Chinese Manchuria, as well as important concessions in Korea, a lease of Port Arthur, and the right to build a railway in the Liaotung peninsula. England, alarmed but not willing to risk a war, contented herself by taking as "compensation" the harbor of Weihaiwei where she could perform a little sentinel duty by watching both the Russians and the Germans. France, too, not a bit backward, secured in 1898 Kwangchowan, a valuable port farther south. Thus in two years, 1897-1898, Japan in stolid anger observed Russia get Port Arthur; Germany, Kiaochow; England, Weihaiwei; and France, Kwangchowan. All pretended to be interested in preserving "the integrity of China."

3. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Only one European power seemed to realize that something had happened in the Far East to make it a dangerous "happy hunting ground." That power was England, who saw that ambitious Japan would insist on having a voice in Far-Eastern affairs. In 1894 England had surrendered her extraterritorial rights in Japan, and allowed Japan to frame her own tariffs. England thus made a good beginning in winning over the good will of Japan, and in 1902 this friendship ripened into the famous Anglo-Japanese Alliance. By the terms of this alliance, Japan and England agreed (1) that if either of the contracting parties should become engaged in a defensive war the other would maintain strict neutrality, but (2) that if either should find itself at war with two powers, the other should come to its assistance. It meant, apparently, that if Japan fought a war with Russia, and Germany or France or both intervened to help Russia, England would come to the assistance of Japan.

4. The open-door policy. The happenings of 1898 are not difficult to interpret; they mean that China had been practically marked out into spheres of influence. To Russia was to go Manchuria; to Germany, Shantung; to England, Tibet and the valley of the Yangtze; and to France, the region north of Indo-China. In these spheres of influence the nationals of each country proceeded to get valuable concessions, to build railways, dig mines, and establish factories. In the same eventful year, 1898, the United States annexed Hawaii and in 1899 took Guam and the Philippines. American tradition at that time was definitely opposed to going after a sphere of influence, but the State Department was alarmed at the apparent partition of China, and Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 formulated what has become known as the Hay Doctrine or the "open-door" policy. The United States had originated the open-door

policy in 1842, when her representatives had insisted that whatever commercial or other rights were granted to Great Britain following the Opium War should be extended also to the United States. Secretary Hay now reasserted the open-door principle—that there should be "equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China," and added to it the more important assertion that it was necessary to preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of the Chinese Empire.

OROC

Signing the 1901 Treaty After the Boxer Uprising

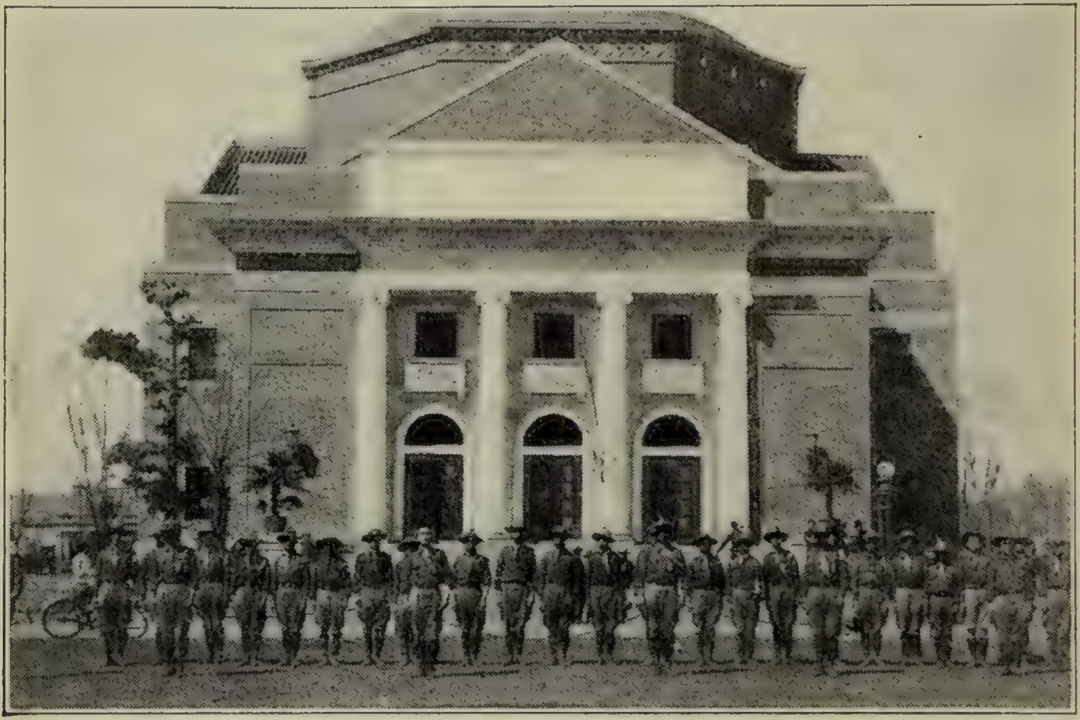
The participation of the United States in making this treaty marks her entrance into international affairs as a world power.

5. The Boxer Rebellion. The Chino-Japanese War of 1894, the marking out of spheres of influence in 1898, and the concession hunting that ensued divided China into two camps. A Young China party developed which advocated the Westernization of China. They pointed to the success of Japan and argued that China must follow in her footsteps. Therefore they favored the coming of the Europeans, the granting of concessions for railways and mines. China could be developed only with the help of Western capital, but the concessions should not impair Chinese sovereignty. The young emperor was won over and he started a series of reforms which would eventually have meant the acceptance in China of Western civilization. But the Young China party was opposed by another

group organized into the secret society of "The Patriotic Order of Harmonious Fists," nicknamed "the Boxers" by newspaper correspondents. The Boxers were reactionary. Their aim was to get rid of the "foreign devils" and all their works, return to the ancient practice of isolation and seclusion, live peacefully and quietly without the noise of railroads and the smoke of factories.

The Boxers found many princes and military leaders and the emperor's aunt, the old Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi, on their side. In December, 1898, the boy emperor was forced to turn the government over to the dowager empress, who repealed his reform decrees and gave encouragement to anti-foreign demonstrations. Railways were torn up, missionaries and traders were murdered. In July, 1900, the German ambassador was killed in the streets of Peking. All foreigners took refuge in the legation quarters. Finally the powers decided on armed intervention and an international army composed of Japanese, Russian, German, American, English, and French troops was rushed to Peking to relieve the legations. The Boxer uprising was suppressed and in the process thousands of innocent peasants were killed and Peking was looted by foreign soldiers. China agreed to put an end to all anti-foreign demonstrations and to allow the powers to maintain legation guards at Peking. European diplomats were anxious to make the affair an excuse for the partitioning of China but, largely because of Hay's insistence, they decided instead to compel her to pay an indemnity of three hundred and twenty million dollars to the governments, corporations, and individuals who had suffered because of the uprising. The principal with interest at 4 per cent was to be paid over a period of forty years. The total payments would amount to more than one and a half billion dollars.

The United States, upon finding the amount apportioned to herself was more than necessary to pay all just claims, returned the balance to China. China, deeply grateful, has used the money to educate Chinese students in American universities. In 1924 the United States completely canceled the payment of the Boxer indemnity; England also announced that she would do likewise. The action of the United States in defending China's integrity and returning the indemnity developed a feeling of confidence and good will toward the United States which lasted until the Treaty of Versailles when President Wilson agreed to turning over Shantung to Japan.

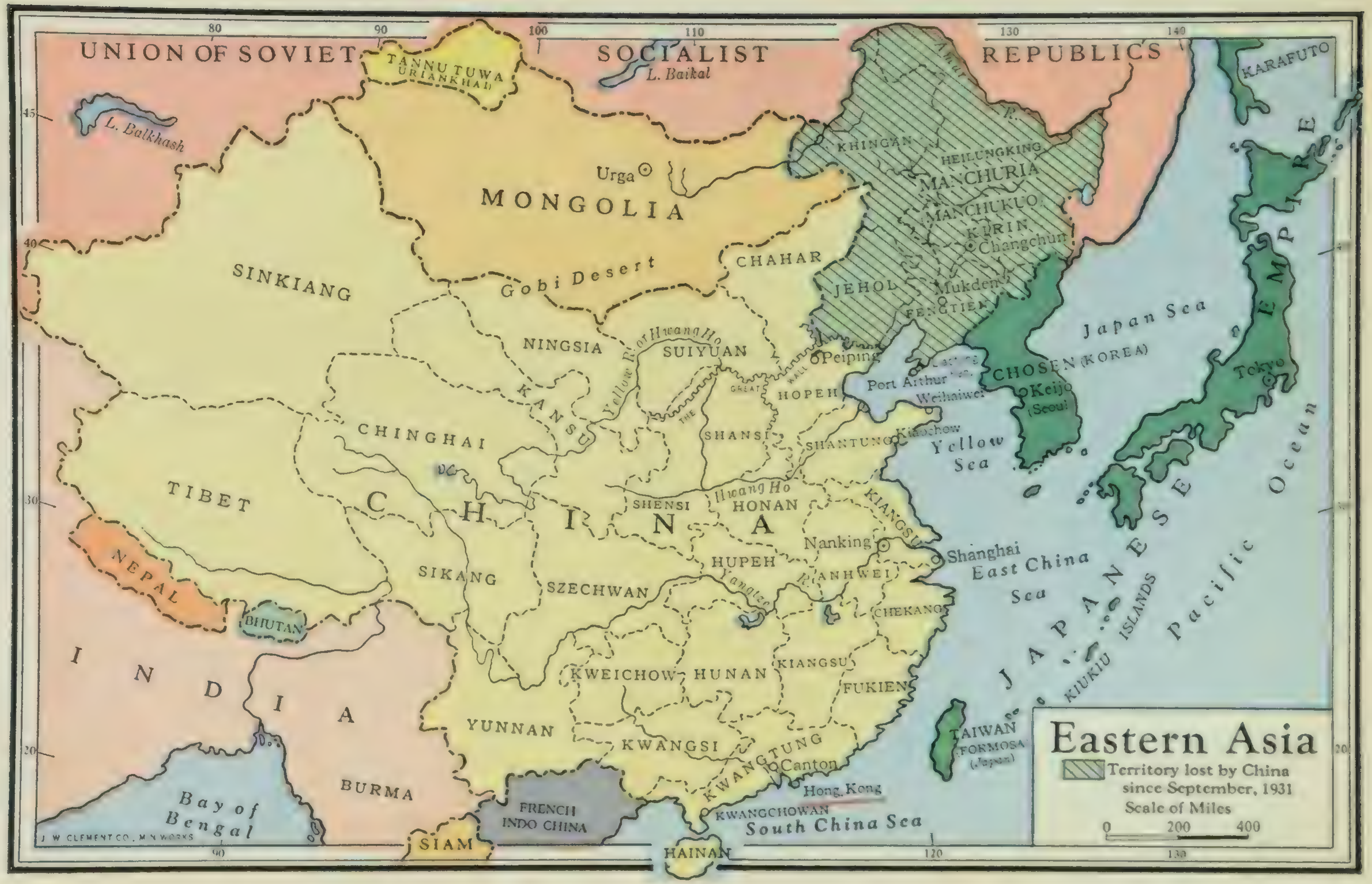


OROC

Boy Scouts at Tsinghua College, Peiping, China

This is the college established with the funds from the Boxer indemnities returned to China by the United States.

6. The Russo-Japanese War. The suppression of the Boxer uprising meant that the foreigners were in China to stay. Russia was particularly active. She gained concessions in Manchuria, including control of all the railroads, and pushed the construction of a railroad through the Liaotung peninsula to Port Arthur. Russia's activities in Manchuria and Liaotung were particularly galling to Japan since this was the very territory of which she had been deprived in 1895, when she was told that the "integrity" of China should be maintained. When Russia began to move in the direction of Korea, Japanese protests became louder and louder. The last straw was the Russian concession for a naval base in Korea, opposite Japan. Japanese statesmen, sensing popular opinion, used strong language. Russia, confident of her giant strength, gave evasive re-


Eastern Asia
▨ Territory lost by China since September, 1931
Scale of Miles
0
200
400
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
TANNU TUWA
URIANKHAI
L. Baikal
L. Balkhash
Urga
MONGOLIA
Gobi Desert
SINKIANG
TIBET
NEPAL
BHUTAN
INDIA
BURMA
Bay of Bengal
SIAM
FRENCH INDO CHINA
HAINAN
KWANGCHOWAN
South China Sea
Hong Kong
Canton
CHINA
CHINGHAI
SIKANG
SZECHWAN
YUNNAN
KWEICHOW
HUNAN
KWANGSI
KWANGTUNG
KIANGSU
FUKIEN
CHEKANG
ANHWEI
HUPEH
Yangtze R.
Nanking
Shanghai
KIANGSU
HONAN
SHENSI
Hwang Ho
SHANSI
SHANTUNG
Kiaochow
HOPEH
Peiping
THE GREAT WALL
SUIYUAN
Yellow R. or Hwang Ho
NINGSIA
KANSU
CHAHAR
JEHOL
FENGTIEN
Mukden
KIRIN
Changchun
MANCHUKUO
MANCHURIA
HEILUNGKING
KHINGAN
Amur R.
Port Arthur
Weihaiwei
Yellow Sea
East China Sea
CHOSEN (KOREA)
Keijo (Seoul)
Japan Sea
Tokyo
JAPANESE EMPIRE
KARAFUTO
Pacific Ocean
RIUKIU ISLANDS
TAIWAN FORMOSA (Japan)
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J. W. CLEMENT CO., M'N WORKS

plies; young Japan, revengeful, proud, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Western nationalism, decided that the time had come. In 1904 Russia and Japan were at war. The outcome was not long in doubt. Japan defeated Russian forces both on land and sea. Both Russia, because of internal disorder and crushing defeat, and Japan, because of heavy expense and because she could hope to gain nothing additional by prolonging the war, welcomed President Theodore Roosevelt's suggestion for a discussion of peace terms at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

By the Treaty of Portsmouth Russia recognized Japanese interests in Korea and turned over to Japan Port Arthur and all her concessions in the Liaotung peninsula and southern Manchuria. Russia also ceded the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. Japan had originally asked for much more but had modified her demands at President Roosevelt's suggestion. Although many Japanese grumbled at this moderation, it left the way open for a better understanding with Russia later.

D. China becomes a republic. In the Russo-Japanese War China occupied a peculiar position. Here was a war fought by two foreign nations in Chinese waters and on Chinese soil for control of Chinese territory and resources. It was a sad commentary on the conditions of China and China was not slow to learn the lesson. The Young China party came into its own. Many supporters of the Boxers conceded that China would have to adapt herself to Western civilization. Even the dowager empress agreed to reform. A commission was sent abroad to study European governments. The opium traffic was prohibited, the educational system was revised.

The Young China party became more than a reform party. It became nationalistic and democratic. It developed a feeling of hostility to foreigners, but for a different reason than the Boxers. Young China, led by the Chinese who had studied abroad, accepted the material benefits of Western civilization, but they hated the surrender of Chinese sovereignty to foreigners. They wanted the Chinese to control the administration of the affairs of their own country. They hated the presence of the foreign police and the foreign armies in certain sections; foreign administration of the postal service, telegraph, and cable lines; the concessions that had been granted in the fifty-six treaty ports; the extraterritorial rights which the foreigners enjoyed. They resented the fact that foreign powers controlled the customs tariff of China and would not allow it to be revised so that China could collect a sufficient revenue to pay the interest on foreign debts. They resented foreign control over certain of the internal taxes of China and were indignant over the outright acquisition of parts of Chinese territory. All these things Young China wanted to do away with, but in developing a real nationalism in China the reformers were handicapped by immense distances, insufficient roads, lack of railroads, telephone and telegraph lines, as well as by the habit of years of local self-government which the Peking government had allowed the provinces. Most disgusting of all to the ardent Chinese nationalists was the conviction that China was being sold out by bribe-taking Chinese officials who used their positions to enrich themselves with foreign money at the cost of their country's independence.

Most of the nationalists felt that the only way to save their country from rapacious officials was by the establishment of the Western type of representative government. Sun Yat-sen, a Christian physician, became the leader of the democratic nationalists and, although he was forced to live in exile, he kept up propaganda for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. In 1911 South China resorted to arms and organized a provisional government with Dr. Sun as president. The Peking government under the lead of Yuan Shih-kai tried to prevent the provinces from joining in the revolution, but to no avail. Yuan finally followed many Chinese statesmen into the camp of the republicans and Sun resigned the presidency in his favor. The boy emperor abdicated February 12, 1912, and shortly afterwards representatives from seventeen provinces confirmed the appointment of Yuan as president. The ancient Chinese Empire was transformed into a republic, eloquent illustration of the potent force of the ideals of democracy and nationalism in the modern era.

The young Chinese Republic was faced by three main obstacles: (1) the ambition of Yuan to make himself emperor; (2) the difficulty of making the authority of the central government felt in the provinces; and (3) the presence of avaricious concession hunters. Yuan put down a revolt which broke out in Canton and was duly elected president in 1913. When parliament assembled and started to draft a constitution which limited the authority of the president, Yuan ousted the members of the southern party, dissolved parliament, and organized a committee to draft a constitution that would make him the virtual dictator of China. Such was the position of Yuan when the European war broke out in the summer of 1914. Not all the provinces recognized his authority; he had strong opposition from the Manchu followers and the radical revolutionaries. His difficulties were increased by Japan's participation in the World War.

E. The World War in the Far East. Four days after England had declared war upon Germany, Japanese war vessels appeared near the Shantung peninsula. England, fearing possible complications, did not call for the coöperation of Japan under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance; but on August 15, 1914, the Japanese government, acting on its own account, sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding the delivery of the entire leased territory of Kiaochow to Japan, "with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China." The Chinese were alarmed at the Japanese demand for Shantung and feebly tried to prevent Japan from taking it. Japan declared war upon Germany on August 23, 1914, and not only took Kiaochow, but proceeded to place her troops on the Shantung peninsula. Japanese, New Zealanders, and Australians seized all the German islands in the Pacific, and before the end of the war Great Britain and Japan agreed upon the division of spoils.

1. JAPANESE AGGRESSION IN CHINA. In December, 1914, the Japanese minister at Peking presented to the Chinese government twenty-one demands divided into five groups. The first four groups requested China to recognize Japan's influence as supreme and grant her economic privileges in Manchuria, Shantung, and Fukien. But the demands of the first four groups were mild compared with those of the fifth group which insisted that China employ Japanese advisers in political, financial, and military affairs, that China purchase 50 per cent of all her munitions of war from Japan, that arsenals jointly controlled by Chinese and Japanese be established, and that

there should be a joint Chino-Japanese organization of police forces. Japan evidently determined to make use of the opportunity afforded by the war to obtain a strangle hold on China. Influenced by politicians in his government who were most sympathetic with, if not in the actual pay of Japan, Yuan Shih-kai yielded on the first four groups, but fearing the protest that they would cause, had consideration of the fifth group postponed.

2. Civil war in China. Despite the storm of dissatisfaction that greeted Yuan's surrender, he was sufficiently powerful to attempt a *coup d'état* to make himself emperor. A revolt of the southern provinces led by Canton caused Yuan to abandon his attempt, but the revolt continued. In the midst of the confusion Yuan died and was succeeded by Li Yuan Hung, who made a temporary peace. While President Li was trying to maintain harmony between the two factions, America entered the World War and sent a note to neutrals, including China, inviting them to enter the conflict. In spite of the objections of the South, China entered the war; but civil war broke out and the South once more seceded from Peking. The division of China into the Peking and Canton governments continued, but both at the Peace Conference and the Washington Limitation of Armaments Conference, North and South China coöperated to defend Chinese interests.

3. Japan gets Shantung. During the World War, Japan strengthened her position by forcing most of the twenty-one demands on China and by getting England, Russia, Italy, and France to agree secretly to give her Shantung and the German islands north of the Equator at the close of the war. These secret arrangements were made of course without the knowledge of China before the entrance of the United States into the war. At the peace conference at the end of the war fought to right the wrongs done to weak nationalities, Japan demanded her payment and got the islands north of the Equator and Shantung. No provision of the treaty received more scathing denunciation. Americans criticized Japan and bitterly attacked President Wilson for agreeing to the provision. Wilson's defense was that it was necessary to get Japan's adherence to the

League by letting her have Shantung, and that Japan promised to restore Shantung to China at some time in the future.

F. The Washington Conference. Japan emerged from the war immeasurably stronger than she was in 1914. Her part in the war was light, consisting of naval maneuvers in the Pacific and the stationing of troops in China. The output of her factories and the value of her trade increased; her merchant marine enjoyed a period of great prosperity; the war left her in a sounder industrial and financial condition. Her position in the Pacific was alarming to both the United States and the powers of Europe. Statesmen were looking for a way to reduce the burden of taxes for armament, but so long as Japan, the United States, England, and France had interests in the Far East upon which no agreement had been reached, it was futile to hope that navies would be reduced. Consequently when the United States proposed a conference of the powers on the limitation of naval armaments it was necessary to link with it the question of Far-Eastern affairs.

At the so-called Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921-1922, several important treaties dealing with the Far East were agreed upon. (1) A four-power treaty between England, France, Japan, and the United States was signed by which the signatories agreed to respect each other's insular possessions in the Pacific and to confer together in case of any trouble. This treaty specifically terminated the Anglo-Japanese alliance and substituted therefor a quadruple concert of the powers especially interested in the Pacific. (2) A nine-power treaty was made between the United States, England, France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Japan, and China, by which these nations agreed to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial, and administrative integrity of China and to provide the fullest opportunity to China to develop a stable government; to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China; to refrain from and restrain their nationals from seeking special rights in China which would infringe upon the rights of friendly states; and to communicate freely with each other whenever the application of the treaty was involved. (3) The same nine powers also concluded a Chinese tariff treaty, promising to hold a conference to discuss restoring control over her tariff to China. (4) In addition to these treaties, the powers adopted a series of resolutions in which they agreed to withdraw foreign control of post offices and to appoint international commissions to consider the question of abolishing extraterritorial rights and other infringements on Chinese sovereignty.

Keystone View Co.

AN IMPORTANT PRODUCE CENTER OF MANCHURIA
Storage bins for soya beans, in the Japanese-Chinese war zone.

These commissions met in China in 1925-1926. There was general agreement that all rights which infringed Chinese sovereignty should be given up, but the chaotic conditions in China offered an excellent excuse for delay. No definite date was set for ending the rights, but the nationalists took matters into their own hands and declared that extraterritorial rights and foreign control of the tariff were at an end. The United States took the lead in recognizing China's right to make her own tariff, other nations followed, and in 1929 China formally took control. By the end of 1930 most of the powers had either definitely given up their extraterritorial rights or promised to do so as soon as China organized a stable government and showed her ability to administer justice.

G. Chino-Japanese Conflict in Manchuria. While the Washington Conference was in progress the Chinese and Japanese delegates entered into a treaty providing for the restoration of Shantung to China and the withdrawal of Japanese troops. China was to reimburse Japan for railways in Shantung and, during the fifteen-year period of payment, Japanese subjects were to hold the position of traffic manager and chief accountant of the railways. Japan fulfilled her agreement December 10, 1922. The Washington Conference marked a temporary change in Japan's policy toward China. The growing resentment in China against her imperialistic tactics brought her to realize that markets were more important to her than increased territory and that a friendly China offered her the best possible market. At any rate, for several years she adopted a definitely conciliatory policy toward China.

China's growing nationalism made this policy more difficult to maintain. Chinese nationalists were particularly hostile to Japan as the greatest of the exploiting powers; Japan saw in Chinese nationalism a threat to her interests. Matters came to a crisis in Manchuria in 1931. Japan had been steadily increasing her investments in Manchuria and the economic activity stimulated by these investments attracted, it is estimated, three million immigrants from other parts of China in 1927 and 1928, as compared with two hundred thousand from Japan. The growing nationalism of the Chinese was not marked by a similar growth in the strength of the provincial government of Manchuria or of the central Chinese government. Conflicts between the two races were frequent and, since China seemed unable to preserve order, Japan sent more troops to protect Japanese capital invested in railroads and other enterprises. In the autumn of 1931 Japan, claiming that Chinese had destroyed a Japanese-owned railroad bridge and killed Japanese guards, began a general invasion of Manchuria.

China referred the matter to the League of Nations, but Japan refused to stop hostilities and tried to block League action. The Council of the League considered the problem at length but it was obvious that the great powers were not willing to try to coerce Japan. The United States as an interested party had a representative present at several of the Council meetings but uncertainty as to her attitude added to the difficulties. While the League debated Japan sent more and more troops until she had occupied practically all of Manchuria. Anti-Japanese feeling ran high all over China and boycotts against Japanese goods which had started before were intensified. Declaring that the encouragement given to the boycott by the Chinese government was a hostile act, Japan bombarded a section of Shanghai and landed a large force of troops. Chinese troops resisted stubbornly and China's renewed protests to the League finally resulted in a special meeting of the Assembly in March, 1932. Condemnation of the Japanese action by the Assembly and protests from individual nations, which saw their large financial and commercial interests in Shanghai threatened, led to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shanghai. While liberal opinion in Japan forced this action, the military group which seemed to control the government was strong enough to prevent any milder policy in Manchuria.

The United States government in a note to China and Japan pointed out that, whatever her provocation, Japan had acted contrary to her pledges in the Kellogg Pact and in the Nine Power Treaty by using force instead of peaceful means of settlement. Consequently, the note declared, the United States would refuse to recognize any change in the status of Manchuria resulting from these illegal acts. The League Assembly adopted a similar resolution declaring that no member of the League should recognize changes brought about by force in Manchuria. (See pages 758-762.)

The League appointed a neutral commission under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton of England and including General McCoy of the United States to investigate the situation. The Lytton Commission after visiting China, Japan, and Manchuria submitted a report which was highly praised, except by Japan, for its fairness. The report declared that all countries, particularly Japan, suffered from the chaotic conditions existing in China and recognized Japan's large interests in Manchuria, but insisted that the so-called independent state of "Manchukuo," which Japan had set up in Manchuria, owed its existence to the activities of Japanese officials. The report opposed as solutions either the recognition of Manchukuo or a return to the *status quo.* It recommended that Japan and China settle their differences by a series of treaties made under League supervision, that Manchuria continue to be under Chinese sovereignty but have a large measure of self-government, that provision be made to safeguard Japanese interests but that the economic open door be maintained in Manchuria. Continued coöperation by the League in the reconstruction of China was also recommended.

League of Nations Association

The Lytton Commission in Manchuria

The League Assembly in special session in February, 1933, adopted unanimously the recommendations of the commission and broadcast to the world over the League radio station its story of the conflict and its recommendations. The Japanese delegation, having bitterly opposed the adoption of the report, dramatically withdrew from the Assembly chamber as the vote was taken. Later Japan served formal notice of her intention to withdraw from the League in two years as provided in the League Covenant. The Assembly appointed a committee to follow the course of events and recommend future procedure but Japan continued to defy the League.

While the Assembly was debating the Lytton report, Japanese troops were fighting their way southwest from Manchuria into Jehol. Having captured Jehol they pushed on beyond the Great Wall, giving as an excuse attacks on Japanese by Chinese troops. The Japanese met little opposition from the disorganized Chinese and having penetrated to within ten miles of Peiping (formerly Peking) forced China to sign a treaty establishing the territory between Peiping and the Great Wall as a neutral zone to be governed by Chinese friendly to Japan. Japan then withdrew her troops beyond the Great Wall but continued to occupy Jehol. (See map, page 594.)

H. Japan's troubled relations with the United States. Japan particularly resented what they considered the interference of the United States in the Manchurian affair because previous disputes had aroused bitter feeling between the two countries. The Japanese are a proud people and, having acquired a position of equality in the councils of the powers, resent any discrimination shown them on account of their race. Living in a crowded and comparatively infertile island they have migrated to the islands of the Pacific and to North and South America. Large numbers of Japanese have settled in the American Pacific Coast states, in the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. They are the largest single racial element in Hawaii. Largely because of the relatively low standard of living of the Japanese and their willingness to work for low wages, the people of the Pacific Coast states developed a racial prejudice against the Japanese which made assimilation difficult. Australia, New Zealand, and Canada adopted restrictive legislation against the Japanese, but it was in the Pacific Coast States of the United States that the greatest bitterness developed.

In 1906 San Francisco school officials attempted to segregate the Japanese. President Theodore Roosevelt intervened and the local officials agreed to drop the matter if the president would take steps to stop Japanese immigration. This he did by a proclamation prohibiting Japanese migration from Mexico and Hawaii and by concluding with the Japanese government the "gentleman's agreement of 1907" by which Japan agreed to prevent her laboring classes from migrating to America. In 1913 the California legislature passed a bill forbidding aliens who could not become citizens from holding agricultural land except on a short term lease. Since naturalization is not allowed the Japanese, the law applied to them. Similar legislation was contemplated by Idaho and Oregon. In 1924 Congress excluded Japan from the quota provisions of the new immigration law and forbade all Japanese immigration, against the wishes of President Coolidge and in spite of the warning of the Japanese ambassador that such action would have grave consequences. The act of Congress in thus abrogating the gentleman's agreement did much to offset the gratitude Japan displayed toward the United States when valuable assistance was given her at the time of the disastrous earthquake of 1923; it aroused bitter feeling against the United States and led to the boycotting of American goods in Japan. Active agitation has died down but Japan still resents what she considers an insult.

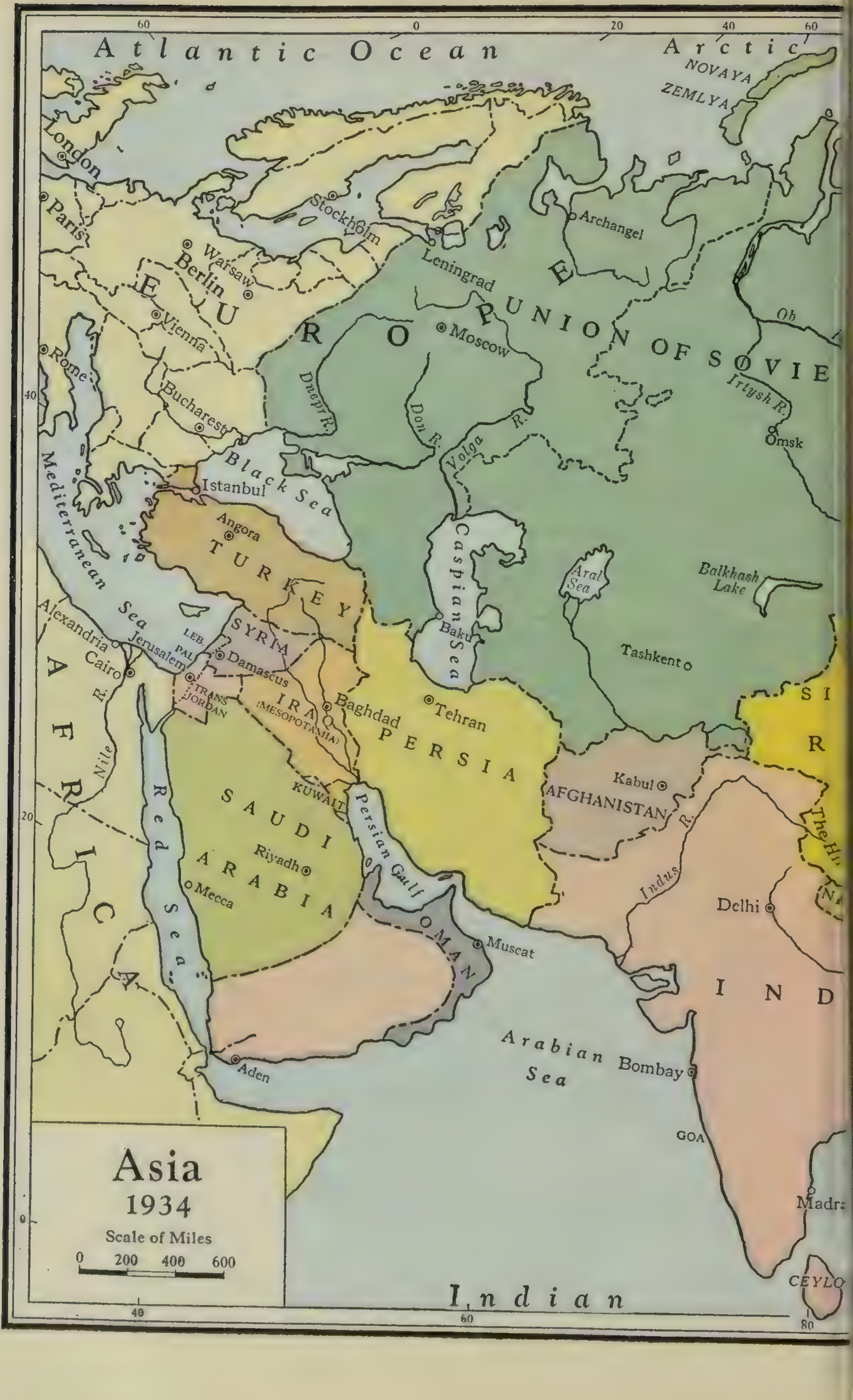
I. China's struggle for national unity and independence. China has been in a condition approaching anarchy ever since the World War. She never had a strongly centralized government. The failure of many elements to accept the republic sincerely, the weakness of Yuan Shih-kai's successors, the scheming of foreign imperialists, all combined to destroy what little power the Peking government possessed. For several years the real power in China has been in the hands of the *tuchuns,* the military governors of the provinces. In their various districts they have enforced what laws were enforced, have taken over government property and railroads, have collected taxes and kept them for their own purposes. From 1923 to 1928 one or the other of them controlled the Peking government. The story of their wars with each other, their alliances and their treacheries, is too complex to be attempted here.

1. The rise of Kuomintang. With one exception the provincial governments were military groups, centering around some strong personality. The one exception was Canton. Here was the birthplace of Chinese nationalism and Chinese democracy. Here, early in the twentieth century, Sun Yat-sen organized Kuomintang, the nationalist party. Kuomintang was the first political party, in the Western sense, in China. It expressed the ideals of Young China—that China should be unified under a representative government, that she should develop her resources under her own control, that she should learn from the West, but not be dominated by the West, that infringements on her sovereignty must cease and that she be recognized as a fully sovereign member of the family of nations. Under Sun Yat-sen, Kuomintang pursued a moderate policy and its doctrines spread all over China but about 1923 a more radical element appeared in its ranks—the communists, stimulated mainly by Russia.

OROC

At Kuomintang Headquarters, Canton

The Kuomintang is housed in the former home of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The characters written on the memorial plaque beneath Dr. Sun's portrait give his last will and testament, which has been made a preamble to the Kuomintang declaration of principles. At the left is the accepted banner of nationalist China, a white sun on a blue field. At the right is this emblem superimposed on a red background, forming the flag of the nationalist navy.



Asia
1934

Scale of Miles
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Atlantic Ocean
Arctic
NOVAYA
ZEMLYA
London
Paris
Stockholm
Archangel
Warsaw
Berlin
Leningrad
EUROPE
UNION OF SOVIE
Vienna
Moscow
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Rome
Dnepr R.
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Volga R.
Irtysh R.
Omsk
Bucharest
Black Sea
Istanbul
Mediterranean Sea
Angora
TURKEY
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Balkhash Lake
SYRIA
LEB.
PAL.
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Damascus
Baku
Tashkent
Cairo
TRANS JORDAN
IRAQ
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Baghdad
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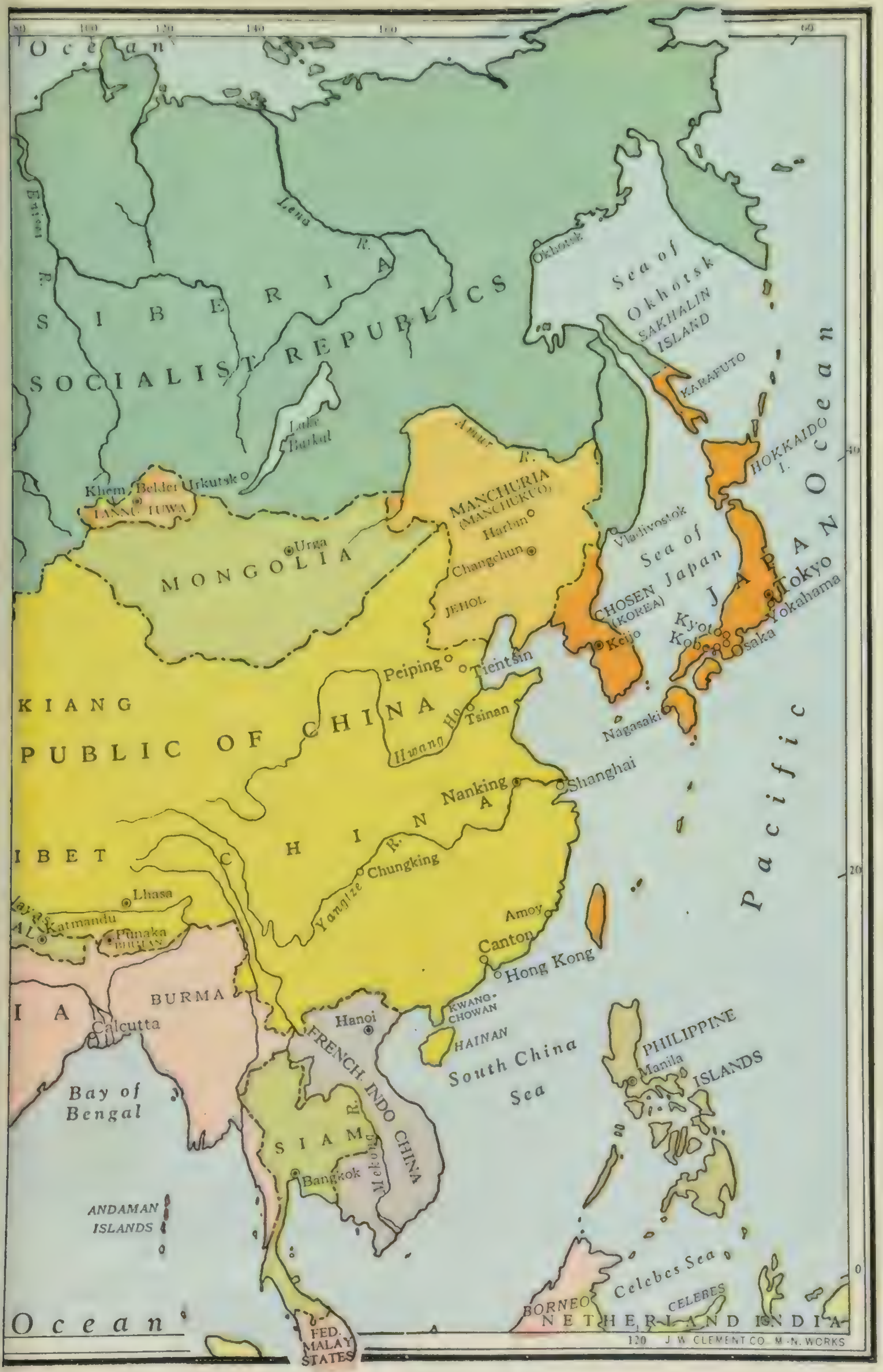
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Okhotsk
Sea of Okhotsk
SAKHALIN ISLAND
KARAFUTO
Amur R.
HOKKAIDO I.
40
Khem
Belder
Irkutsk
TANNU TUWA
MANCHURIA (MANCHUKUO)
Harbin
Changchun
Urga
MONGOLIA
Vladivostok
Sea of Japan
JEHOL
CHOSEN (KOREA)
Keijo
JAPAN
Tokyo
Yokohama
Kyoto
Kobe
Osaka
Ocean
Peiping
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KIANG
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Yangtze R.
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Pacific
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Katmandu
Punaka
BHUTAN
Amoy
Canton
Hong Kong
BURMA
IA
Calcutta
Hanoi
KWANGCHOWAN
HAINAN
FRENCH INDO CHINA
South China Sea
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
Manila
Bay of Bengal
SIAM
Mekong R.
Bangkok
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
Celebes Sea
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BORNEO
CELEBES
NETHERLAND INDIA
Ocean
FED. MALAY STATES
120
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2. Influence of Russian communism. Russia, treated as an outcast by the Western nations, naturally turned toward the East. With China, the Soviet government made a liberal treaty, recognizing her as an equal sovereign power, canceling the Boxer indemnity, giving up the right of extraterritoriality and all the other privileges which imperialist Russia had wrung from her. Whatever her motives, Russia acted as a real friend of China at a time when other powers were engaged in keeping her subjected and despoiling her of her resources. Russia did not stop with official acts of friendship. Russian diplomats and consuls advised Kuomintang officials, Russian generals drilled its armies, many Russians migrated to China and carried on communist propaganda. Chinese cities, with their foreign-owned factories in which men, women, and children worked at starvation wages under conditions that would not be tolerated in the most backward Western country, proved to be fertile fields for this propaganda. Chinese communism was growing rapidly.

3. The nationalists in power. With the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, Kuomintang began to assume a more definitely anti-foreign tone. Strikes accompanied by riots broke out in various centers. The killing of several students and strikers by the police of the International Settlement in Shanghai led to an anti-British boycott and further rioting. Foreign gunboats were rushed to the vicinity of Shanghai. In the fall of 1926 the Kuomintang armies, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, started northward. So widespread was the acceptance of Kuomintang ideas that the progress of the armies was more like a triumphal march than a war. Armies of opponents melted away; cities fell without a battle. Early in 1927 Chiang was in control of the whole Yangtze Valley. Then a conflict broke out among the nationalists between the communists and the moderates under Chiang. After struggling nearly a year the moderates gained control and brutal massacres of communists followed. In the spring of 1928 the military advance was resumed, culminating in the capture of Peking. The nationalists were now in nominal control of all China. A new constitution was adopted; Chiang was elected president; the capital was moved from Peking (renamed

Peiping) to Nanking. The nationalist government was recognized by the powers. It seemed for a time that China was to have a real national government on a constitutional basis.

Ambitious military governors soon revolted, however, and civil war broke out anew. At times it seemed that the nationalist government was bound to be overthrown by a coalition of hostile war lords, but new alliances enabled it to retain nominal control. Its power at the close of 1933 was most precarious. Communism, steadily growing in strength, was an ever-present threat against it. Japan held Manchuria and Jehol and practically controlled the demilitarized zone north of Peiping. Russia had more influence than the Nanking government over self-governing Outer Mongolia. An agreement forced by Canton made South China practically independent.

4. WHAT OF THE FUTURE OF CHINA? Although nominally united under one government, for centuries China has never really been unified. She is now going through the process of unification which France and England went through centuries ago, and which Germany and Italy accomplished only in the last century. China's political weakness, the corruption of her officials, the lack of adequate transportation, make her task difficult. Her difficulties are increased by the attitude of foreign powers, who, in the past at least, for the sake of the investments of their citizens have preferred to see China weak and disorganized. Japan has shocked the world by her aggression in Manchuria, but Japan was doing merely what she had seen other nations do in the past. She dared to do it because she believed that the economic interests of other powers in China would prevent them from taking any effective steps to stop her. Evidently she was right. Most of the foreigners who have business interests in China, while deploring the weakness of the Chinese government and the consequent disorder, tacitly or openly condoned Japan's action. It remains to be seen whether public opinion in the countries which have interests in China will be strong enough to make the governments of those countries renounce their special privileges in China as a first step toward forcing Japan to do the same. One thing seems certain: either China will emerge from the present period

of disorder a unified sovereign nation, or she will sink into complete subjugation and be, practically if not nominally, divided among the powers.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Imagine yourself a Chinaman of the early nineteenth century. How would you feel about your country's attitude toward other nations?

2. Imagine yourself an Englishman of the same period. How would you feel about the Opium War?

3. Discuss the sincerity of the great powers in forcing Japan to give up her spoils following the Chino-Japanese War.

4. What is the significance of the fact that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was made in 1902 and that the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904?

5. Compare the attitude of the Boxers and of Kuomintang toward foreigners.

6. What would be the effect on the world of China's becoming intensely nationalistic and adopting modern methods of warfare?

7. "Japan's policy toward China has been short-sighted. Her real interest lies in making China her friend rather than her enemy." Discuss the truth or falsity of this statement.

8. "Japan's relations with Manchuria has been a typical case of imperialism." Explain.

9. Some Japanese have tried to justify her course in Manchuria in 1931-1932 on the grounds that she is merely doing what other countries have done in undeveloped and disorderly areas. Is this true? Is it a justification for Japan's action? Does the fact that Japan is a member of the League of Nations and a signatory of the Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty affect the situation?

10. Imagine yourself the Japanese ambassador to the United States. Write a protest to the president against the immigration law of 1924.

11. Imagine yourself a United States senator. Write a speech for or against intervention in China by the United States.

12. In 1933 many people believed that a war between Japan and Russia was imminent. What grounds were there for this belief? How did the recognition of Russia by the United States in November, 1933, affect this situation?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Africa

- SCHAPIRO, pp. 640-656
- MOON, pp. 98-237
- SCOTT and BALTZLY, pp. 461-469
- BENNS, pp. 285-289
- HAYES, Vol. II, pp. 614-640
- HAZEN, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 509-520
- GOOCH, *History of Modern Europe,* pp. 73-115, 264-298, 458-490
- BOWMAN, *The New World,* pp. 532-559
- SLOSSON, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 133-167
- HOSKINS, *European Imperialism in Africa*

The Far East

- MAGRUDER, pp. 413-465
- SCHAPIRO, pp. 617-640, 821-824
- MOON, pp. 320-370
- SCOTT and BALTZLY, pp. 435-461
- HAYES, Vol. II, pp. 560-590
- BENNS, pp. 300-305
- LANGSAM, *The World Since 1914,* pp. 593-620
- BOWMAN, *The New World,* pp. 490-518
- HAZEN, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 591-609
- SLOSSON, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 169-202, 674-676
- *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. III, pp. 430-435; Vol. X, pp. 80-84
- Consult also the *Readers' Guide*

CHAPTER XXVI

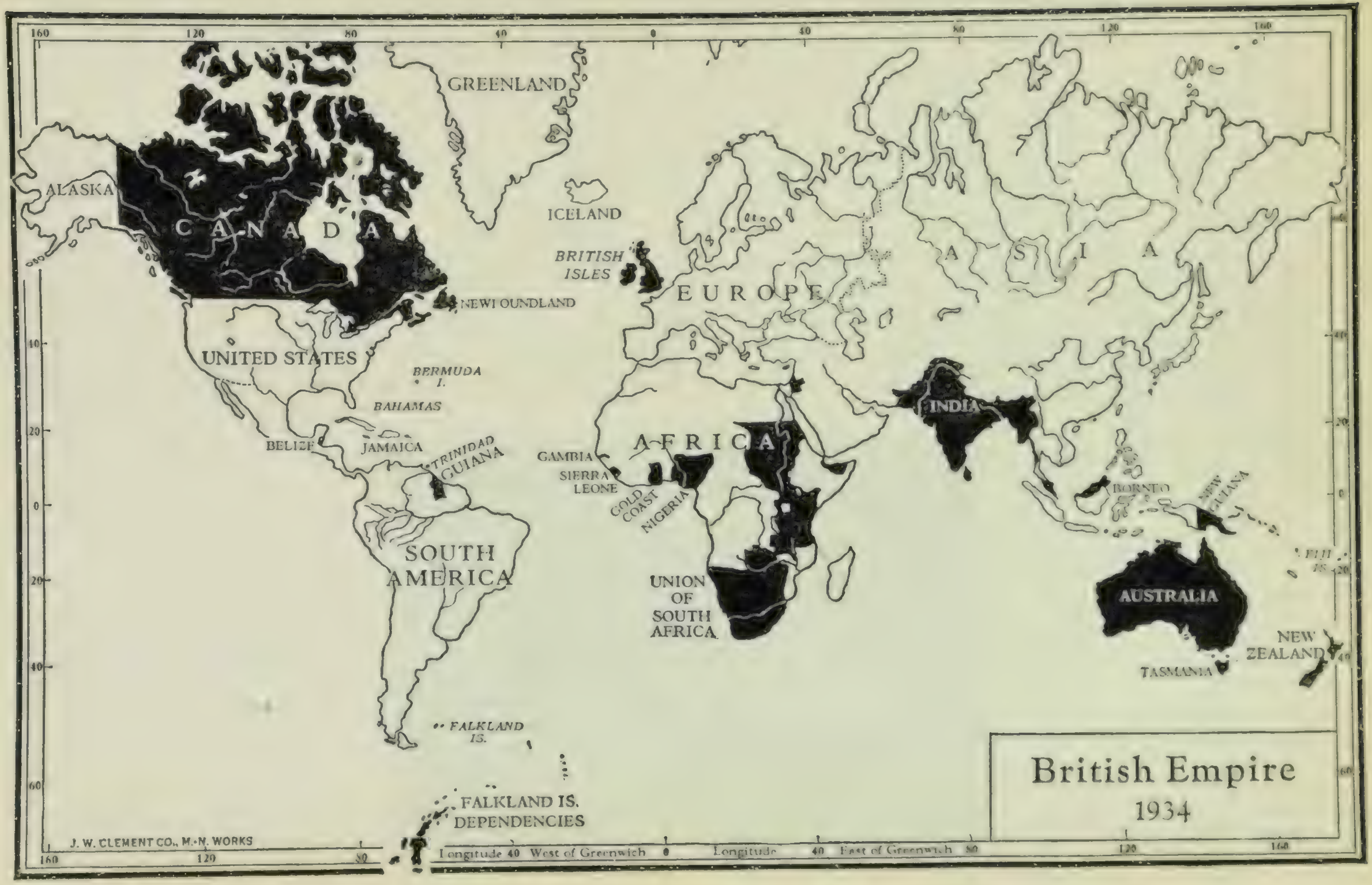
THE BRITISH EMPIRE

I. The Extent of the British Empire

Kipling, the poet of the empire, sings:

> Walk wide o' the Widow at Windsor
> For 'alf of creation she owns;
> We 'ave bought 'er the same with the sword and the flame
> And we've salted it down with our bones.
> (Poor beggars! it's blue with our bones.)

The British Empire has not stopped growing since Kipling referred to Queen Victoria as the "Widow at Windsor." The Union Jack flies over the largest empire in history. It differs from the greatest empire of antiquity—Rome—in that its territories are scattered through the seven seas. It stretches to all the corners of the earth and embraces peoples of the most diverse habits, races, and religions. This vast empire has been in process of building for more than three centuries, but the period of greatest growth falls within the era of modern imperialism. In 1815 the British Empire consisted of approximately two million square miles and two hundred million people. By 1914 it had grown to nearly thirteen million square miles with a population of four hundred and forty-five millions. As a result of the World War another million square miles and about ten million more people were put under British control by the mandate system; so that today the British Empire comprises almost fourteen million square miles and over four hundred and fifty million people. Roughly this is about one-fifth of the land surface of the globe and about one-fourth of the world's population, an area more than one hundred times as large as the British Isles and a population nearly ten times as great. Because the British


British Empire
1934
ALASKA
CANADA
GREENLAND
ICELAND
BRITISH ISLES
NEWFOUNDLAND
UNITED STATES
BERMUDA I.
BAHAMAS
BELIZE
JAMAICA
TRINIDAD
GUIANA
SOUTH AMERICA
FALKLAND IS.
FALKLAND IS. DEPENDENCIES
EUROPE
AFRICA
GAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
GOLD COAST
NIGERIA
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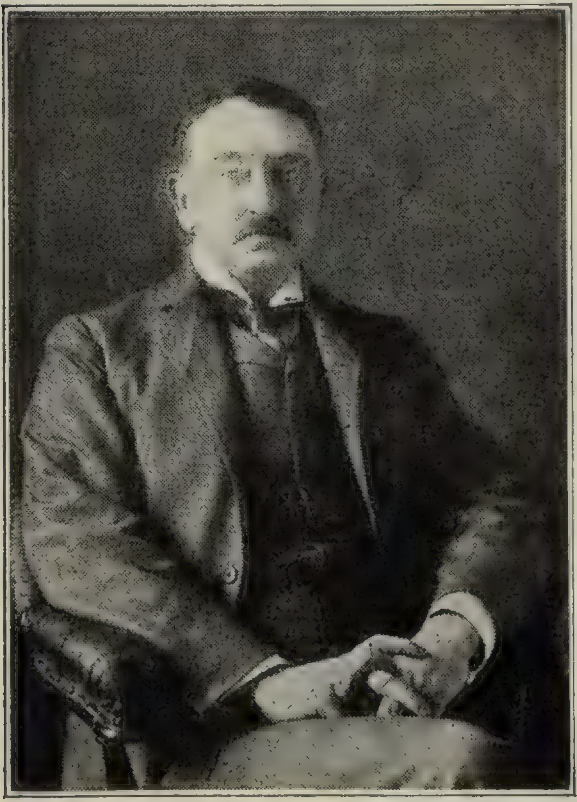
Empire is so extensive and because it furnishes typical illustrations of the various problems of modern imperialism we shall give much more attention to it than we do to the empires of other nations.

II. The Dominions

A. The Union of South Africa. The story of England's acquisition of her empire is too long to be told here. It is a mixture of bravery and chicanery, of hardships endured and great fortunes won. The acquisition of South Africa is typical of imperialistic methods. As a result of the Napoleonic wars Cape Colony was transferred to England by the Dutch. Friction soon developed between the English and the Dutch settlers (Boers); the latter, unable to have their wishes satisfied, decided to trek (migrate) to Natal and Orange River. But the English followed and annexed Natal and Orange River Colony. The Boers trekked again, this time across the Vaal River, and organized the Transvaal Colony. The English again followed and attempted to annex the Transvaal, but the Boers rose in revolt and defeated the English at Majuba Hill in 1881. The peaceful and anti-imperialist Gladstone decided to settle the difficulty by recognizing the Transvaal as independent.



Culver Service

Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902)

1. Cecil Rhodes: empire builder. The year following this settlement (1885), gold was discovered and the English poured into the Transvaal. The Boers, mindful of the past, resented this migration of the Uitlanders (foreigners) and seriously discriminated against

them. The great champion of the Boers in the struggle that developed was Paul Kruger; the Uitlanders found their chief support in Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes, son of a clergyman and graduate of Oxford, had gone to South Africa in search of health and had become rich by investments in gold and diamond mines. He became an ardent imperialist and planned and projected a great scheme of British expansion and control in Africa. He organized the South African Company which invested heavily in the region north of the Transvaal, now known as Rhodesia. Apparently determined to make his country supreme in South Africa and also fearing the presence of Germany in Southeast Africa, Rhodes resorted to drastic methods. In December, 1895, Dr. Jameson, a friend of Rhodes, entered the Transvaal with British filibusterers. The Jameson raiders were captured by the Boers and turned over to the British for punishment. Rhodes later told a parliamentary investigating committee that previous to the raid he had entered into an agreement with the Uitlanders interested in the Transvaal gold fields to engineer a revolution, and that his avowed purpose was to secure the Transvaal. The British government condemned the raid, but meted out light punishment to Jameson; Rhodes resigned as prime minister of Cape Colony.

2. THE BOER WAR. A British commission sent to investigate causes of ill will between Boer and Uitlander found that the Boer treatment of the English was decidedly unfair. Since the Uitlanders owned more than half the land and paid the lion's share of the taxes, Great Britain demanded that the Boers extend the franchise to them. But Kruger was uncompromising and, receiving support from the Boers in the Orange Free State, started war in 1899. The war dragged on for three long years; the Boers resorted to guerrilla warfare and were conquered only after England had sent her ablest generals, Roberts and Kitchener, and an army which outnumbered the Boer troops almost ten to one.

England showed great tact in handling the defeated Boers. The Liberal party which had criticized the war, came into power and granted self-government to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The Boers were treated liberally; their language and customs were not interfered with and everything was done to make them feel on an equality with the English settlers. In 1909 the four colonies of South Africa—Cape Colony, Transvaal, Natal, and the Orange Free State—formed the Union of South Africa. The governor-general appointed by the king has only nominal powers; the real head of the government is the prime minister who with his cabinet is responsible to the legislature. The legislature is elected by citizens of European descent. The first prime minister was Louis Botha, a few years before an able Boer general. The Boers in an incredibly short time have shown a disposition to let bygones be bygones and have, to a large extent, become loyal sons of the empire. There is, however, a nationalist party which advocates complete severance of the ties that bind them to England.

Canadian Pacific Railway

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA, CANADA

Partly destroyed in 1917, the buildings were restored and a new Peace Tower added to commemorate the World War.

B. Canada. The type of government granted to South Africa, called the dominion type, was first applied to Canada. Canada remained loyal to England during the American Revolution, but for years after there was continual friction between the royal governors and the legislatures of the different provinces. In 1837 a rebellion broke out which was easily suppressed but which led to the appointment of a commission, headed by Lord Durham, to investigate the causes of discontent. Durham recommended that the colonies should be given representative assemblies with complete control over their own affairs and suggested a union of Upper and Lower Canada, hoping that ultimately all parts of British North America might be grouped together in a common federation.

In 1840 Upper and Lower Canada were united. In 1847, Lord Elgin put into effect the principle of responsible government—that is, as governor-general he chose his cabinet from the majority party in the assembly. By the British North American Act of 1867, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were added to Ontario and Quebec and the confederation was known as the Dominion of Canada. The crown is represented in Canada by a governor-general who exercises, however, no more power in Canada than the king does in England. The legislature consists of two branches—a Senate, whose members are appointed for life, and a House of Commons, popularly elected. The executive is the cabinet, headed by a prime minister, responsible to the House of Commons. Each of the provinces has its own legislature which deals with local problems. Newfoundland, which controls the coast of Labrador, has a separate dominion government, having so far refused to join the other provinces.

C. Australia and New Zealand. The other dominions, Australia and New Zealand, like Canada, are federations of provinces. (Since its establishment in 1922 the Irish Free State has had the dominion type of government. (See pages 634-635.) Both have governments similar to Canada's in essentials though differing in details. Both have been laboratories for political, social, and economic experiments. The Australian form of secret ballot has been copied throughout the world; she was one of the first states to grant suffrage to women. Her twenty-four thousand miles of railroad are state-owned, as are the telephone and telegraph systems. She has a system of old age pensions, an arbitration board to settle industrial disputes, and trade boards to regulate wages and hours of labor. New Zealand has state-owned railways, telephones, and telegraphs, and the government carries on a life insurance business, operates coal mines and meat-packing establishments, and maintains several funds for lending money to workers at easy rates. She has an elaborate system of social insurance and a system of land taxation designed to keep holdings small and prevent speculation in land values.

Publishers' Photo Service

Parliament Buildings, Canberra, New South Wales

Both New Zealand and Australia are faced with a problem of grave concern to the empire and to the world as well. Both in need of an increased labor supply do all they can to encourage immigration; but they are also committed to the policy of excluding Asiatics—Indians, Chinese, and Japanese. There is thus raised the international problem of racial equality, particularly acute in the Pacific where the Japanese have achieved a dominant position.

D. The British Commonwealth of Nations. The dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland, and the Irish Free State—are practically independent nations and are internationally recognized as such by separate membership in the League of Nations. They are loosely federated together and with the mother country in what is styled the British Commonwealth of Nations. Like England itself this "Federal Empire" has no written constitution. It is the growth of custom, tradition, and mutual understanding, cemented by racial unity, a sense of common dangers, and the hope of common benefits.

The great agency for promoting imperial unity has been the imperial conferences, held more or less regularly since 1887. The principal questions discussed at the earlier conferences were preferential tariffs and imperial defense. Some of the dominions granted lower tariff rates on goods imported from England but England herself refused to sacrifice her free trade policy for any general plan of preferential rates. The dominions coöperate in imperial defense by organizing their own armies, and aiding the British navy, some by building ships of their own some by contributing funds to the British naval budget. In the World War they proved their loyalty to the empire by raising and supporting their own armies for service in Europe. In return for their coöperation they were given separate representation at the peace conference and separate membership in the League of Nations, and have gained a powerful voice in the foreign policies of the empire. It was agreed in 1923 that the dominions would be allowed to negotiate and make their own treaties with foreign states and that, in the case of treaties affecting the empire, all were to be represented. In 1920 Canada was given the right to send ambassadors of her own to foreign countries, a right granted later to all the dominions. In 1925 a new secretaryship of state for Dominion Affairs was created, which took over those affairs of the dominions formerly handled by the secretary for the colonies, a step toward greater independence for the dominions.

In many respects the most important Imperial Conference was that of 1926, wherein a report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee was adopted. The following quotations from that report will best express its findings:

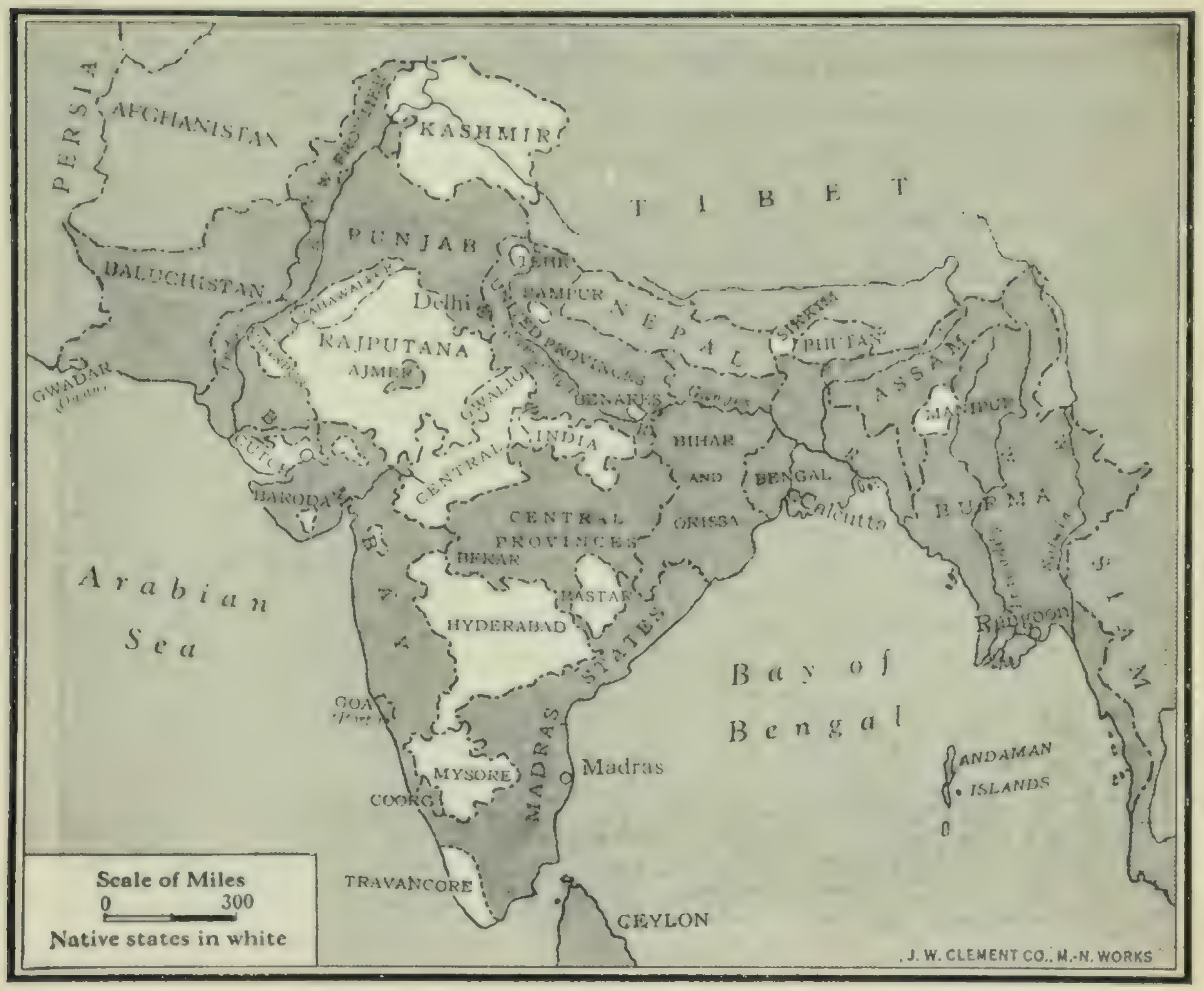
"The Committee are of the opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a constitution for the British Empire. It defies classification and bears no resemblance to any other political organization which now exists or has ever yet been tried. . . . The dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Every self-governing member of the empire is now master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever. Neither Great Britain nor the dominions can be committed to the acceptance of active obligations except with the definite assent of their own governments."

Just before the Imperial Conference of 1930, J. H. Thomas, secretary of state for the dominions, made the formal announcement that any self-governing dominion in the empire had the right to secede if it so desired. In 1931 Parliament enacted the Statute of Westminster which formally established in law the principles announced in the report adopted by the Conference of 1926. (For the Imperial Conference of 1932 see page 250.)

III. India

In a status by itself, in the process of being transformed into a dominion, is India. The East India Company which conquered India for England in the eighteenth century continued to govern it until 1858 when, following the Sepoy mutiny, Parliament took away its powers. Henceforth India was governed through a secretary of state for India with a seat in the cabinet, and a viceroy, resident in India, appointed by the crown. Besides British India, the part governed directly, England has in the Indian peninsula some six hundred protectorates, the so-called native states, which make up about two-fifths of the total area. These native states are nominally governed by native princes but are really controlled by British advisers, appointed by the British government.

In population, area, and resources India is in itself a vast empire. Normally her foreign trade amounts to more than two and a half billion dollars. The United Kingdom takes about one-fifth of India's exports and furnishes two-thirds of her imports. About three-fourths of the tonnage engaged in the Indian carrying trade is British. But it is not alone in trade that India is valuable to the English. Railroads, mines, factories, tea plantations, and oil fields of India represent splendid opportunities for the investment of English capital. Finally, the Indian Civil Service furnishes profitable employment to numerous representatives of the middle and upper classes of English society. Thus many Englishmen have a stake in India.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KASHMIR
TIBET
PUNJAB
BALUCHISTAN
Delhi
RAMPUR
NEPAL
BHUTAN
RAJPUTANA
AJMER
ASSAM
MANIPUR
GWADAR
UNITED PROVINCES
BENARES
CENTRAL INDIA
BIHAR AND ORISSA
BENGAL
Calcutta
BURMA
CUTCH
BARODA
CENTRAL PROVINCES
BERAR
BASTAR
HYDERABAD
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Rangoon
GOA
MYSORE
COORG
MADRAS
Madras
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
Scale of Miles
0
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Native states in white
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INDIA, 1934
Showing British India and the Native States

A. Why is the problem of governing India so difficult? Tremendous difficulties have faced the British in the working out of a system of imperial control. In the first place, India lacks racial, political, and religious unity. There are some forty-five different races speaking one hundred and seventy languages and divided into twenty-four hundred tribes. The Hindus, about two-thirds of the total population, accept Brahmanism, which, like Judaism, is a racial religion. The Hindus are divided among themselves by a rigid caste system, based on occupations, which prevents coöperation of different groups. The castes are graded from the Brahmins or priestly class down to the pariahs or "untouchables." Buddhism still numbers about eleven million adherents, resident chiefly in Burma. There are other sects with smaller followings. About seventy million of India's inhabitants, scattered throughout the peninsula but residing chiefly in the northern provinces, are followers of Mohammed. Small groups practice oriental religions and nature worship, while about four million are Christians.

Publishers' Photo Service

Bathing Ghats, Benares, India

The banks of the Ganges are thronged with Hindu pilgrims who come daily to be purified in the sacred river.

Furthermore, the Indians are poor. Periodic famines have killed millions. It was said at the opening of the nineteenth century that seventy million Indians were continually hungry. Lack of proper sanitation has produced terrible plagues which, like the famines, have destroyed millions. Social disturbances, border raids, and the absence of adequate highways make difficult the moving of supplies to famine and plague-stricken areas. The main justification of the English occupation is to be found in the fact that the English have constructed over forty-one thousand miles of railway, that they have improved sanitation, that they have spent large sums on education, that they have started the Indians on the way to self-government, that they have developed huge irrigation projects, bringing under cultivation one hundred and twelve thousand square miles of irrigated land, thereby reducing the evils of famine and starvation. Other accomplishments include the establishment of civil and criminal codes, the abolition of human sacrifice, and of the practice of *suttee* (the suicide of a woman on her husband's funeral pyre).

B. The Nationalist movement in India. Indians, however, are not satisfied with English rule. While admitting that the English have introduced many beneficial reforms, they claim that the purpose and effect of these reforms has been to enrich Englishmen, often at the expense of Indians. Railroads, highways, and harbors are necessary to transport goods; irrigated fields increase India's productivity; sanitation conserves a cheap labor supply; and schools are centers of propaganda to make the Indians satisfied with English rule and to train a few Indians for lesser administrative posts.

In spite of India's vast size and differences in language and religion, nationalism has developed and Indians for years have demanded home rule. Recently some of them have demanded complete independence. A crisis was reached during the World War when Moslem joined with Hindu in agitation for political reform. At a time when Ireland and Egypt were also struggling for self-government the British government was forced to proclaim that the purpose of the British policy was to grant to India the "greatest development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India." In keeping with this promise, Parliament passed a Government of India act in 1919, providing for a central government with executive powers entrusted to the viceroy and an all Indian Legislature of two assemblies, one to be a large and popular body elected by a restricted suffrage, and the other a small council of state composed of appointed and elected members. Eight of the provinces were given self-government in local affairs.

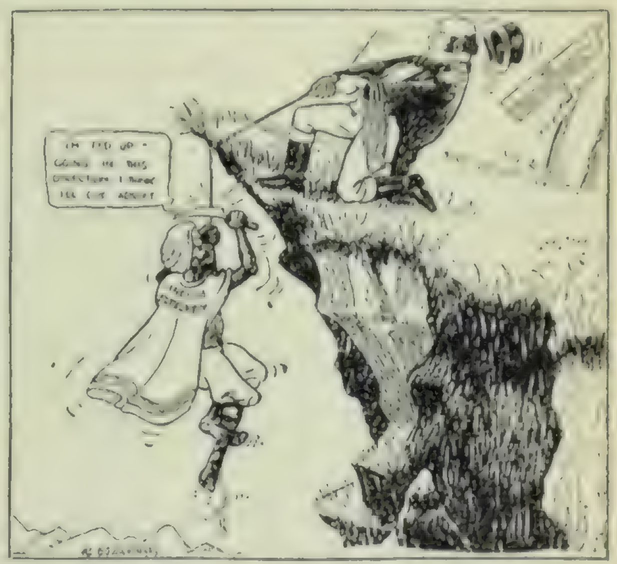
The Act of 1919 did not, however, bring peace to India. The agitation of native leaders against British rule led to a series of repressive laws which gave the military and civil governors summary powers. Many Indians argued that the British government was merely toying with India's demand for justice and self-government. The Moslem faction was led by the Ali brothers. The great leader of the Hindus was Mahatma Gandhi, who for a while was able to unite both Moslems and Hindus in a great movement of "peaceful resistance" to the British.

1. Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi, a Hindu, born in 1869, educated in India and England, became a successful lawyer in South Africa. Returning to India during the World War he began preaching his policy of non-coöperation. Briefly this policy consists of the following: (a) rejection of all government titles and offices; (b) refusal to serve in the army; (c) refusal to pay taxes; (d) withdrawal of Indian children from English-controlled schools and colleges; (e) boycott of English goods and the reëstablishment of the native hand industries which were being threatened with extinction by the competition of cheap machine-made goods.

Gandhi, fundamentally religious, roused the soul of India; he is revered by many as a saint and a prophet. He opposes all forms of violence both on religious grounds and because he believes that India is too weak to expel the English by violence. He wishes to free India from England, not because he hates the English, but as a means of ridding India of the evils of Western civilization. He soon gained a large following in India but he always had trouble in restraining his followers from violence. For urging his policy of passive resistance to the government he was arrested in 1922, pleaded guilty of sedition, and was sentenced to prison for six years but was freed by the Labor government in 1924.

2. The Simon Commission. Gandhi's imprisonment lessened his personal influence. The Nationalist party was torn with dissension, religious and racial, and there was a temporary lull in nationalist agitation. As provided in the act of 1918 a commission was appointed by the British government in 1928 to make a survey of conditions in India and consider further extension of self-government. The fact that the commission contained no Indian representatives

revived nationalist agitation and again brought Gandhi to the fore. In 1930 the Indian Nationalist Congress declared for absolute independence and sanctioned civil disobedience (that is, Gandhi's policy of non-coöperation). Under the leadership of Gandhi the British monopoly of the manufacture and sale of salt was singled out for attack. A group of his followers undertook the manufacture of salt from sea water. Rioting followed and Gandhi and many others were imprisoned. At the close of 1930 it was estimated that there were about twenty-seven thousand in prison for political offenses. The Simon report (so-called from Sir John Simon, the chairman of the commission) which appeared in 1930 made no suggestion that India be given dominion status and failed to satisfy even the moderates in India.



Western Mail and South Wales News

"A FOOLISH ACTION"

This cartoon of 1930 gives an Australian view of India's demand for immediate independence.

3. THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE OF 1930. Since there was such widespread disapproval of the report by all classes of Indian opinion, the British government turned the whole problem over to a round-table conference which opened in London in November, 1930. All British parties and all shades of Indian opinion were represented at the conference except Gandhi's group of Nationalists who were in open revolt against England. Although Gandhi was not represented, in reality he dominated the conference, because all realized the futility of any proposed settlement which he would not accept. All Indian factions united to demand self-government. The details of a constitution were left for later negotiations, but it was agreed that Burma should have a separate government and that the rest of British India and the native states should be united under a federal government. The important principle was agreed upon that the executives in both state and federal govern-

ments should be responsible to the legislatures. The governor-general was to retain certain "safeguard" powers over defense, foreign affairs, threats to internal peace, and credit.

4. The Gandhi-Irwin Truce. The success of the conference depended upon the ability of the Indian delegates to persuade the Nationalists to accept its decisions. At first the Nationalists denounced the agreement, but Gandhi was released from prison and persuaded to go into a conference with Lord Irwin, the viceroy. As a result of this conference a truce was signed by which Gandhi agreed that civil disobedience be stopped and the government agreed to withdraw the repressive measures and release all political prisoners. A new round-table conference was to be held in which the Nationalists would be represented. Although the truce was bitterly attacked by extremists in the Nationalist Congress, Gandhi showed his real power by persuading the Congress to accept the truce and allow him to name the Nationalist representatives to the round-table conference.

5. The Round-table Conference of 1931. Gandhi attended the second round-table conference which met in London in 1931 and was its dominating personality. He was unable, however, to bring about an agreement among the Indians themselves on the question of the representation of minority groups such as the Moslems, Sikhs, and Christians. The minorities favored communal representation; that is, that the seats in the legislature be apportioned among the different groups and each group vote in separate election districts. Gandhi and most of the Hindus favored having all groups vote together but with a certain number of seats guaranteed to the minorities. The conference adjourned without any agreement on this question but appointed committees to formulate plans.

While the conference was in session in London, acts of violence against the government broke out in India. To put down this violence the government adopted severe restrictive measures. Gandhi protested against these measures and when his protests went unheeded he proclaimed the resumption of civil disobedience, and was again imprisoned. The committee which the round-table conference had appointed on suffrage and representation drafted a plan for communal representation including separate representation for the untouchables, the lowest of the Hindu castes. Gandhi, who had been trying to break down the caste system, objected that this would perpetuate it and began a fast in prison, declaring that he would refuse to eat until this provision was changed. After he had fasted seven days the Hindus agreed to abolish separate constituencies for untouchables and the government agreed that all Hindus be represented together, with a fixed number of seats guaranteed to the untouchables. Gandhi accepted this compromise.

Keystone View Co.

THE 1931 ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE, LONDON

Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald is standing at the right. Ghandi is seated in the right foreground.

During 1933 work on the new constitution was continued by committees and by a small round-table conference in London. In India conditions became more chaotic; riots between Moslem and Hindu groups were frequent; the extreme Nationalists became more violent in their attacks on the proposed constitution, declaring that the safeguarding powers reserved for the governor-general were so vague as to leave India still completely under British control. Gandhi's influence seemed to be lessening.

A section of the Simon report well sums up the difficulties of the Indian question: "India is not a single problem; it is a confused complication of questions which cannot be disposed of in a pose of confident omniscience or a vague sympathy. It is a collection of problems which calls for hard study and clear thinking, for upon their wise and sympathetic treatment depend issues of vast importance for the whole world."

IV. CROWN COLONIES, PROTECTORATES, AND MANDATES

In addition to the dominions, England possesses a vast empire of small islands, capes, and harbors scattered throughout the oceans, chiefly valuable as naval and coaling stations and points of vantage in the trade of the empire, and also large tracts of land (in Africa chiefly) inhabited by peoples in backward stages of civilization. These possessions are called "crown colonies," for the legal theory is that they are attached directly to the British crown. Some of them have popularly elected legislatures, others have not. In all of them the royal governor, appointed by the home government as the crown's representative, has final authority.

There are some important contrasts between the crown colonies and self-governing colonies. In the first place it should be noted that the self-government applies to only a very small portion of the empire, not more than one-sixth of the population of the empire enjoy it; in the second place the self-governing colonies are situated in temperate zones and are inhabited largely by peoples of European stock—that is, they are "white colonies," suitable for European settlement and with the exception of South Africa have no considerable proportion of native peoples.

In a class with the crown colonies, so far as government is concerned, are the protectorates which are nominally ruled by native rulers but really controlled by England. Among the protectorates are Nigeria in Africa, the Malay States, Tibet, Afghanistan, Hedjaz, and Yemen in Asia as well as the so-called native states in India.

The mandates which England received at the close of the World War included Iraq and Palestine, which had a large measure of self-government, and the "B" mandates in Africa—part of Togoland, part of Kamerun, and part of German East Africa—which were governed practically as crown colonies. Australia holds the mandate for New Guinea, New Zealand for Western Samoa, and the Union of South Africa for German Southwest Africa. (See pages 649-652.) In 1932 Iraq (Mesopotamia) was admitted to the League of Nations, thus being officially recognized as an independent state.

Publishers' Photo Service

A British Protectorate

The main street of Zanzibar, Tanganyika Territory.

V. Ireland

We might, quite properly, have discussed Ireland in the section on nationalism, since Irish nationalism is the key to much of Ireland's history. Or, since for years Ireland had representatives in the English Parliament and the Irish question was one of the main problems of English politics, we might have dealt with Ireland in the chapter on political development in England. Although it differs in many respects from England's other imperial problems the relation of England and Ireland is in a sense a problem in imperialism, the control by a powerful state of an unwilling people. It seems, therefore, most logical to discuss Ireland in this place.

The original Celtic inhabitants of Ireland were closely related to those of England, but, while England was being conquered by Romans, Angles, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, Ireland was isolated from these influences and remained almost purely Celtic in race. Ireland had her own government and was entirely independent of England until the partial conquest by Henry II in the twelfth century. England followed the policy of trying to make the Irish over into Englishmen. The Irish, resenting this, revolted at every opportunity, and each revolt resulted only in harsher punishments. At the opening of the nineteenth century there were three major phases of the Irish problem—religion, land, and government.

A. The religious problem and its settlement. In the earlier centuries, Catholics in Ireland who had given support to England's Catholic enemies, France and Spain, were discriminated against and oppressed in all sorts of ways. By 1800 these oppressive laws had been repealed, and in 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Act gave Catholics the right to hold office. One great injustice still remained —the Anglican "Church of Ireland" was the established church; it was in possession of all the old church buildings and collected an income of four million dollars annually. Out of a population of eight million, only one-half million were members of the established church; about as many more were dissenters, mainly Presbyterian; the rest were Catholics. The entire population had to pay tithes for the support of the established church, which was attended by only the half-million Anglicans and which was hated as the symbol of British ascendancy. Riots and "tithe wars" frequently resulted from the attempt to confiscate peasants' property for the non-payment of tithes, the taxes collected for the church.

When Gladstone took up the Irish problem he first turned his attention to the church and under his leadership a disestablishment act passed Parliament in 1869. By this act the Irish Church became a voluntary body on the same basis as the Presbyterian or Roman Catholic, and all taxes for the support of the church were abolished. Its property became the property of the government, although it was still allowed to use the buildings and the older clergymen received personal compensation. In this way the religious problem was finally solved, but the bitterness it had aroused remained to complicate the other problems of Ireland.

B. The land problem and its solution. The Irish land problem arose mainly from the fact that a great part of the land had been confiscated at the time of the conquest and after the various revolts, and had been given to Englishmen whose descendants still owned it at the opening of the century. Most of these landlords lived in England, only occasionally visiting their estates and being interested in them only as a source of income. The management of the estates was left to managers, who usually worked on a percentage basis. Their sole interest was to get the maximum rent from the tenants. Since it was always easy to get tenants, the owner would not make improvements. If the tenant made improvements his rent was raised and if he refused to pay he was dispossessed with no compensation for the money he had spent. The living conditions of the great majority of tenants were terrible. The census of 1841 showed that nearly half of the families of Ireland were living in single-roomed cottages. Fully one-third of the population lived chiefly on potatoes and when the potato crop failed, as it did in 1846, thousands died of starvation. Due to the high death rate and to emigration, the population dropped from over eight millions in 1841 to six and one-half millions in 1851 and to four and one-half millions at the end of the century.

Beginning with Gladstone's land act of 1870, several acts were passed which relieved the tenants of their worst hardships. The land problem was really settled by the provision for the purchase of farms by the tenants, which was included in the act of 1881 and extended in later acts. The government advanced money to the tenants which was to be paid back in small annual payments extending over a period of forty-nine years. By the Land Purchase Act of 1903, the purchaser was allowed to borrow the entire price of the farm, a practically unlimited sum was set aside for the purpose, and landlords were encouraged to sell by the payment of a bonus of 8 per cent of the selling price. Between 1903 and 1909 nearly three hundred thousand tenants purchased their holdings.

C. The problem of government and its solution. 1. THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT. Back of all the discontent with economic and religious conditions was a more fundamental grievance—that of government—which remained after the disestablishment of the church and the passage of the land acts. By the Act of Union of 1801, the Irish Parliament had been abolished altogether and Ireland was given representation in the English Parliament—one hundred members in the House of Commons and twenty-eight in the House of Lords. Dissatisfaction with the Act of Union developed almost as soon as it was passed, and throughout the century various organizations agitated for its modification, sometimes for independence, sometimes for "Home Rule"—that is, the creation of an Irish Parliament with control over local affairs but leaving Ireland still a part of the British Empire.

Many of the early movements for home rule had used violent methods, but in 1870 the Home Government Association of Ireland, commonly called the Nationalists or Home Rulers, was organized with the express purpose of working for home rule by strictly constitutional methods. The association found an able leader in Charles Stewart Parnell. Parnell, of English descent, educated at Cambridge, a Protestant and a landlord, "un-Irish" in temperament—cold, haughty, and reserved—was in many ways the greatest of the great Irish leaders. Entering Parliament in 1875 he soon made the Nationalist group a force to be reckoned with in British politics. He adopted a policy of filibustering, obstructing all business in Parliament until it consented to take up the Irish demands.

As a result of the elections of 1885, Parnell's Nationalists held the balance of power between the Conservatives and the Liberals in the House of Commons. When, however, Gladstone made an alliance with the Home Rulers and introduced the first Home Rule Bill, a group of Liberals called the Unionists deserted the party and the bill failed. Returning to power in 1892, Gladstone succeeded in getting a Home Rule Bill through the Commons but it was killed by the House of Lords. The opposition of the Lords prevented the passage of any further home rule legislation until the Lords' veto power was taken away by the Parliament Act of 1911. (See page 431.) A home rule bill was introduced in 1912 and became a law when it passed the House of Commons for the third time in May, 1914. The bill was fought bitterly by the Unionists and a new issue was introduced by the attitude of Ulster.

2. THE OPPOSITION OF ULSTER. In 1608, following one of Ireland's periodic rebellions, James I confiscated a large area in Northern Ireland and planted a colony of Scotch Presbyterians there in order that he might have a group on whose loyalty he could count. Similar settlements followed other revolts until a large part of the population of the province of Ulster, which comprises about one-fourth of the total area of Ireland, was predominantly of Scotch or English descent and Protestant in religion. Ulster had always been the stronghold of the Unionists in Ireland and had opposed the previous Home Rule bills. The opposition came to a head when, in 1912, it seemed likely that Home Rule was really to be established. Sir Edward Carson, a Unionist Member of Parliament from Ulster, took the lead and organized the Ulster Volunteers, pledged to resist Home Rule by force. Guns were smuggled in and drills held. Many prominent Unionist leaders were in sympathy with Ulster and doubtless secretly encouraged the lawlessness, hoping to intimidate the Liberal Government. Some of the army officers stationed in Ireland even announced that they would not have any part in coercing Ulster. Aroused by Ulster's war-like moves a group called the Nationalist Volunteers was organized in Southern Ireland and began "gun-running" and drilling. Civil war seemed imminent.

The reason which Ulster emphasized for its opposition was the religious one, the fear that "Home Rule would become Rome Rule." Although the bill contained a provision forbidding the establishment of any church or the granting of special privileges of any kind to any religious group, the Ulsterites claimed that this would be no safeguard once an Irish parliament with a Catholic majority was established. It is difficult to believe that making so much of the religious issue was sincere on the part of the leaders, although it doubtless was on the part of the people. Religious bigotry is easy to arouse, and it is not the first time in history that it has been used to further other ends. A much more important reason for Ulster's opposition, though not so much emphasized, was an economic one. Ulster, especially the city of Belfast, was the center of Irish industry and trade. The capital for the thriving ship-building and linen industries as well as most of that for the railroads and banks was owned by Ulstermen or Englishmen who feared that an Irish parliament, predominantly agricultural, would discriminate in taxation and in other ways against the industrial North.

The passage of the act did not stop the warlike preparations of either the Ulsterites or their opponents in South Ireland. Armed conflict seemed inevitable when the World War broke out, but for the moment both sides forgot their differences and pledged their services to the British government. An act was passed postponing the coming into operation of the Home Rule Bill until the end of the war. At the end of the war no one wanted it.

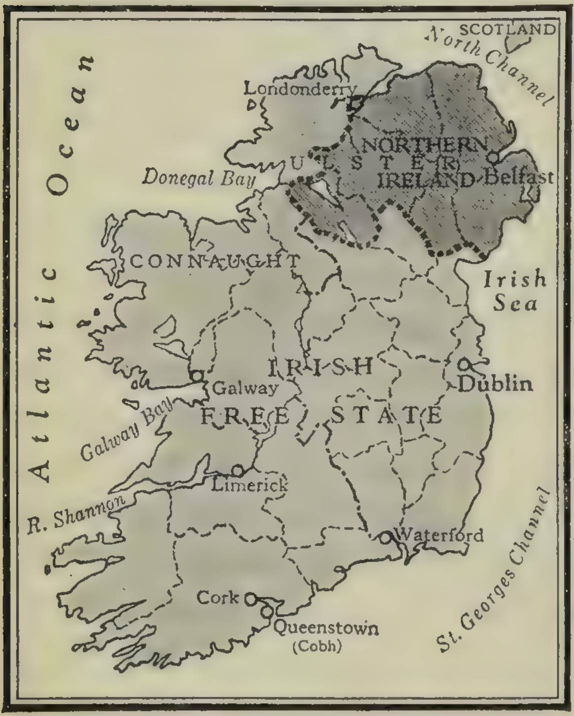
3. THE RISE OF SINN FEIN. The truce in Ireland was short lived. Although the Nationalists' leaders were sincere in pledging their support to the war, there was an extreme group which saw in the war "Ireland's opportunity." The nucleus of this faction was the Sinn Fein Society, which had been organized in 1906 by a group of young intellectuals—teachers, poets, and writers—primarily for the purpose of developing Irish nationalism by means of reviving the use of the Gaelic language and old Irish customs. From the beginning its ideal had been an independent Irish Republic, but it had practically no political power or significance before the rise of the Nationalist Volunteers in opposition to the Ulster Volunteers. When the Nationalists pledged the support of the Volunteers to the government, the Sinn Fein withdrew and organized a rival body, the Irish Volunteers. This group continued to drill and smuggle arms, and soon entered into negotiations with Germany for help in throwing off English rule, not because they had any love for Germany but because they were willing to use any means to destroy England's power. A rebellion which started on Easter Sunday, 1916, was easily suppressed but the execution of sixteen leaders as traitors

roused the Irish people and made the great mass of them rabid supporters of the Sinn Fein movement.

In the Parliamentary election of 1918 the Unionists won twenty-six seats, the Home Rulers six, and the Sinn Feiners seventy-three. The Sinn Feiners, declaring that they were elected as representatives of the Irish Republic, refused to take their seats at Westminster, but met in Dublin. The parliament of Ireland, the Dail Eireann, proclaimed the Irish Republic and elected Eamon De Valera president. The English government allowed the Dail to meet for nine months and then suppressed it.

Meanwhile, an almost complete Sinn Fein government had been set up side by side with the lawful government throughout southern Ireland. Tax-payers refused to pay to the regular tax collectors but paid instead to the Sinn Fein. The Sinn Fein courts were crowded with cases and their verdicts were generally accepted by the people while the English courts were empty. The attempt of the government to suppress this Sinn Fein government only increased the bloodshed and violence which had become characteristic of Ireland since 1914. The Sinn Fein military organization became known as the Irish Republican Army. It took the place of the former Irish Volunteers and was a guerrilla army; that is, it had no permanent headquarters or formal organization and fought no regular engagements. Its members would one day be working as peaceful civilians and on the next might embark on some raid or ambush. Naturally discipline was loose and atrocities were committed. Peaceful citizens were killed, buildings burned, crops destroyed. The government, unable to distinguish between soldiers and civilians, adopted a policy of reprisals, killing a Sinn Feiner for each soldier or policeman killed, burning a house for each barracks burned. Government atrocities equaled in horror those committed by Sinn Fein.

Immersed in foreign affairs and distracted by the economic situation at home, the government could devote itself to the Irish situation only at intervals. Various conferences were held with the leaders of the different Irish factions but no compromise that would bring peace seemed possible. It was out of the question to put the Home Rule Act of 1914 into effect, but in 1919 Lloyd George introduced a new bill which became a law in 1920. This measure established one parliament for the six counties of northeast Ulster and another one for the rest of Ireland. Control of army, navy, foreign affairs, tariff, post office, and police was retained by the English Parliament. North Ireland accepted the bill, elected a parliament and is still governed under the provisions of the act. South Ireland ignored it.


Atlantic Ocean
SCOTLAND
North Channel
Londonderry
Donegal Bay
ULSTER
NORTHERN IRELAND
Belfast
CONNAUGHT
Irish Sea
IRISH FREE STATE
Galway
Dublin
Galway Bay
Limerick
R. Shannon
Waterford
St. George's Channel
Cork
Queenstown
(Cobh)

IRELAND

Showing the division between the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland as fixed by the treaty of 1922.

The establishment of the government of North Ireland increased rather than decreased the disorders in the South. Conditions there became so terrible that petitions came from all over the world, particularly from the United States and the dominions, requesting the English government to take some action to remedy them. Although the cabinet had repeatedly declared that Sinn Fein must lay down its arms before the question could be considered, that it would not "deal with murderers with knives in their hands," Lloyd George in June, 1921, invited De Valera and the other Sinn Fein leaders to a conference. A truce was declared and the conference struggled with the problem throughout the summer and fall. An agreement was finally reached in December, 1921, which, after its ratification by the British Parliament and the Dail, brought into existence the Irish Free State.

4. THE IRISH FREE STATE. The agreement provided that the Irish Free State was to have the same constitutional status in the empire as Canada and the other dominions. The question of the oath of allegiance for members of the Irish Parliament, which had been one of the chief stumbling blocks of the conference, was finally

compromised by providing that members should swear to be "faithful to His Majesty, King George V, his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." The crown was to appoint a governor-general who was to have the same powers as the governor-general of Canada. England was granted the right to maintain certain fortifications on the coast of Ireland and was also to have harbor and cable rights both in peace and war. The army of the Free State was not to be larger than that of England in proportion to population. Neither the Free State or Northern Ireland was to endow or favor directly or indirectly any religious denomination. Northern Ireland was to decide whether she wished to be included in the Free State or to maintain her existing government. As already noted she decided to maintain the government established in 1920. A long dispute over the boundary, which provoked considerable rioting and fighting along the border, was finally settled by leaving it as it had been originally fixed. By the same agreement the Free State was relieved from any responsibility for England's debt and in turn gave up all claims against England for damages done in the fighting that had occurred since 1919. The Free State agreed to pay a fixed sum annually to England to recompense English landlords who had lost land in Ireland.

A provisional government was established, which drew up a constitution for the Free State and which was adopted in the fall of 1922. It provided for a parliament of two houses, both elected by popular vote, with the legislative power of the Senate subordinate to that of the House of Commons. The cabinet or executive council was to be chosen by and be responsible to the House of Commons. An additional democratic feature was provided in the initiative and referendum. After the English Parliament had ratified this constitution, the Irish Free State was proclaimed December 6, 1922. Timothy Healy, a former Nationalist leader, was appointed to be the first governor-general. William Cosgrave was elected first president of the executive council and held the office for ten years.

Ireland is slowly recovering from the economic exhaustion caused by years of civil war. The census of 1926 showed that she had lost one hundred and fifty thousand in population since 1911. She was able to balance her budget for the first time in 1929. As an aid to Irish industry the government is carrying through an immense project for using the waters of the River Shannon to develop hydroelectric power; ultimately it will develop one hundred and sixty-five thousand horse power. Henry Ford's recently established tractor plant in Cork gave employment to four thousand in 1929. Agriculture, however, is still the main occupation of the Irish people and capital for developing farm land and buying machinery is Ireland's main need. The Free State has continued the policy of breaking up the big estates, hoping to give seventy thousand tenant farmers small holdings of their own. Relations with England were for a time surprisingly good, England and Northern Ireland furnishing 80 per cent of her imports and taking 6 per cent of her exports.

FIANNA FAIL
COSGRAVE
MEETING
IRISH PEOPLE
VOTE FIANNA FAIL

Keystone View Co.

An Irish Election

Crowds in Dublin take a great interest in the coming election.

For several years the extreme Republicans, led by De Valera, refused to accept the settlement. Several were elected to Parliament but refused to take their seats since they were unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to King George. In 1927, however, they changed their tactics and the forty-four members of the Republican party elected to the Dail (House of Commons) took the oath asserting that it was "an empty political formality." The Republican party gained in strength and in 1932 De Valera was elected president of the executive council. A bill to abolish the oath of allegiance to the king passed the Dail and went into effect in 1933. In June, 1932, De Valera withheld the annual payment due to England for the compensation of former British landlords, asserting that his government did not recognize the financial settlements of 1922. The English Parliament retaliated by putting high tariffs on all imports from the Free State. The Free State in turn raised tariffs on imports from England and a tariff war resulted which was costly to both countries but was still unsettled in February, 1934.

OTHER EMPIRES

I. Colonies Acquired by Other Nations

While all the other great powers have been rivals of England for colonies, especially during the past fifty years, and while several of them have built up great colonial empires, none of them approach the British Empire in size, in wealth, or in strategic importance. Nor have any of them been so successful as England in working out a system of colonial self-government, perhaps because no other country except England has many colonies in temperate regions where Europeans wish to live. Outside of the British dominions and the dependencies of the United States, colonial peoples have little voice in their own affairs. Lack of space forbids more than a brief catalogue of the principal colonies of the other powers.

France's principal colonies (some are called protectorates) in Africa are Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, the Sahara and Sudan region, West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, and part of the former

German colonies. In Asia, French Indo-China, five posts in India, and various leases and claims in China.

Italy has Libya (Tripoli), Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, all in Africa, and the island of Rhodes and the Dodecanese in the Mediterranean.

Holland and Portugal have been too weak to take part in the modern scramble for colonies, but each still holds rich remains of its former empire. The Dutch have the valuable East Indies; the Portuguese have East Africa and Angola or Portuguese West Africa.

Belgium has the vast Belgian Congo in Africa, fruit of the ambition and enterprise of Leopold II.

II. The Empire of the United States

Throughout the first century of its history as an independent nation the vast western territory of the United States served as an outlet for her manufactures and for her surplus capital. Far from looking abroad for colonies, she welcomed large quantities of European capital for investment. By about 1890, however, all of her fertile land had been disposed of, most of her natural resources were in the hands of private individuals, and the great trunk railways had been built. Surplus capital was piling up and beginning to look abroad for a place for investment. Naturally it turned to the neighboring Latin-American countries.

Investments of capitalists of the United States in Cuba were a cause of the Spanish-American War in 1898, although Spain's brutal treatment of Cuban rebels offered an excellent excuse. As a result of the war the Philippines and Porto Rico were ceded to the United States; Cuba was declared free, but was in reality made a protectorate of the United States by the Platt Amendment. The war had made clear the military importance of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama; its economic importance had long been apparent. President Theodore Roosevelt proceeded to build it. When Colombia started to haggle over the price of a strip of land across the Isthmus, a revolution broke out in Panama; the new Republic of Panama was recognized by the United States in record time and it immediately ceded the Canal Zone to the United States. In 1905, when San

Domingo was unable to keep up the interest payments on her debt to European bond holders, Roosevelt declared that, since the Monroe Doctrine did not permit other nations to interfere, it was the duty of the United States to see that the payments were made. A receiver of customs from the United States, backed up by marines, took charge of San Domingo's finances and is still there.

Since Theodore Roosevelt's time the penetration of Latin America by United States capital and the extension of her political control have gone steadily on. The Democrats under Wilson pursued this policy no less than the Republicans. The so-called independent states of Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo, Panama, and Nicaragua are protectorates of the United States. In all of them armed force has been or is being used. Salvador, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia have advisers from the United States to assist in their finances. In all the countries south of the Rio Grande, United States capital plays an important part. Attempts of the United States government to protect investments of her citizens have brought her on the verge of war with Mexico several times in the last twenty years. Her great increase in wealth during the World War made the United States more keen than ever in her search for fields for investment. With the world organized as it is, with capital in the United States looking for investment, with Latin America needing capital, it is but natural that the United States should seek to extend its economic influence throughout the Western Hemisphere. The great majority of citizens of the United States do not realize the change that has taken place in the last generation. They fail to realize that United States capital is all powerful in Latin America and that, in the opinion of foreigners at least, their country is one of the world's greatest imperialistic powers.

While many Latin Americans welcomed investments of capital from the United States in their countries they resented armed intervention to protect such investments. They claimed that while the Monroe Doctrine (see page 189) had safeguarded them against European aggression it had been used as an excuse for aggression by the United States. In December, 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt declared that "the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention." His further statement that all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, instead of the United States alone, would decide when intervention was necessary, promised a new era in the relations between the United States and Latin America.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Cecil Rhodes, the great imperialist, was also the donor of the fund for establishment of the Rhodes Scholarships which give young men from the British Dominions and the United States a three-year course at Oxford. Is there any connection between these two facts about Rhodes?
2. Many Englishmen feel that India, in demanding independence, is ungrateful. Do you agree with this point of view? Give reasons.
3. "The history of South Africa since the Boer War shows that the best peace is a liberal peace." Explain.
4. Show how the development of the dominions illustrates the nature of the British Constitution.
5. In what ways is the United States better off because of her revolution from England? In what ways might she have been better off by remaining in the British Empire?
6. Imagine yourself a member of the Round Table Conference on India which met in England in 1931. Give arguments for Indian independence from the point of view of an Indian Nationalist. Give arguments for England's retaining control from the point of view of an English Conservative. Outline the main points of what you would consider a settlement fair to all concerned.
7. Why are Gandhi's methods of opposition more difficult for England to oppose than open rebellion would be?
8. The Sinn Fein leaders of the Irish rebellion of 1916 were executed as traitors. Give arguments for or against this action.
9. "The Irish problem was essentially an economic one." Explain and give facts to prove or disprove.
10. Do you believe that the United States is one of the great imperialistic powers of the world today? Why?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

General

Trotter, *The British Empire-Commonwealth*

The Dominions

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 640-657
Schapiro, pp. 656-680, 792-793
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 222-228, 466-469, 622-625
Moon, pp. 160-188
Magruder, pp. 224-245
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 490-508, 980-982
Bowman, *The New World*, pp. 12-43, 79-82, 520-532

India

Hayes, pp. 662-672
Moon, pp. 290-312
Schapiro, pp. 669-675, 820-821
Magruder, pp. 255-274
Benns, pp. 295-300
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 448-461
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe*, pp. 154-161
Langsam, *The World Since 1914*, pp. 273-289
Bowman, *The New World*, pp. 43-58
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VII, pp. 659-674

Ireland

Hayes, pp. 319-331, 857
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 215-222, 616-622
Schapiro, pp. 305-321, 786-788
Benns, pp. 402-416
Magruder, pp. 245-255
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe*, pp. 652-656
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 439-447, 464-475, 983-994
Bowman, *The New World*, pp. 30-35
Langsam, *The World Since 1914*, pp. 256-267

CHAPTER XXVII

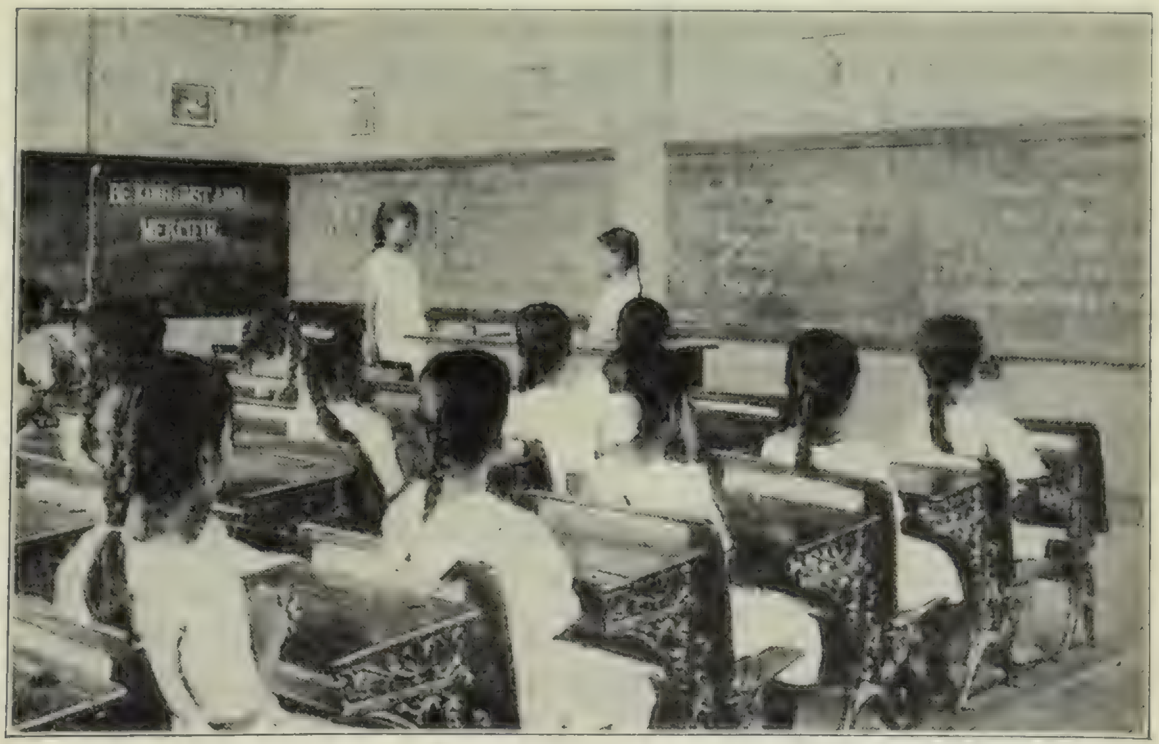
THE RESULTS OF IMPERIALISM

In the preceding chapters we have reviewed the causes and the nature of modern imperialism. We have examined in some detail its accomplishments in different parts of the world. It now remains to ask: What are the results of imperialism? Do its benefits outweigh its ill effects? Is there some way by which its benefits can be secured without its evils? These are difficult questions. Many of the effects of imperialism are intangible and cannot be reduced to terms which are comparable. Who, for instance, can devise a yardstick which will measure the improved sanitation which imperialism has brought to many backward lands against the wars which have resulted directly or indirectly from imperialistic policies? To estimate the results of imperialism we must take into consideration its effects on the colonies, on the countries which maintain colonies or protectorates, and on the world in general.

I. How Imperialism Affects the Colonies

The most direct effect on the colony is the development of its natural resources. Undeveloped regions need capital before their coal or oil or copper can be made available, before railroads can be built, before their fertile lands can be made productive. To get capital a weak, undeveloped country has to pay the price of foreign control. Usually the price is high.

Another benefit to the colony is that the people of the colony become civilized. There is no universally accepted standard as to just what constitutes civilization. In general, as applied to imperialistic enterprises it means that tribal wars are stopped; schools are established; sanitary conditions are improved; epidemics are checked; natives are converted to Christianity and learn to use modern mechanical devices, to wear European clothes, and to enjoy American amusements. While the work that has been done toward educating natives, improving their health, and increasing their comforts is of course highly praiseworthy, it is natural that imperialist governments are more concerned with mines than schools, with railways than hospitals. The United States has the best record of any imperialistic nation in the matter of schools in her colonies. In the Philippines there are 120 children in school for every 1,000 inhabitants, as compared with 200 in the United States itself and 175 in Porto Rico. For British India the ratio is 37.7 per thousand, for the Dutch East Indies 38, for French Algeria 46, for Tunis about 25 and for French West Africa 3. The very low ratio for most of the colonies of tropical Africa would be even lower were it not that the feeble efforts of the governments are supplemented by schools maintained by religious organizations. Only 1 per cent of the budget for the Belgian Congo was devoted to schools in 1923.



Publishers' Photo Service

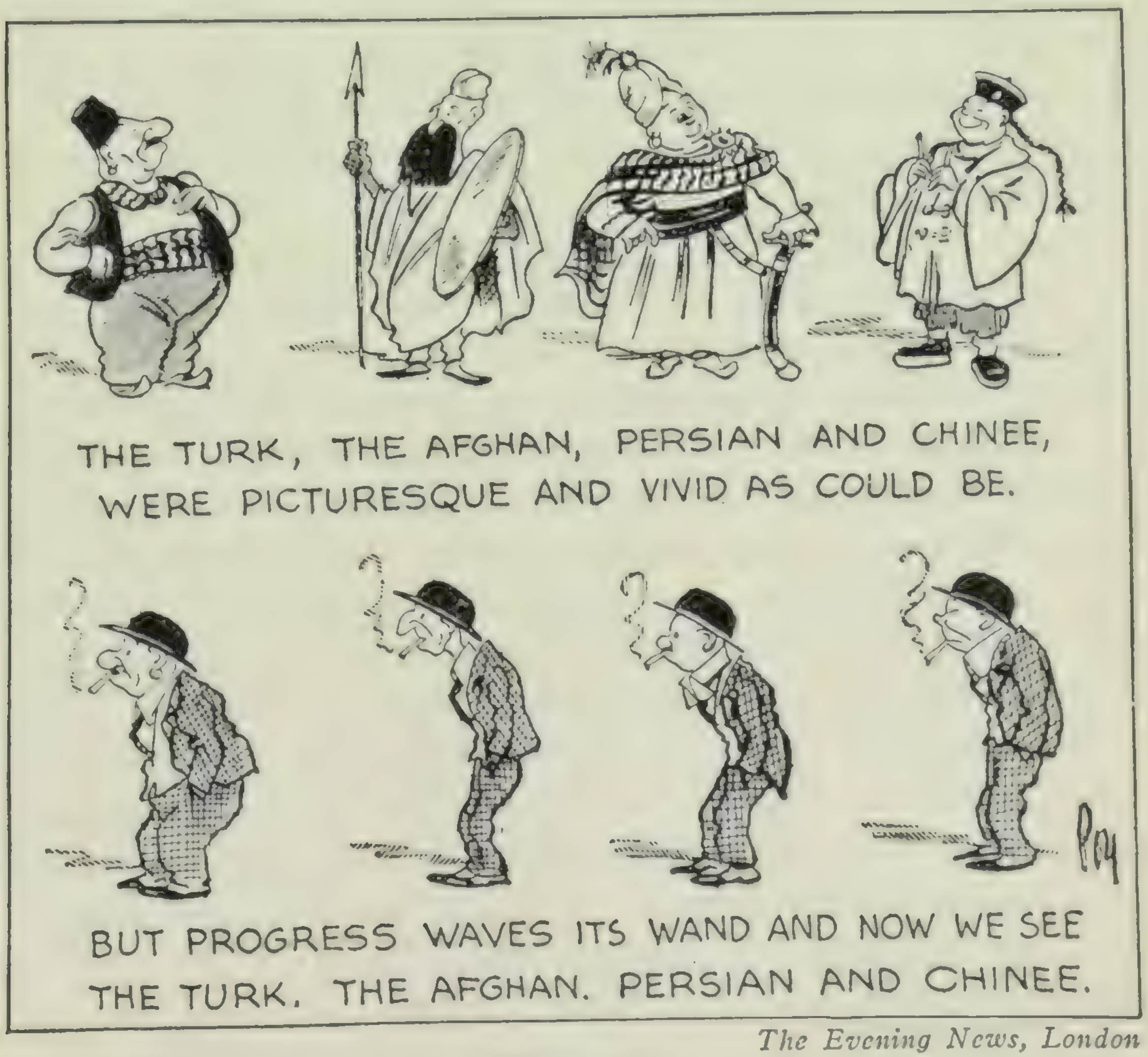
A SCHOOLROOM IN MANILA

The provision of educational facilities is one way in which imperialism benefits the backward areas of the world.

Not all the "civilization" which is taken to the colonies can be called beneficial. He would be a bold nationalist indeed who would maintain that the civilization of his own country was flawless, and unfortunately natives are likely to absorb the worst rather than the best features. It is the object of most of those directly connected with colonies to "civilize" them by enlarging their demands so that they will be better customers. It is usually found easier to educate the natives to a taste for cheap gew-gaws than for important commodities, for cosmetics rather than soaps, for cheap liquor rather than books. Natives acquire the vices and the diseases of the mother country along with its civilization.

Anti-imperialists, among whom are included practically all natives who are able to make themselves heard at all, admit that imperialism develops the resources of a country, but claim that they are developed in the interests of the capitalists of the mother country. Wealth which should be kept in the country for the benefit of all the inhabitants is taken out to pay dividends to stockholders in far-off lands. A few of the natives are enabled to make money, but the vast majority have no share in the new wealth. Often the lands on which their fathers lived for generations have been taken away from them and turned over to foreign capitalists for development. The natives, deprived of their former means of making a living and burdened by heavy taxes, are forced to work in mines, on railroad construction, or on plantations, often at starvation wages and with practically no regulation of hours or conditions of labor. In earlier days slavery was a common means used to recruit a force of cheap labor. Recent disclosures show that slavery still exists in Liberia and other parts of Africa, and where open slavery has been abolished, the "contract labor" system that exists in many African colonies has few practical differences. Another common device is a poll tax (that is, a tax on each individual) which forces the native to earn money, and usually the only way he can earn money is to go to work on some foreign-owned enterprise.

One of the most serious objections to imperialism from the natives' point of view is that it deprives them of the right of self-government. With the growth of nationalism it has become a truism that a people should have the right to determine their own form of government. Although imperialism is kept alive by nationalism it involves a denial of the right of nationalism to subject peoples. The nations which are most nationalistic, which are most jealous of their right to control their own affairs, are most ready to suppress liberties in their colonies. With a few exceptions, notably the British dominions which are populated largely by whites, and the colonies of the United States, colonial populations have practically no voice in their own affairs. This is one of the main grievances of educated natives. They do not claim that they could handle their own affairs perfectly, or even so well as the mother country, but they do insist that they have the right to make their own mistakes, that they can never develop skill in self-government if they are not allowed to try.


THE TURK, THE AFGHAN, PERSIAN AND CHINEE,
WERE PICTURESQUE AND VIVID AS COULD BE.
BUT PROGRESS WAVES ITS WAND AND NOW WE SEE
THE TURK. THE AFGHAN. PERSIAN AND CHINEE.
POY

The Evening News, London

"PROGRESS"

II. How Imperialism Affects the Mother Country

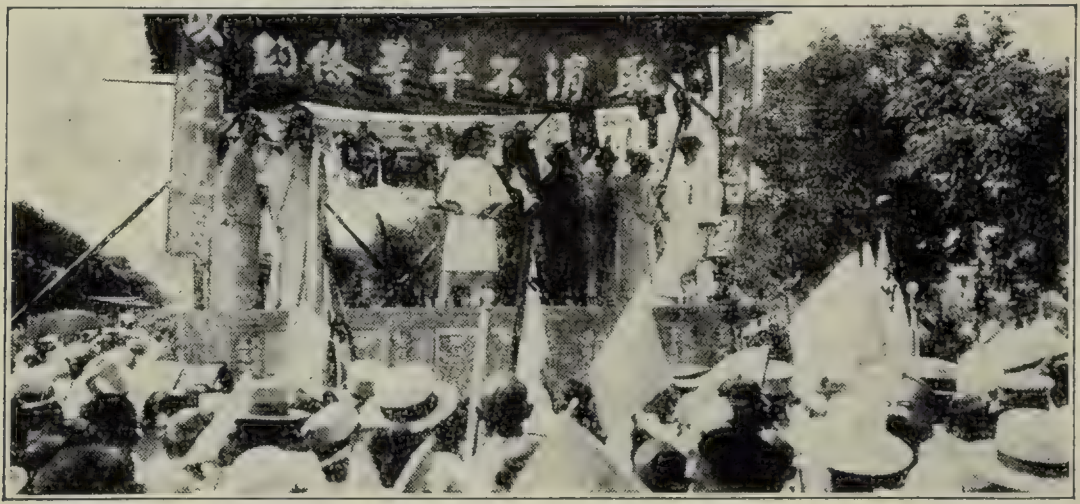
The effects of imperialism on the mother country are also both good and bad. As we have already shown, imperialism is undoubtedly a good thing for certain people—those with capital invested in colonial enterprises, manufacturers of goods for colonial markets, military and civil officials, manufacturers of munitions. While it is obvious that all these groups make up but a small fraction of the entire population of any country, it is claimed that the increased trade which colonies bring means more demand for goods, more work for labor, more general business prosperity, and that therefore imperialism benefits the entire population. It is impossible to determine exactly the validity of this argument. It would be much more impressive if it could be shown that a nation's trade was dependent on her having colonies or that she was likely to secure a major part of the trade of her colonies. England, it is true, sells over 40 per cent of her total exports to her colonies, but she would doubtless sell a great deal to them even if they were not colonies. France's great empire takes but 15 per cent of her exports. German colonies, in 1913, took but ½ of 1 per cent of Germany's exports. The United States sells more to the British colony, Canada, than to all her own colonies and dependencies combined.

We must also remember that the export trade of any country is only a small part of her total trade. The United States, for example, sells many times as much at home as she exports. The colonial trade of any country is but a small fraction of her foreign and domestic trade combined. It would seem then that colonies have no great weight in determining the business prosperity of a country. Another factor that must be considered in determining the relation of colonies to business prosperity is the effect of the export of capital from a country. If capital were not invested in colonies it would seek investment at home. It is quite possible that the consequent decline in the interest rate would do more to promote general prosperity than is done by investment in colonies.

Over against these rather doubtful benefits of imperialism to the entire population must be set some positive evils. Many colonies are maintained at a direct loss which must be made up by taxes. Where there is no direct loss, colonies always necessitate larger armies and navies which must be paid for by taxation. Above all, imperialism is a most fruitful source of bad feeling between nations. Although there have been at times efforts on the part of nations to settle their imperialistic rivalries by peaceful bargains and compromise—for generally those who seek material gains prefer a deal to a row—imperialistic questions, more frequently than not, become identified with questions of national honor and prestige. Popular emotions are aroused and war clouds threaten. And so it is that every important war of the last fifty years has had imperialism as one of its main causes. When we consider the tremendous cost of war in money alone, leaving out the loss of life and the growth of hatred and intolerance with all their attendant evils, it is difficult to see how imperialism pays. There would be no question of imperialism if those who benefit from it were forced to pay its costs. The trouble is that its benefits go to a few while its costs, direct and indirect, are paid by the entire nation.

III. The Dilemma of Imperialism

One more thing must be considered in drawing up a balance sheet for imperialism. It was a natural result of the Industrial Revolution with its expanding trade and growing competition for markets, for sources of raw materials, and for places for investment. Has not the development of the natural resources of backward regions made available products which have contributed to a higher standard of living throughout the world? It undoubtedly has. The United States could never operate its twenty-five million automobiles without Mexican oil or East Indian rubber. Without imperialism many of the articles which we have come to regard as necessities would become luxuries, out of reach of the average man. As we have seen, no nation needs to have colonies of its own in order to get raw materials. So far in history it has always been possible to buy them in the open market. This may be an argument against one nation acquiring colonies, but suppose all nations suddenly withdrew support from their citizens who were engaged in colonial enterprises? Doubtless confusion would result, production would fall off, business throughout the world would be upset. This is the dilemma that faces imperialistic powers. They cannot afford to stop imperialism nor can they afford to continue it.



OROC

Spreading the Nationalist Doctrine

A Peiping crowd being addressed by a young Chinese woman nationalist. Women have played important parts in the Nationalist movement.

With capital as strong as it is everywhere in industrialized countries, it is not likely that nations will voluntarily stop their imperialistic practices, no matter what economic or moral arguments may be brought against them. It is possible and even probable, however, that they may be compelled to. It has been possible for Europeans to exploit various peoples all over the world because the European peoples have assumed that they were superior and, thanks to their greater technical knowledge and their better equipment, have repeatedly shown their ability to defeat much larger forces of natives in battle. Natives have been allowed to fill only the humblest positions. Even the most cultured of them have not been received as social equals. For a long time the overbearing attitude of the "superior" race was meekly accepted by the natives, but times have changed, and the attitude of the natives has changed with them.

The two powerful ideas of the Western world of the nineteenth century, democracy and nationalism, could not be prevented from spreading to Asia and Africa. Young people from the conquered lands went to Europe and America to study and came back full of liberal ideas to rouse their fellows. The fear expressed by Cecil Rhodes that if the natives were taught to read they might soon be reading Magna Carta has been justified. The example of Japan, which rose rapidly to the position of a great power by copying Western methods, has not been lost on other Eastern peoples. The World War, when Japan expelled Germany from China and when thousands of subject peoples were drafted to fight in European trenches, again proved that the European was not invulnerable. The recent examples of Turkey's successful defiance of Europe (see pages 404-406), of Egypt's forcing concessions from England (see page 574), and of the failure of the Western powers to maintain their position in China have still further roused subject peoples to a belief in their own powers.

The contention of reactionaries that natives must be "kept in their place," that any concession granted would be received as a sign of weakness, while it sounded brutal was perfectly true. Natives have taken concessions as a sign of weakness and have steadily demanded more. Today nationalism is raging everywhere among exploited peoples—in China, in India, in the Pacific islands, in Asia Minor, in Latin America. The movement is only beginning in Africa but the peoples there are bound to be apt pupils. Aroused native populations scorn concessions they would have been glad to accept ten years ago and are demanding complete independence. Investors insist on continued control. Is there any solution?

IV. Is the Mandatory System a Solution of the Problem of Imperialism?

A. What is the mandatory system? By the treaties which ended the World War, Germany's colonies were taken from her and parts of the Turkish Empire were taken from Turkey. Due largely to the influence of President Wilson and General Smuts of the Union of South Africa, a section was included in the Covenant of the League of Nations which declared that the well-being of these territories was "a sacred trust of civilization" and provided that their administration, on behalf of the League, should be turned over to "advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility." The territories thus treated are called mandated territories or mandates. The nations who are given the right to administer them are called the mandatory powers.

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THE STREET CALLED STRAIGHT, DAMASCUS

The New Testament mentions the street called Straight as the place where Saul's sight was restored to him (Acts 9). It is now covered over much of its length by a metal roofing which was partially destroyed by the French bombardment of 1925.

The mandated territories were divided into three classes according to their ability to govern themselves. The class A mandates are those which merely need "administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone." The Class A mandates are former sections of the Turkish Empire—Syria and Lebanon—assigned to France; and Palestine, Transjordania, and Mesopotamia, usually known as Iraq, assigned to Great Britain. Upon Great Britain's recommendation Iraq was admitted to membership in the League of Nations in 1932. Thus Iraq became the first mandated territory to "graduate" from the tutelage of a mandatory to independence. Class B mandates are those in a more backward stage where the mandatory is made responsible for the administration. This class is made up of the former German colonies in Central Africa, which were divided between France, Great Britain, and Belgium. Class C mandates are those still more backward which "can best be administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory." They include former German Southwest Africa, mandated to the Union of South Africa, and the former German colonies in the Pacific, mandated to Japan, New Zealand, Australia, and the British Empire. The mandatory powers were appointed without consulting the wishes of the native populations by the Allied powers themselves, not by the League.

B. How the mandatory system works. The League Covenant as well as the text of each mandate contains provisions for safeguarding the interests of the native populations. A Permanent Mandates Commission was established to supervise the administration of the mandated territories by the mandatory powers. The Mandates Commission receives annual reports from each mandatory power and also receives petitions from the inhabitants of mandated territories. Such petitions must, however, be presented through the mandatory power. The Commission makes recommendations to the Council of the League, which has final control, and these recommendations are made public. Some of the recommendations of the Commission have contained severe criticisms of the mandatory powers and the publicity given to them has helped bring reforms.

A revolt against French control in Syria in 1925 led to the bombardment of the city of Damascus by French forces. The Mandates Commission called a special session, conducted hearings and investigations, and made a report censoring the French administration. Various reforms, including an extensive change of officials, finally restored peace.

In her mandate for Palestine, Great Britain is made responsible for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jewish people. With the aid of the Zionist organization more than one hundred thousand Jews have migrated to Palestine. A great deal of friction has developed between these Jewish immigrants and the Arabs, who still outnumber them in Palestine five to one. In August, 1929, open warfare between the races broke out, resulting in the loss of several hundred lives. In June, 1930, the Mandates Commission, after an investigation, charged England with failure to define clearly the relations between Jews and Arabs, and with failure to maintain adequate forces for the preservation of order in Palestine. Although the British government at first expressed resentment at these charges they have since carried out the recommendations of the Commission.

Publishers' Photo Service

At the Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem

One of the world's interesting crossroads which is now under the jurisdiction of Great Britain.

Most observers believe that, on the whole, the mandate system has worked well. The Mandates Commission seems to be gaining in influence and prestige. While the mandated territories comprise an area equal to one-third that of the United States with a population of eighteen million, this is only a fraction of the territory which is subject to imperialism. Many have advocated the extension of the mandates system or some similar system to all undeveloped areas. The only solution for the problem of imperialism would seem to be the establishment of some form of international control of backward regions, a control which will safeguard the rights of the natives, secure the economic open door for citizens of all nations, and create an international force to preserve order.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why do most natives of a colony, in spite of the obvious benefits of belonging to some great power, want independence? Do you agree with them? Give reasons.

2. What groups in a colony usually favor the control of the colony by a great power?

3. In what ways would the average citizen of the United States be worse off if the United States had no overseas possessions? better off?

4. Who among your acquaintances benefits directly from imperialism? Do those of your acquaintances who do not benefit directly favor or oppose imperialism? Do you consider their arguments sound?

5. It has been suggested that the United States should announce as its policy that it would merely try to guarantee to its citizens who had investments in other countries that they would receive the same treatment that other foreigners received in that country. Would you favor such a policy? Give reasons.

6. "If some international body would guarantee the open door and that the rights of natives be respected in backward areas the problem of imperialism would be solved." Explain this statement. Do you agree with it? Give reasons.

7. What changes would you advocate in the mandate system in order that it might be a solution for the problems of imperialism?

8. Formulate answers to the following questions. Do these questions and statements constitute unanswerable arguments for im-

perialism? Do they offer a legitimate excuse for the methods of imperialism commonly used?

To what extent is a backward people justified in occupying without utilizing an area? Due to their way of life, 350,000 North American Indians occupied an area which now supports 120,000,000. Hasn't "progress" a right of eminent domain? Is barbarism entitled to all the obstructive power of private property? Some schemes for socializing society aim to eliminate private ownership, even against the will of the owner. Is that immoral or is it progress? Must the rate of progress be determined by the most slow-moving peoples? Is there no difference between "superior" and "inferior" peoples? If native peoples can be as efficient as the Japanese they will be as free from imperialism.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Results of Imperialism

Moon, pp. 526-567
Schapiro, pp. 614-615
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 430-435
Magruder, pp. 494-500
Peffer, *The White Man's Dilemma*
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VII, pp. 605-613.

The Mandate System

Benns, pp. 247-250
Moon, pp. 473-513
Magruder, pp. 576-578
Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 355-369
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. X, pp. 87-93

SECTION VII

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Chapter XXVIII. The Concert of Europe and the Balance of Power
Chapter XXIX. The World War
Chapter XXX. The Peace Settlement
Chapter XXXI. International Organization

PREVIEW

Since improvements in transportation and communication have made the nations of the world neighbors, international relations have become more important than ever before. The story of the influence of the policies of one nation upon those of another has run through all the preceding sections. Thus we have learned that international relations have been embittered by the growth of nationalism and have influenced the political development of various countries; we have also learned that imperialistic rivalry resulted from the ambitions of national states and profoundly affected their relations with one another.

In this section we shall trace the history of international relations since the Congress of Vienna (1815), treating the earlier period briefly and giving more detail as we approach the present. We shall tell the story of how nations, unable to satisfy their national ambitions by independent action, grouped themselves into hostile alliances and resorted to huge armaments to protect or promote their interests. Ultimately the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente in an effort to secure supremacy plunged the world into a devastating war. The World War, in the opinion of many, revealed that nations could not achieve their ambitions by the formation of rival groups without bringing ruin to all. Statesmen are now trying to build up an international organization which, by fostering a spirit of coöperation and good will among the nations, will obtain mutual benefits for all and at the same time secure the rights of individual nations.

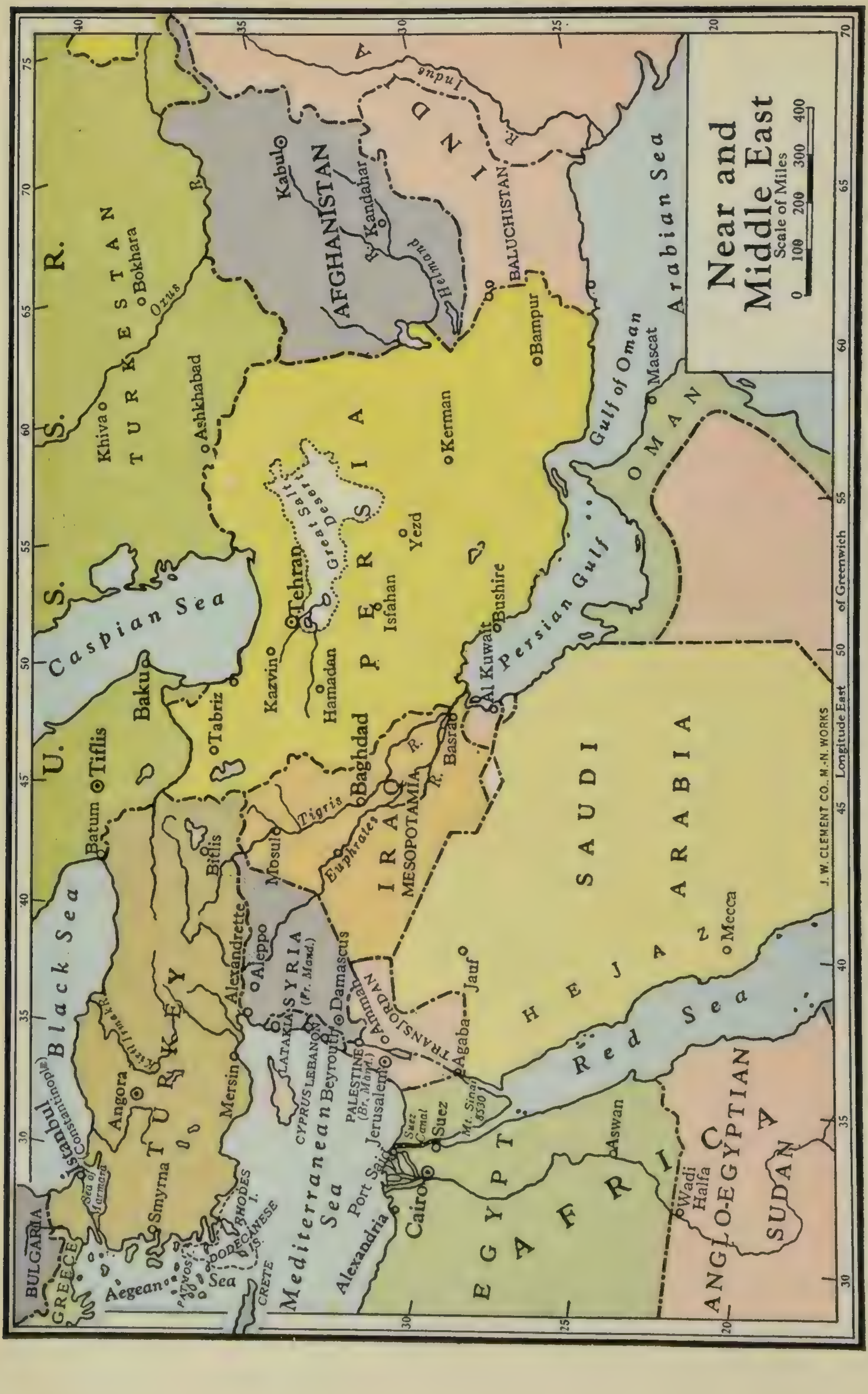
CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONCERT OF EUROPE AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

I. THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

IN crushing Napoleon and organizing Europe after his defeat the powers established what is commonly called the Concert of Europe, a vaguely realized union of the powers to act as a unit in world affairs, to preserve the peace, and to maintain the *status quo* (literally, the state in which, that is, conditions as they exist or existed). The idea of a Concert grew out of the fact that all the powers were participants in the Congress of Vienna (see page 176) and were vitally concerned in maintaining its decisions. The management of the Concert was at first entrusted to the Quadruple Alliance (see page 184) under the guidance of Metternich. The failure to restore her colonies in the New World to Spain, the withdrawal of England from the alliance, the Greek war of independence, and the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 broke up the Quadruple Alliance and ended the formal organization of the Concert (see pages 188-200).

The idea of a Concert, however, remained; that is the idea that the great powers had common interests in the affairs of Europe and should all be consulted before any changes were made in the *status quo*. The Concert was called into action on various occasions during the nineteenth century and in the international crises of the early twentieth century serious trouble was averted by invoking the old idea. The attempt to submit the crisis preceding the World War in 1914 to a conference of the powers failed because there had developed in the previous generation two mutually hostile groups of powers, each of which struggled to preserve its own special interests and advantages. This grouping of nations into alliances which are so

Near and Middle East
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TURKESTAN
Khiva
Bokhara
Ashkhabad
Oxus
Caspian Sea
Baku
Tiflis
Batum
Black Sea
Istanbul (Constantinople)
Sea of Marmara
Angora
TURKEY
Kizil Irmak R.
Smyrna
Mersin
Bitlis
Alexandrette
Aleppo
Mosul
SYRIA (Fr. Mand.)
LATAKIA
LEBANON
Beyrouth
Damascus
CYPRUS
PALESTINE (Br. Mand.)
Jerusalem
Amman
TRANSJORDAN
Agaba
Mt. Sinai 8530
Suez
Suez Canal
Port Said
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
AFRICA
Aswan
Wadi Halfa
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Red Sea
HEJAZ
Mecca
Jauf
SAUDI ARABIA
IRAQ
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Baghdad
Basra
Al Kuwait
Persian Gulf
Bushire
PERSIA
Tabriz
Kazvin
Hamadan
Tehran
Great Salt Desert
Isfahan
Yezd
Kerman
Bampur
Gulf of Oman
Mascat
OMAN
Arabian Sea
BALUCHISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
Kandahar
Helmand R.
INDIA
Indus R.
BULGARIA
GREECE
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PATMOS
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RHODES I.
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nearly equal in power that, in theory at least, neither dares interfere with the other, is sometimes called "maintaining the balance of power." It had been a favorite device of diplomats in the eighteenth century and again at the end of the nineteenth century this old theory of the balance of power supplanted the theory of the Concert. It had disastrous results at both times.

II. INTERESTS OF THE GREAT POWERS IN THE NEAR EAST

During the last half of the nineteenth century the relations of the great powers with each other were closely bound up with the Near East—the Turkish Empire, and the new states of the Balkan peninsula. Interest of the great powers in the Near East was due largely to the fact that Turkey controlled the Bosporus and the Dardanelles and, to a less extent, the eastern Mediterranean. Any of the powers would have been glad to get these strongly fortified, strategic straits for itself; on the other hand, any of them preferred to see them kept by weak Turkey rather than go to a more powerful rival.

Russia was the state most directly interested. From the time of Peter the Great her whole foreign policy, largely because her own seaports were closed by ice for several months, was directed toward getting warm seaports, and Constantinople was the most valuable port she could possibly hope for. As a great Slavic nation she posed as the natural protector of the Slavs of the Balkans; since her state religion was Greek Orthodox and she was the greatest nation professing this form of religion, she claimed to be the natural protector of Orthodox Christians. Turkish mistreatment of Orthodox Christians gave Russia the excuse to intervene on many occasions, but always back of her apparent interest in the welfare of the Greek Church was the desire to get Constantinople.

Austria, since the Balkan states were her next-door neighbors, was also directly concerned with the fate of Turkey. In her dominions there were many Slavs, and strong Slavic states under Russian control at her back door would have been a constant invitation to her own Slavs to revolt. Consequently Austria's policy was directed mainly toward blocking Russian influence in the Balkans.

Germany, Austria's ally after 1879, was concerned with backing Austria's claims and was also interested in the Turkish Empire as a field for the investment of German capital.

It will be recalled that England withdrew from the Quadruple Alliance in 1822 and from then on pursued a policy of "isolation" from Continental affairs. She was interested primarily in her empire and in trade; who controlled the eastern Mediterranean was of vital interest to her since it was her gateway to India. She abandoned her policy of isolation on different occasions to prevent Russia from securing Constantinople, since powerful Russia would be much more of a threat to her line of communications than was weak Turkey. Russia was also England's rival for influence in Persia and Afghanistan. Because of their nearness to India, England was anxious to block Russia in this direction.

The first occasion for the interference of the great powers in Balkan affairs was in 1828, during the Greek war of independence. We have already told how, at this time, Russia threw off Metternich's domination and aided the Greeks, and how England and France, unwilling to see Russia gain an advantage, coöperated. (See page 190.) The next occasion for interference was the Crimean War. In 1853 Russia, with the excuse of protecting Orthodox Christians, attacked Turkey. England, ever vigilant against Russia, joined the ambitious Napoleon III in aiding Turkey. Cavour, looking for prestige for Piedmont, joined the allies against Russia (see page 374) who, with these odds against her, was soon defeated. The peace conference, held at Paris in 1856, marked a return to the idea of a Concert since all the great powers were represented. The Treaty of Paris denied Russia the right to protect Christians in Turkey, ended her control over the territory that was later formed into Rumania, neutralized the Black Sea, and made navigation of the Danube free. The conference also issued the Declaration of Paris which laid down rules for neutral trade in time of war.

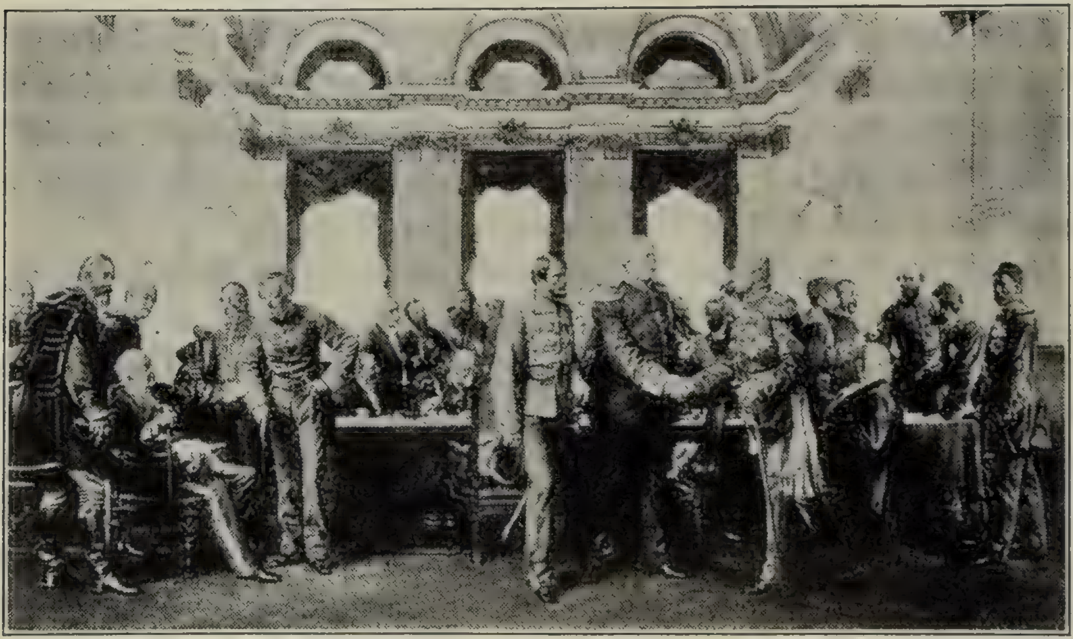
III. The Period of German Leadership

The unification of Italy, completed in 1861, and of Germany, completed in 1871 (see pages 377, 392), modified the international situation. Germany took Prussia's place in the Concert of Europe, and Italy, now a great power, demanded a voice in international affairs. Bismarck was chancellor of the German Empire until 1890 and for the generation from 1870 to 1890 the story of international relations is closely connected with him. His first consideration was to gain security for the new Germany, which he thought would be accomplished if he could isolate France. Where could France obtain friends powerful enough to endanger Germany?

Not Italy, because the Italians remembered the French desertion of 1859 (see page 375) and in their turn had made themselves unpopular with a large body of French opinion by their treatment of the pope. Not England, for England had been friendly to Prussia in the war of 1870 and furthermore France and England were colonial rivals and likely to develop friction over Egypt. Russia and Austria were possibilities, although Austria was bound to Germany by ties of blood and Russia had been befriended by Bismarck at the time of the unsuccessful Polish insurrection of 1863. Bismarck had made it a point to keep on friendly terms with the czar.

A. The Dreikaiserbund. Bismarck's first step in strengthening the German position was the organization of the Dreikaiserbund in 1872—the Three Emperors' League, composed of the czar of Russia and the emperors of Germany and Austria. The Dreikaiserbund was in the nature of a gentlemen's agreement and possessed an element of weakness in that it included Russia and Austria-Hungary who were both keenly interested in the Balkans. This weakness led to a rupture when Russia defeated Turkey in 1877.

Moslem Turkey had been maltreating her Christian subjects, especially in Bulgaria. Serbia and Montenegro took up arms to aid their fellow Slavs. Russia joined the attack on Turkey in 1877 and after some fierce fighting captured Adrianople and almost drove the Turks out of Europe. By the treaty of San Stefano the sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro, to grant Bulgaria autonomy and control over her own local affairs and to make reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Dardanelles and the Bosporus were to be open at all times to peaceful commerce and the Turkish fortifications in the Danube were to be destroyed. Russia was to receive a strip of the Dobrudja, part of Armenia, and a large indemnity.



From the painting by Anton von Werner. Culver Service

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878

The tall figure in the center is Bismarck. At the left, leaning on a cane, is Disraeli. The settlements reached by the Congress laid the foundation of the chain of circumstances which brought about the World War of 1914.

B. The Congress of Berlin. Austria and England were alarmed at the prospect of having Serbia and Bulgaria, grateful to Russia, practically under her control. They declared that the treaty involved a revision of the Treaty of Paris (see page 660) and would therefore have to be submitted to the Concert of Europe which had made that treaty. Under threat of war from England, the czar agreed to submit the whole question to the Congress of Berlin which met in 1878. Out of this conference came the Treaty of Berlin, which superseded the Treaty of San Stefano. It retained the provisions for the recognition of the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. Greece was given Thessaly. Russia was allowed to keep the section of Armenia and was given back the strip of Bessarabia which she had lost after the Crimean war. Austria was allowed to administer the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which remained, however, under Turkish sovereignty. Instead of a large, autonomous (self-governing) Bulgaria the territory was divided into three parts: one, Bulgaria proper, to be autonomous, merely paying tribute to the sultan; the second, Eastern Rumelia, to have administrative autonomy under the military control of the sultan; and the third, Macedonia, to be under complete control of Turkey. England was allowed to occupy and administer the island of Cyprus.

It is obvious that the diplomats at Berlin were not interested in the welfare of the Balkan peoples. Each was trying to get the most possible for his own country. The decrepit Turkish government in Europe was bolstered up to serve the interests of England and Austria. The provisions in regard to Bulgaria, particularly, lacked any consideration of the wishes of the people who lived within the territory. In 1885 Eastern Rumelia defied the powers and joined the principality of Bulgaria, but the Turks continued to rule Macedonia with a cruel and fanatical despotism.

C. The Triple Alliance. 1. GERMAN ALLIANCE WITH AUSTRIA. Germany gained no territory from the Congress of Berlin. Bismarck, who presided over the conference, played, as he said, the part of an "honest broker." He was forced to choose, however, between the claims of Austria and Russia and threw his influence to Austria, realizing that it meant the probable enmity of Russia. Indeed, Russia did sound out both Italy and France on the question of a joint attack on Germany. Accordingly Bismarck decided that Austria-Hungary must be more closely bound to Germany and after much labor he secured a secret defensive alliance in 1879. The treaty provided that in case of attack on either ally by Russia, the other should aid; in case of attack on either by any other power, the other should at least maintain benevolent neutrality. France was of course the other power Bismarck had in mind.

Although the treaty was not published until 1888 it was generally known that an understanding had been reached. The effect upon

Russia was to soften her warlike attitude. Bismarck had no intention of allowing Russia to become an enemy and he worked hard to establish the old friendly relations with the czar. Making skillful use of the personal friendship between czar and emperor, Bismarck was able to revive the Dreikaiserbund for a time. Later, another treaty, the so-called "re-insurance treaty," was signed by Germany and Russia without Austria's knowledge, but neither of these was sufficient to keep Russia from drawing closer to France.

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Street Scene, Tunisia, Tunis

2. Italy enters the alliance with Germany and Austria. Bismarck completed his work by cementing the alliance between Germany and Austria into a triple alliance which included Italy. We have already seen that Italy's action was inspired by chagrin at the French seizure of Tunis, long coveted by Italians. It took Bismarck's cleverest diplomacy to bring about an alliance between Italy and her ancient enemy Austria, but after prolonged and difficult negotiations a secret treaty was signed in May, 1882. It provided

that if Italy were attacked by France without provocation her partners would come to her aid; Italy in turn would help Germany against a French attack; if one of the allies (or two) were attacked and engaged in a war with two or more great powers the others would aid. This agreement, which was to last for five years, was renewed repeatedly and was in existence at the outbreak of the World War in 1914.

Two of the Balkan states also became attached to the Triple Alliance. Rumania formally joined the alliance in 1883 and remained a member until 1916. Serbia did not formally join, but in 1881 made a secret treaty with Austria-Hungary in which she promised not to tolerate political, religious, or other intrigues against Austria, and not to conclude any political treaty with another government without a previous understanding with Austria. On her part Austria consented to the Prince of Serbia assuming the title of king and agreed to help Serbia to expand southward. Serbia became a kingdom in 1882 and remained faithful to this agreement with Austria until 1895, when Serbia began to turn toward Russia.

In 1883 Bismarck could well congratulate himself on his handiwork. Austria and Italy were allied. Russia was friendly. Serbia was on good terms with Austria-Hungary and Rumania was also allied. England was friendly. France was without friends. France and England were quarreling over Egypt. France and Italy were at odds over Tunis. France was forced to give up hope for revenge and turned her whole energy to the acquisition of colonies. Europe was under the leadership of Germany.

IV. THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

A. The Dual Alliance—France and Russia. Alliances, however, are shifty, as no one knew better than Bismarck. This was particularly true in the case of Germany's agreements with Russia. Domestic factors both in Russia and Germany complicated the international situation. The Russian land owners exported huge quantities of foodstuffs to Germany, but German agriculturists were demanding heavy protection against foreign agricultural products. The

1894—France and Russia form a Dual Alliance.
1890-1900—England, alarmed at Germany's naval, industrial, and colonial advance, weighs the value of her policy of aloofness.
1898—France and England near the breaking point over the Fashoda affair, but Delcassé averts a crisis.
1904—The Entente Cordiale, or the understanding between France and and England over northern Africa, is established.
1907—England and Russia, France's ally, come to an entente or understanding concerning their interests in Persia. The Triple Entente is thereby completed.

Steps in the Development of the Triple Entente

A clear understanding of the chronological sequence of the above events will help you in your reading of this chapter and those that follow.

Russians resented the increased duties on imports to Germany by the tariffs of 1885 and 1887 and began to advocate measures of retaliation. A decree of the czar forbade foreigners to own land on the Russian frontier. Bismarck discouraged Germans from lending money to Russia and even tolerated propaganda to give the impression that such investments were not sound.

When Russia found it impossible to float her loans in Germany she found France willing to step into Germany's shoes as the provider of capital. The first loan from France was negotiated in 1888 for five hundred million francs. In the same year the Russian government placed an order with France for the purchase of five hundred thousand rifles and members of the Russian staff started to study military problems under the guidance of French officers. In the midst of these events Bismarck was dismissed by the emperor, who decided definitely to abandon the alliance with Russia and to work whole-heartedly in the interest of Austria-Hungary. France continued to make heavy loans to Russia; there was a mutual exchange of official visits; in 1891 a political agreement was reached between France and Russia by which both agreed to confer on every question of a nature to threaten the peace.

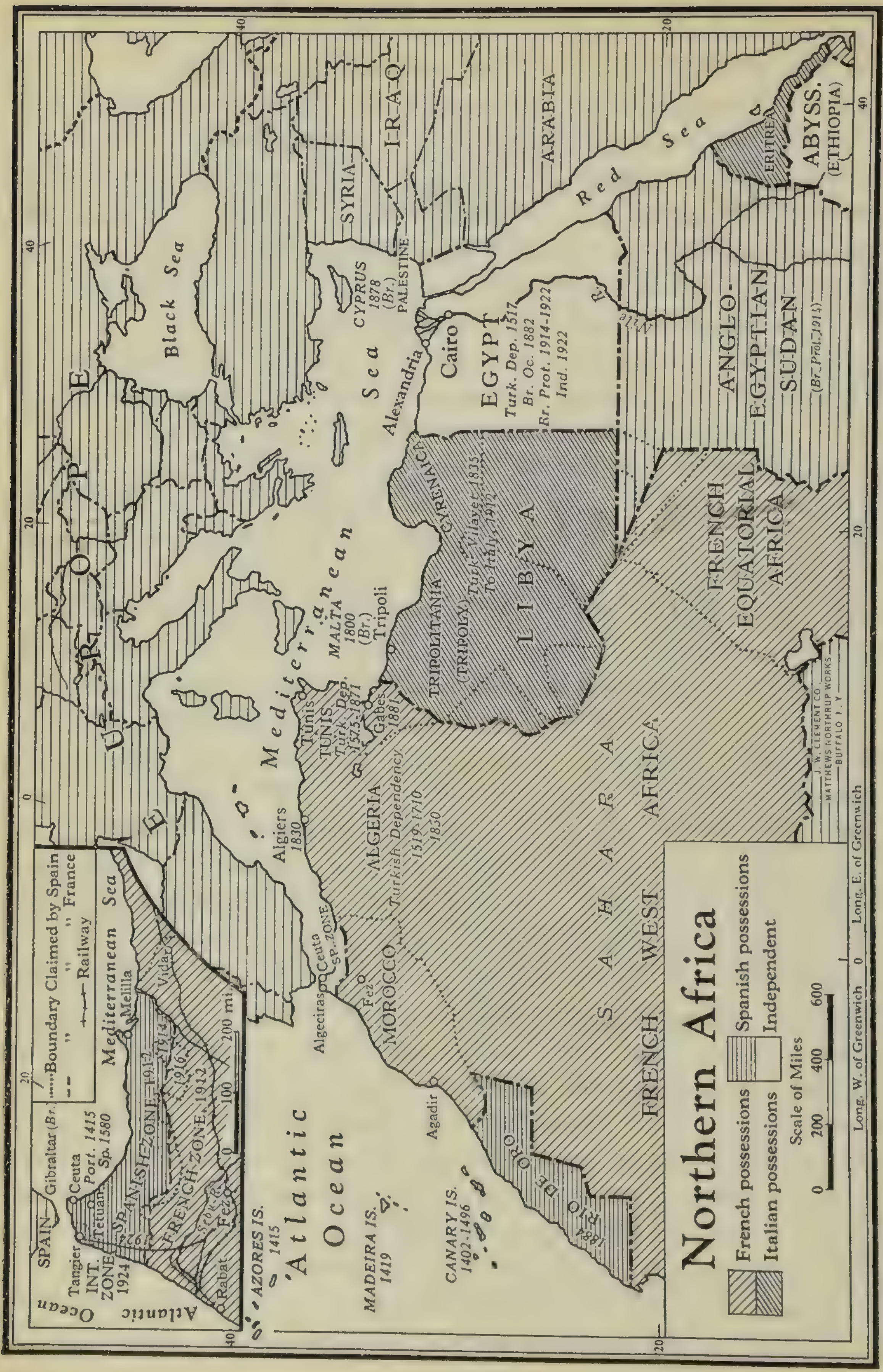
Finally in 1894 a military convention (agreement) providing for the coöperation of France and Russia was signed. The details of the agreement remained secret until 1918. It is significant that this

Dual Alliance was cemented by the loan of four million francs by France to Russia. From Bismarck's point of view the worst had happened. France had at last found a friend great in potential resources and man-power. While the Dual Alliance of 1894 was originally a defensive action, in the course of time it became in the hands of French and Russian diplomats an instrument by which they could pursue an aggressive and offensive policy in international affairs, a policy destined to have disastrous results.

Apart from Russian fear of a war with Austria and French fear of a war with Germany, both France and Russia were menaced by England, so the Dual Alliance was directed against England as much as it was directed against Germany. The important fact, however, is that the Dual Alliance challenged the leadership that Germany exercised through the Triple Alliance. An effort was being made to establish a balance of power.

B. Why was England ready to abandon the policy of isolation? The decade beginning in 1890 saw the remaining great power of Europe become alarmed. England, as we have seen, had pursued a policy of aloofness, although she had displayed a friendly disposition towards Germany in 1871. Bismarck tried to cultivate friendly relations between Germany and England. In 1890 both had been able to settle their outstanding African difficulties by treaty; England turned over Heligoland in the North Sea to Germany for a naval base. Queen Victoria was the grandmother of Emperor William II. In 1898, Chamberlain, England's colonial secretary, made overtures to Germany for an alliance but nothing came of them. Moreover England's great rivals were France and Russia. France caused her trouble in eastern India and northern Africa; Russia's activities in the neighborhood of Persia and Afghanistan annoyed her. All of these factors would seem to point to Germany as England's natural ally. The decisive factors in changing England's international point of view was the growth of German manufacture and commerce, the development of a vigorous German colonial policy, and the building of a large German navy.

Little as England loved France and Russia, fear of German competition and of the German navy drove her into their arms. Help-


Northern Africa
French possessions
Italian possessions
Spanish possessions
Independent
Scale of Miles
0
200
400
600
Long. W. of Greenwich
0
Long. E. of Greenwich
Boundary Claimed by Spain
" " France
Railway
Gibraltar (Br.)
SPAIN
Ceuta Port. 1415 Sp. 1580
Tetuan
Tangier
INT. ZONE 1924
SPANISH ZONE 1912
FRENCH ZONE 1912
Melilla
Vidal
Fez
Rabat
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Black Sea
SYRIA
I-R-A-Q
ARABIA
PALESTINE
CYPRUS 1878 (Br.)
Mediterranean Sea
MALTA 1800 (Br.)
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
Turk. Dep. 1517
Br. Oc. 1882
Br. Prot. 1914-1922
Ind. 1922
Nile R.
Red Sea
ERITREA
ABYSS. (ETHIOPIA)
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
(Br. Prot. 1914)
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
LIBYA
CYRENAICA
TRIPOLITANIA (TRIPOLI)
Turk. Vilayet 1835
To Italy 1912
Tripoli
Tunis
TUNIS
Turk. Dep. 1575-1871
Gabes
1881
Algiers 1830
ALGERIA
Turkish Dependency 1519-1710
1830
Ceuta
SP. ZONE
Algeciras
Fez
MOROCCO
Agadir
SAHARA
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
RIO DE ORO
1884
Atlantic Ocean
AZORES IS. 1415
MADEIRA IS. 1419
CANARY IS. 1402-1496
20
40
J. W. CLEMENT CO. MATTHEWS NORTHRUP WORKS BUFFALO N. Y.

ing in the growth of this fear was the fact that the German emperor had a flair for saying inappropriate things. For example, "Our future lies on the sea," was interpreted as a threat against England's naval supremacy, and when he said, "I am the protector of Mohammedans wherever situated," he was accused of stimulating unrest in Egypt and India and Morocco where Mohammedans made up a considerable portion of the population.

C. The Entente Cordiale—England and France. 1. The Fashoda Affair. Just at the time that England was beginning to fear Germany and Chamberlain was endeavoring to draw Germany into an alliance, Théophile Delcassé became France's foreign secretary. He was firm in his conviction that France and England should be friends. In the opening years of the twentieth century he so manipulated affairs that he undid much of the work of Bismarck and put Germany on the defensive. When Delcassé came into power Anglo-French relations were at the breaking point over the Fashoda incident. France was anxious to dominate the entire Sudan, as the region south of the Sahara Desert is called, from coast to coast. The eastern part, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan controlling the headwaters of the Nile, was claimed by England as a part of Egypt. A British and Egyptian force under the command of General Kitchener was pushing up the Nile, conquering the warlike Sudanese. In 1896 a small band of French and natives under Marchand set out from the French Congo and after two years of struggling through the unmapped jungle arrived at Fashoda in July, 1898, just after Kitchener had won a brilliant victory at Khartoum, five hundred miles to the north. When Kitchener heard that the French flag had been raised at Fashoda he pushed on and protested that this region belonged to England and Egypt. Marchand, declaring that he was there at the orders of the French government, refused to withdraw. Kitchener raised the English and Egyptian flags beside the French tricolor and the dispute was referred to the governments at London and Paris. War fever ran high in both countries; for a time war seemed inevitable. But finally, under Delcassé's influence, France withdrew, giving up all claims to the Egyptian Sudan in return for the recognition of her unlimited rights in the Central Sudan.

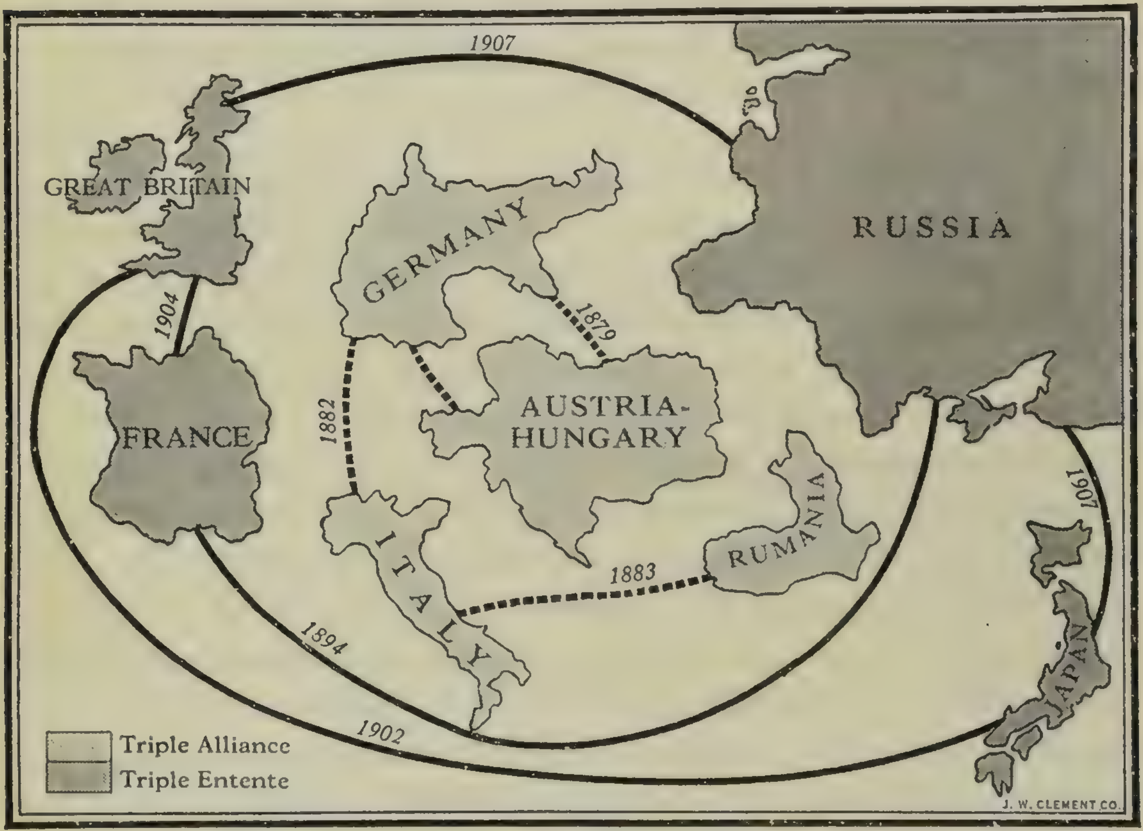
2. The English and the French come to an agreement over Egypt and Morocco. Delcassé in the next few years sounded out British statesmen on the advisability of settling by means of compromise all their outstanding colonial differences. His suggestion was welcome to many British diplomats; King Edward VII had always been a pronounced friend of France and he now lent his royal influence to the project of bringing France and England to a friendly understanding. In April, 1904, several agreements relating to French and English rivalry in Egypt, Morocco, Siam (locate Siam on map, page 604), and the Newfoundland fisheries were made. The most important agreement was one by which France gave England a "free hand" in Egypt; England gave France a "free hand" in Morocco; and each promised the other "diplomatic" support so far as their policies in Egypt and Morocco were concerned. There were also secret articles which looked forward to the division of Morocco between Spain and France. Thus the Entente Cordiale was established, at first merely a friendly understanding brought about by the removal of causes of friction. The course of events in the next few years, however, as we shall see, converted this friendly understanding into an all but definite alliance.

D. The Anglo-Russian entente. Another of the many factors influencing the formation of the Entente Cordiale was the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. (See page 590.) Since England was allied to Japan and France to Russia, it seemed that one way of preventing the Russo-Japanese War from spreading to European states would be for France and England to establish friendly relations with each other. Thus the Russo-Japanese War was a factor first in strengthening the Entente and then in converting it into a Triple Entente. The defeat of Russia by Japan made England realize that Russia was not so powerful as she had thought. It also taught France the necessity not only of encouraging Russia to develop her military and naval strength, but of tightening her friendships with other powers. Russia's obvious weakness also showed her that it was necessary for her to strengthen her position by favorable alliances. In this atmosphere it became possible for the English and Russians to reach an amicable settlement of their difficulties in Persia, Afghanistan, and China. The Anglo-Russian entente, which divided Persia into Russian and British spheres of influence, was completed in 1907. Both members of the Dual Alliance had now made their peace with England and the Entente Cordiale of 1904 was transformed into the Triple Entente.

V. THE BALANCE OF POWER: TRIPLE ALLIANCE VS. TRIPLE ENTENTE

By 1907 the Concert of Europe had given way to the Balance of Power and there stood opposed to each other the Triple Entente—England, France, and Russia—and the Triple Alliance—Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. But this does not tell the whole story, for Japan was allied with England and in 1907 both Russia and France entered into a friendly treaty with Japan, virtually making it a quadruple entente. Moreover, Italy's devotion to the Triple Alliance was only nominal. As early as 1900 Italy made an agreement with France concerning northern Africa to the effect that they would support each other's respective ambitions in all that region and in 1902 France and Italy made a treaty that each should maintain neutrality in case of aggression by a third power. This treaty remained secret until 1918, but diplomats knew that France and Italy had settled their differences. It should be kept in mind, however, that Italy, despite her understanding with France, continued a member of the Triple Alliance and in the four years immediately preceding 1914 the diplomats in charge of Italian foreign affairs were strongly attached to it.

When German statesmen saw what was happening they complained bitterly that Germany was being "encircled" by a group of hostile powers; they insisted upon Germany's right to a "place in the sun"; they demanded larger and larger increases for the naval budget. Germany was also worried about her closest ally, Austria-Hungary. The different elements of the population, made up of so many races, were seething with discontent. On the other hand Germany was interested in finding out whether the Triple Entente would stand together and provoked, or at least helped bring on, a series of international crises which added to the tension and led to a demand for heavier armament. All of them had the effect of drawing the members of the Entente closer together and prepared the way for the alliance of England, France, and Russia at the opening of the World War in 1914.


1907
GREAT BRITAIN
GERMANY
RUSSIA
1879
1904
1882
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
FRANCE
RUMANIA
ITALY
1883
1894
1902
1907
JAPAN
Triple Alliance
Triple Entente
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The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente

A. The Moroccan crises. 1. French interests in Morocco. Three of the crises which drew England and France closer together occurred over Morocco. Morocco has a territory of about two hundred twenty-five thousand square miles and about five million inhabitants; it is largely agricultural and possesses some valuable mineral resources. At the opening of the twentieth century it was ruled by a sultan, who was unable to maintain order and protect the rights of foreigners—French, Spaniards, and Germans—who were anxious to exploit the resources of the country. France, as we have learned, had occupied the near-by territory of Tunis (see page 664), and for a long time had been waiting for an opportunity to extend her control over Morocco. Strengthened by the free hand in Morocco given her by England at the time of the formation of the Entente Cordiale, France proceeded to make Morocco a French protectorate. She tried to negotiate a treaty with the sultan of Morocco which would give her control of the development of Morocco's natural resources, of the police force, finances, and other domestic affairs.

Publishers' Photo Service

CASABLANCA, MOROCCO

Since 1900 Morocco has come more and more under French influence. Notice the French signs on the buildings and the typical French sidewalk café in the center foreground.

2. TANGIER AND ALGECIRAS. Germany, desiring to test the strength of the Entente, under the guise of protecting the investments of her citizens in Morocco, tried to block France. The German ambassador urged the sultan to reject the French overtures. In 1905 the German emperor paid a visit to Tangier. In a series of speeches he took pains to refer to the sultan of Morocco as an independent ruler; thus, for example, he said: "Commerce can only progress if all the powers are considered to have equal rights under the sovereignty of the sultan and respect the independence of the country. My visit is in recognition of this independence." These and similar remarks were rightly interpreted by the French press as

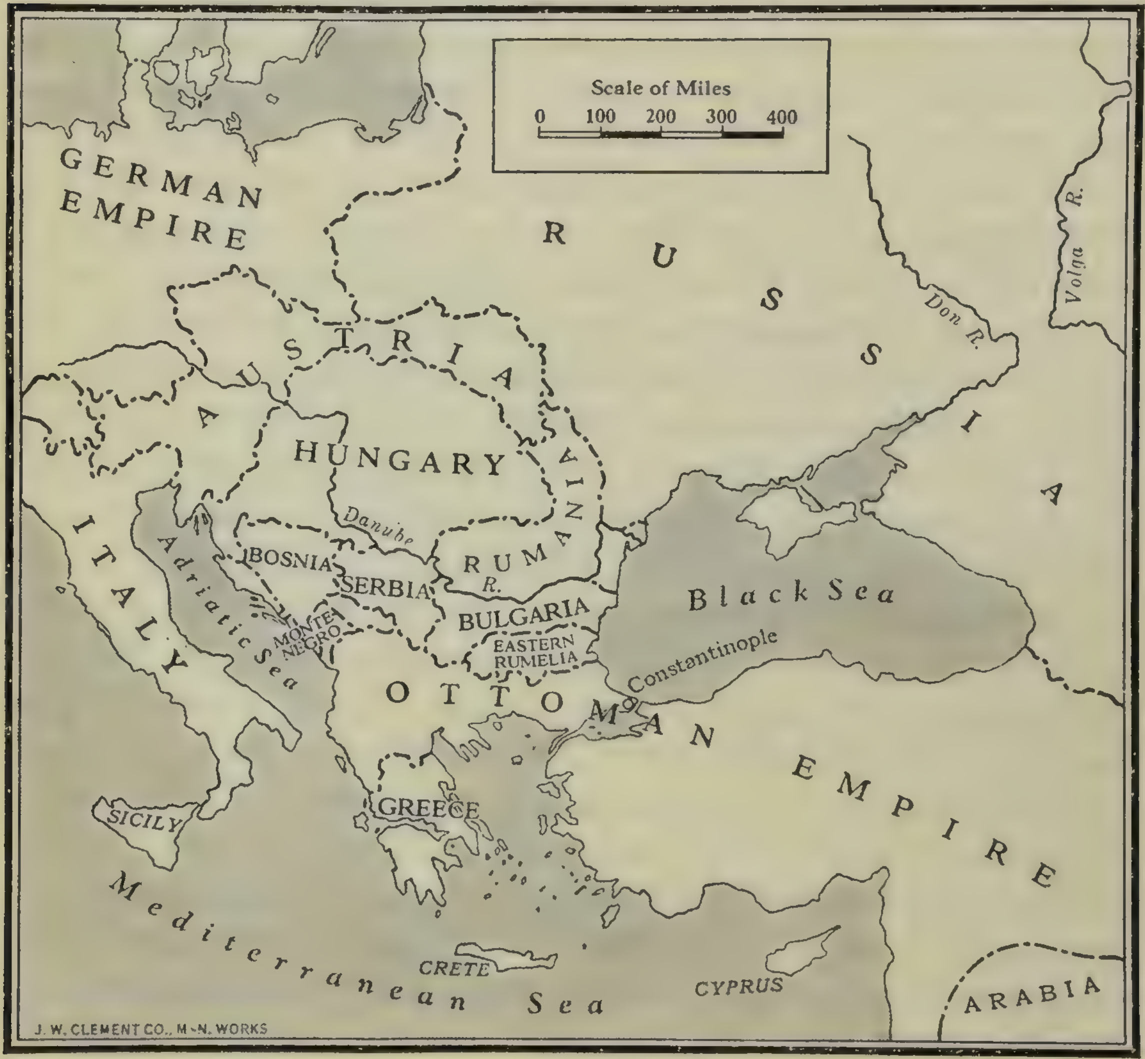
a challenge to the French influence in Morocco. German diplomats began to hint that Delcassé's conduct of the French foreign office was not altogether pleasing to Germany. Finally the German government demanded that the whole question of conflicting interests in Morocco be submitted to a conference of the powers—an attempt to revive the old Concert of Europe. This request was regarded by the French press as an unwarranted interference with French policy; it was particularly humiliating to M. Delcassé. When the French government, weakened by socialist opposition to Delcassé's warlike policies and also by the fact that her ally, Russia, had just been defeated by Japan, agreed to submit the Moroccan question to an international conference at Algeciras, Delcassé resigned. French nationalists and their sympathizers in England and Russia saw in Germany's action a denial of the French government's right to manage its own affairs in its own way.

At the Algeciras conference, held in 1906, the powers agreed to respect the sovereignty and integrity of Morocco and to maintain the policy of the open door. They also arranged for certain financial and administrative reforms and allowed France and Spain to organize and officer a native police force. Apparently Germany had achieved a diplomatic victory, but it was evident that behind the scenes not only was England working in perfect harmony with France, but also with Italy and Spain. Indeed, by secret agreements, promising Italy a "free hand" in Tripoli and Spain a voice in Moroccan affairs, France had made sure of their support. Austria alone stood staunchly by Germany. While Germany may have achieved a diplomatic victory, it was a costly one, for her "mailed fist" method of diplomacy aroused suspicion, fear, and resentment. It helped to draw France and England closer, and in the next few months the French and English military and naval staffs began "conversations" concerning war strength and the use of troops and navies in the event of a conflict. There is little doubt that France confidently hoped for British support in 1914.

3. Agadir. Another Moroccan crisis, the Agadir affair of 1911, was one of the most serious in the years preceding the World War. France had used her position in Morocco to undo the act of Alge-

ciras and undermine the independence of the sultan of Morocco. In 1911 an uprising in Morocco gave the French an opportunity to send a military expedition to occupy Fez. A German gunboat, the *Panther,* was sent to Agadir on the ground that Germany must safeguard the interests of her nationals, but with the significant hint that the *Panther* would be withdrawn from Agadir as soon as the French withdrew from Fez. War fever ran high. Military preparations were made in both France and Germany. But English warships maneuvered in the neighborhood of Morocco and England made it clear that she was ready to support France. It now seems that German diplomats had come to look upon the establishment of a French protectorate in Morocco as inevitable and that the "leap of the *Panther*" in 1911 was largely for the purpose of compelling France to compensate Germany in return for freedom to disregard the act of Algeciras. The action of England especially alarmed Germany, for Sir Edward Grey, who was in charge of foreign affairs, told Germany that England must be consulted in any new arrangement concerning Morocco. Lloyd George, who was chancellor of the exchequer and not primarily concerned with foreign affairs, went out of his way in the famous Mansion House Speech to declare that Great Britain would resort to arms to prevent England from being ignored in the Cabinet of Nations where her interests were vitally affected. Germany was angry at the "threat" for she felt that the discussion she was having with France over Morocco was none of England's business. The European war might have begun at this time if German leaders had been willing to allow the Moroccan affair to start a conflict. But German diplomats began to soften their language and finally, in November, 1911, France gave part of the French Congo to Germany while Germany promised to allow France to establish a protectorate over Morocco. France had achieved an object long dear to her heart but only by "compensating" Germany; at the same time England was drawn still closer to France.

B. The Balkan crises. While these crises were causing the jingo press of all countries to talk of national honor and prestige and to encourage popular support for increased armaments, other crises, even more threatening to the continuance of peace, were developing in the Near East. The Congress of Berlin (1878) had by no means settled the Balkan problem. Part of Bulgaria was still under Turkish control; nationalism made all the Balkan states cast envious eyes at the territory still left to Turkey in Europe; rivalry between the great powers for control of the Balkans still continued. Particularly bitter was the rivalry between Russia and Austria. Russia, ever aiming at control of the Straits (of the Bosporous and Dardanelles), instigated and encouraged Panslavism, a movement for the closer coöperation of all Slavic peoples designed to bring most of the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BULGARIA
EASTERN RUMELIA
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GREECE
SICILY
Mediterranean Sea
CRETE
CYPRUS
ARABIA
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THE BALKANS, 1907

Bosnia, although a part of the Ottoman Empire, had been administered by Austria since the Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

Balkan states under Russian influence. Izvolski, Russia's foreign secretary, was tireless in his promotion of Russian interests in the Balkans. Austria, realizing that Russia's ambitions threatened her very existence, was determined to check it at any cost. Back of Austria stood Germany who, blocked from getting the colonies she wanted in Africa and in the islands of the Pacific, turned more and more attention upon gaining influence in the Turkish Empire with its cheap labor and its resources of cotton, wheat, and minerals. In 1899 a group of German financiers secured from the Turkish government a concession to build a railway from Constantinople to Bagdad on the Tigris River. It was planned to link this up with a road from Berlin through Rumania to Constantinople, making the famous Berlin to Bagdad Railway. Germany's increasing influence in Turkey was an added reason for England's fear of Germany.

Publishers' Photo Service

OIL WELLS, PRAHOVA, RUMANIA

Rumania's wealth in oil has played an important part in diplomatic history. The Standard Oil Company has large investments in Rumania.

1. THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908. The sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid II, made no attempt to carry out the promises

which he made in the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin. (See page 661.) His government became more corrupt, more autocratic, and more feeble. France seized Tunis; England occupied Egypt; Albania, Arabia, and Crete were in constant revolt; Armenian Christians were slaughtered by fanatical Mohammedans. A nationalist and reform movement developed, which was strengthened by the action of the European powers. The Young Turks, as the nationalists were called, resented the Panslavic movement of Russia; they resented Austria's ambitions; they suspected England's policies; they felt confident that the Entente between England and Russia did not promise well for the future of Turkey. They got control of the army and proclaimed a constitution. After a year of frantic efforts at reform by Abdul Hamid, he was replaced by his brother, Mohammed V, and a parliament was established. It soon became clear that the Young Turks were more nationalistic than democratic. They started to "Ottomanize" the empire and their harsh policies toward non-Moslems, especially in Macedonia, alienated the support of the minorities.

2. THE BUCHLAU BARGAIN—AUSTRIA ANNEXES BOSNIA, HERZEGOVINA. With Turkey disorganized and torn by dissension, the European powers great and small saw their opportunity. Bulgaria in 1908 proclaimed her complete independence, and since she had Austria's support Turkey had to agree. Izvolski thought he saw in Turkey's troubled condition an opportunity to regain some of Russia's lost prestige. He desired especially that the Straits at Constantinople should be opened to Russian warships. He proposed to the foreign minister of Austria-Hungary that the Straits should be opened to Russia and that as "compensation" for helping Russia to obtain this objective, Austria-Hungary should be permitted to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, provinces which she had administered ever since the Congress of Berlin. This agreement is referred to as the "Buchlau Bargain." It well illustrates the trickery and inconsistency of diplomats. But what followed illustrates them still more. While Izvolski busied himself in an effort to secure the consent of Italy, France, and England to his half of the bargain, Austria acted

immediately. In October, 1908, Austria-Hungary announced to a surprised world the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This action almost led to a war at the time and was a factor of prime importance in preparing the way for the war of 1914. It fanned the flames of nationalism in disappointed Serbia, for she had hoped some day to obtain an outlet to the sea by incorporating these provinces, inhabited by fellow Slavs, into a greater Serbia. Serbia's relations with Austria had been constantly growing worse since the revolution of 1903 had put King Peter, an ardent nationalist, on the throne. Nationalist societies developed and were encouraged by Russia; their aim was the union of all the southern Slavs under the leadership of Serbia. Bitter hatred of Austria found vent in continued propaganda against the Hapsburg monarchy.

Russia protested strongly against Austria's action but, weakened by the Japanese war and the revolutionary movement of 1905 (see page 499), she was not able to do anything about it. She labored to get the question of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina referred to a conference, but without avail. Izvolski particularly was humiliated; unable to receive "compensation" by securing the opening of the Straits because of England's opposition, he devoted his energies as foreign minister to building up Balkan opposition to Austria-Hungary, to cementing Russian ties with England, and to developing the military and naval strength of Russia. It is reported that when the World War did break out, he cried exultingly, "It is my war!"

Germany was surprised at the suddenness of Austria's action and at first feared that the action of her ally might lead to war. None the less, Germany coöperated with Austria in preventing the episode from leading to an open rupture. Italy was annoyed that Austria had acted without consulting her, a fact which tended to draw her still further away from the Triple Alliance.

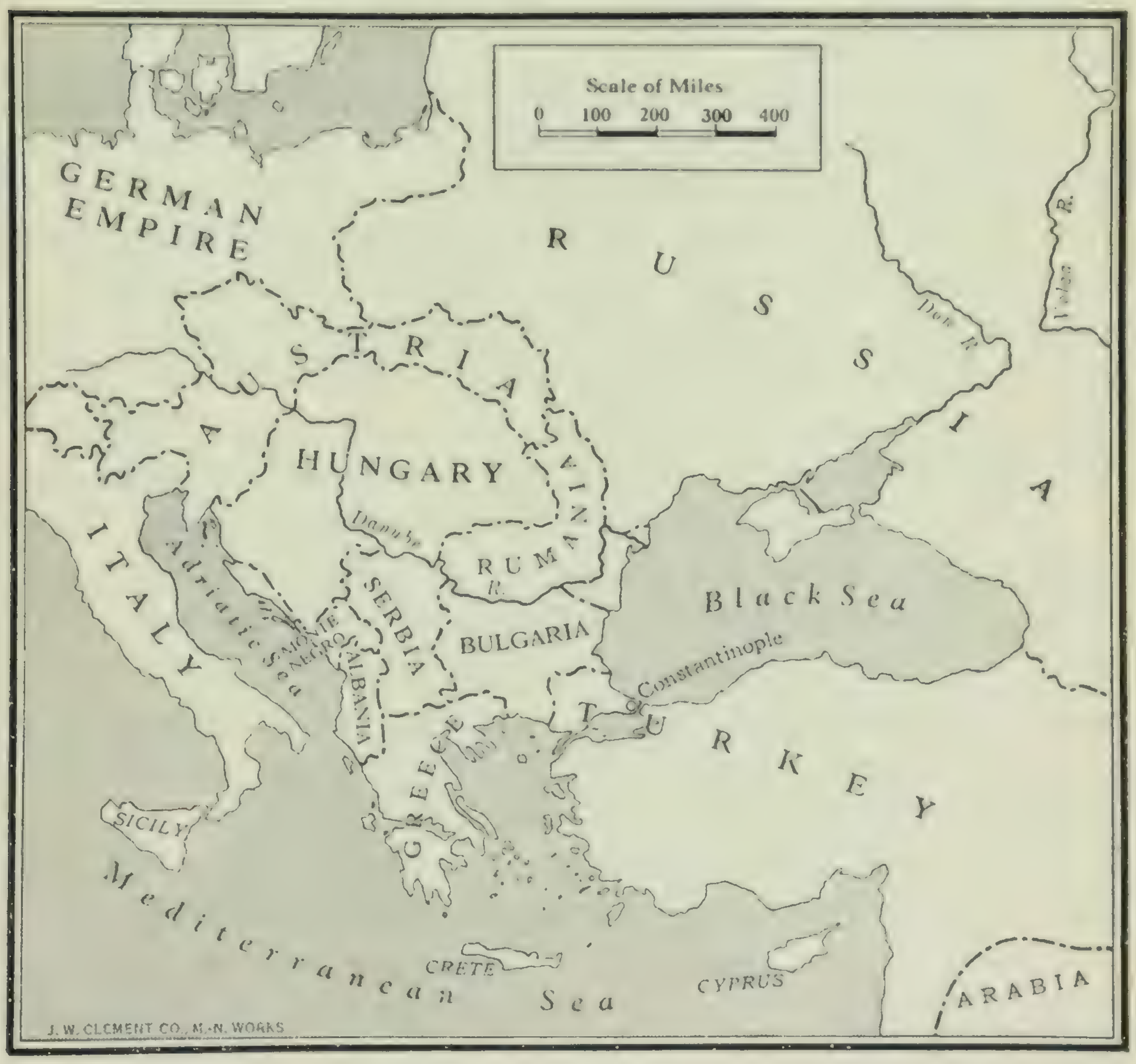
3. THE TRIPOLITAN WAR—A DOMESTIC SPLIT WITHIN THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE. In 1911 Italy announced her intention of annexing Tripoli and Cyrenaica. War with Turkey followed, in the course of which Italy seized Rhodes, Patmos, and the Dodecanese group of islands in the Aegean. By the treaty of 1912 Turkey ceded Tripoli and

Cyrenaica to Italy and allowed her to hold the twelve islands until the evacuation of the African territory should be completed. Italy still holds them. Italy's action further strained her allegiance to the Triple Alliance—both Germany and Austria resented it but were powerless to stop it. It was now Germany's policy to bolster up the Turkish Empire where German capitalists had many investments. Austria saw a threat to her ambitions in the Adriatic. France and England, by raising no objections, if not actually encouraging Italy to take the territory, further weaned her from the Triple Alliance.

4. The first Balkan war. (*a*) *Russia and the Balkan League.* During the Tripolitan war, Russia made another attempt to secure the opening of the Straits, having given Italy a free hand in Tripoli in exchange for Italy's promise not to oppose the opening of the Straits to her. Her failure caused her to redouble her efforts to organize a Balkan League of States against Turkey and Austria. She succeeded in 1912 when Serbia and Bulgaria, who had been traditionally hostile to each other, signed a treaty providing for the division between them of territory still under Turkish rule; Serbia was to obtain an outlet on the Adriatic coast, while Bulgaria was to secure the larger part of Turkish Macedonia. The Balkan League, later joined by Greece, came into existence with the encouragement and protection of Russia. While it was understood that the Balkan states were not to begin a war against Turkey without Russia's consent, there was no restraining their ardent nationalism.

(*b*) *Turkey defeated.* Taking advantage of Turkey's humiliation at the hands of Italy, little Montenegro declared war on Turkey and was of course joined by Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece. To paraphrase the remarks of Poincaré, Russia had started the motor but she couldn't apply the brakes. After six months of fierce but brilliant fighting, the superior forces of the allies surprised themselves and all Europe by driving the Turks to the gates of Constantinople and forcing them to sue for peace.

(*c*) *Albania is created and Serbia is sacrificed.* The worst fears of the diplomats had been realized; the Balkan states had broken loose and taken matters into their own hands. What would Austria do? Would she allow a proud, victorious Serbia to enlarge her territory? Would she allow Russia to become the dominant power in the Balkans? Supported by her ally, and yet her rival, Italy, she insisted that the Balkan states should not be allowed to settle things for themselves. The Concert of Europe was called into action, and at the insistence of Austria and Italy set up the independent state of Albania, thus again blocking Serbia's access to the sea. Hot with anger, Serbia looked to Russia for help, but Russia did not feel that the time was ripe to encourage a Serbian attack on Austria. Austria even contemplated a war to annihilate Serbia, but the re-


Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
GERMAN EMPIRE
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Danube
RUMANIA
R.
SERBIA
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
GREECE
Adriatic Sea
ITALY
SICILY
Mediterranean Sea
CRETE
CYPRUS
Black Sea
Constantinople
TURKEY
ARABIA
Don R.
Volga R.
J. W. CLEMENT CO., M.-N. WORKS

THE BALKANS, 1914
The Balkans after the Treaty of Bucharest (1913)

fusal of Italy to coöperate and the strong warning of Germany that such an action was not pleasing to her restrained Austria. Serbia was forced to yield to the creation of an independent Albania, but her hatred for Austria was redoubled. She was somewhat placated by the suggestion of Russian statesmen that the day for revenge was not far in the future.

5. THE SECOND BALKAN WAR. Since Serbia had been deprived of the territory which had been promised her, she insisted that her recent comrade in arms, Bulgaria, give her part of Macedonia. Bulgaria refused, and suddenly launched an attack upon Serbia. Thus began the short, second Balkan war. Greece and Montenegro came to Serbia's help; Rumania, jealous of Bulgaria's growing power and hoping to gain territory at her expense, joined the allies. Turkey also, hoping to save something from the wreck, attacked Bulgaria. After a month's fighting, Bulgaria was forced to sue for peace, and by the Treaty of Bucharest which ended the war (August, 1913) ceded territory to all her neighbors. Adrianople was restored to Turkey. Serbia obtained some compensation for the loss of Albania; but the spirit that surged through Serbia is illustrated by the remark of the Serbian minister, M. Pashitch, to his Greek colleague at the Bucharest conference: "The first round is won; now we must prepare for the second against Austria." Within the year, a year of tense excitement and hurried military preparations on the part of all the powers, the time to fight the second round had arrived.

C. The legacy of the crises. The Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 led, directly and indirectly, to the World War. In the bargaining and scheming, the Triple Alliance had stood firmly against the Triple Entente. Suspicion, hatred, and fear of each side for the other increased. On the whole it was a victory for the Triple Alliance. Russia, humiliated at seeing her Panslavic schemes checked, became more determined to prevent any further loss of prestige. The Balkan states, enlarged and confident, began to think more definitely of freeing their fellow Slavs from the control of Austria-Hungary. Serbian hatred for Austria led to the assassination of the archduke which precipitated the World War.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain why a new international alignment was necessary after 1870.

2. Why was the Triple Alliance an "unnatural" alliance?

3. Why did Serbia, who was friendly toward Austria until about 1895, change and become Austria's most bitter enemy?

4. What is there in the relations of France and Russia between 1890 and 1914 that helps to explain the bitterness of France toward the existing Communist régime in Russia?

5. What did Germany mean by her demand for a "place in the sun"?

6. What justification is there for calling Delcassé Germany's nemesis?

7. What truth is there in the statement that the Industrial Revolution in Germany was the cause of the World War?

8. Are the statements in Chapter XXVII on the results of imperialism justified by the events related in this chapter?

9. Explain why Turkey was called "the sick man of Europe."

10. What do the events that followed the Turkish Revolution of 1908 prove as to the real interest of the powers in Turkey?

11. In this chapter we have often personified nations, that is, we have said "Germany did this," "France thought that," "England wanted so and so," as though each nation were a person with a will of its own. From what you learned in Section V or from your own experience criticize this method of writing history.

12. How did the Russo-Japanese War help bring about the diplomatic revolution in Europe?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Concert of Europe

HAYES, Vol. II, pp. 679-691
SCHAPIRO, pp. 58-61
BARNES, *World Politics,* pp. 513-514
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. IV, pp. 153-154
BUELL, *International Relations,* pp. 680-682

The Triple Alliance and Triple Entente

Scott and Baltzly, pp. 469-488
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 691-705
Schapiro, pp. 687-696
Fay, *The Origins of the World War,* Vol. I, pp. 50-220
Gooch, *History of Modern Europe,* Chaps. 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11

International Crises

Moon, pp. 188-273
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 370-396, 488-499
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 704-711
Benns, pp. 3-24
Schapiro, pp. 700-704
Robinson, Vol. II, pp. 446-450
Fay, *The Origin of the World War,* Vol. I, pp. 223-542
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 202-269
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 640-652
Gooch, *History of Modern Europe,* Chaps. 3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15
Schmitt, *The Coming of the War*
Gewehr, *Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans,* pp. 79-122

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WORLD WAR

I. FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES

A. Imperialism. The account of international relations given in the previous chapter is only a summary of the principal alliances and the principal disputes. Lack of space forbids the inclusion of the hundreds of minor understandings, intrigues, disputes, and conflicts which the diplomats of the nations, large and small, engaged in between 1870 and 1914. Enough has been told, however, to enable us to realize that a most frequent cause of international dispute was imperialism. It was rivalry for markets, for sources of raw materials, above all for places for investment, that brought about crises in Africa, the Far East, and the Near East. It was disputes about the right of capitalists of different countries to develop oil fields and coal mines, to build railways, and to lend money to rulers of backward countries that helped to divide Europe into a Triple Alliance and a Triple Entente.

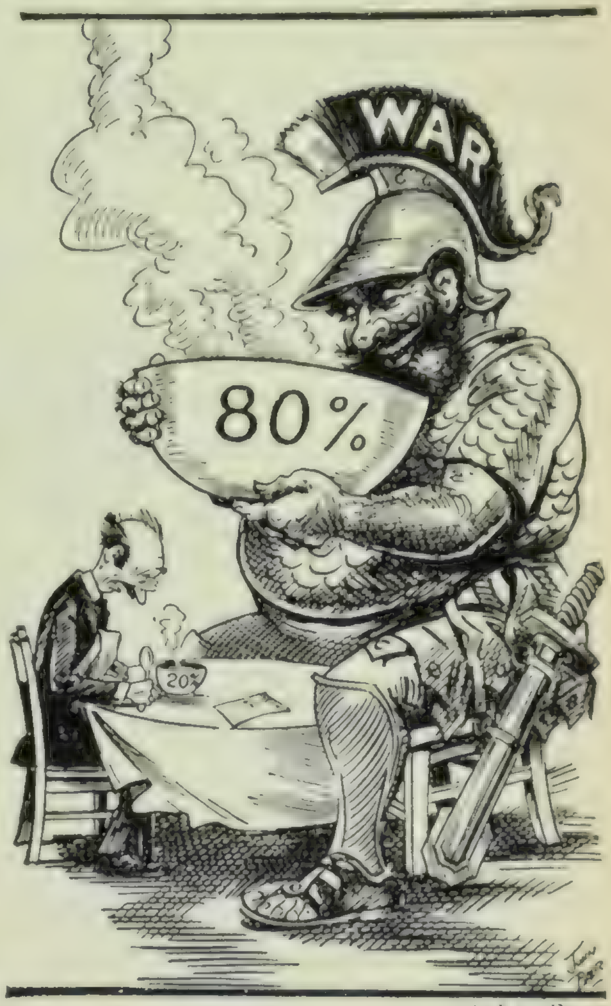
B. Militarism. The gaining and holding of colonies required large armies and large navies. Those who benefited from large armies and large navies urged imperialism. Consequently militarism was closely connected with imperialism both as a result and as a cause. The inevitable effect of crises caused by imperialistic and other rivalries was to create a feeling of mutual insecurity, suspicion, and fear. Even allied states distrusted one another. The effect of each crisis was an increase in armies and navies. Here, too, the movement was in a circle, for each nation felt bound to keep up with its rivals and there seemed to be no end to what every nation must do to satisfy the demands of the advocates of preparedness.

1. Origin of compulsory military service. Compulsory military service or conscription was fastened upon Europe in the decade following the Franco-Prussian War. The system of conscription commonly used is one whereby every able-bodied male citizen, when he reaches a certain age, usually eighteen or nineteen, is obliged to serve in the army from two to five years. After his active service he goes into the reserve which may be called upon to fight in case of war. This system is of comparatively recent development.

In the Middle Ages the army consisted of a personal following of armed retainers. The average peasant did little fighting; that was the duty of kings and knights. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries nations relied upon small professional armies mainly based on the system of voluntary enlistment; it was not until the latter half of the seventeenth century that distinct uniforms, a language of military terms, and the idea of rank were introduced. Gustavus Adolphus made use of conscription in the Thirty Years' War, so too did Frederick William the First and Frederick the Great of Prussia; but in these early systems of conscription only a small proportion of the able-bodied men was obliged to serve in the army.

In the French Revolution a whole nation was fighting for its rights; there came into vogue the stirring expression, "A nation in arms." France introduced conscription in 1793 but did not effectively carry it out until 1798. Napoleon raised his armies by conscription; it was introduced into Prussia. Conscript armies led to the defeat of Napoleon. Following the Congress of Vienna nations once again returned to the old system of voluntary enlistment and conscription was not used in the Crimean War nor the Franco-Austrian War of 1859. It was, however, adopted by the United States in the Civil War. In 1861 Bismarck enforced conscription in peace time on the Prussian parliament, raised his army, and used it with astonishing success in 1864, 1866, and 1870. (See pages 387, 388, 391.) The nations of Europe looked on with both admiration and fear at the efficient army Prussia had developed. After her defeat, Austria adopted the Prussian method and established conscription in 1868; so, too, did France in 1872; Germany definitely extended the Prussian system to the empire in 1873; Japan and Russia imitated them in 1874; Italy followed suit in 1875. England and the United States alone of the great powers adhered to the older method of small volunteer armies in time of peace.

2. **The cost of armies and navies.** Standing armies were costly not only because of the pay, equipment, and housing of soldiers but because they withdrew labor from productive industry. Scientific inventions, following close upon one another, quickly rendered old equipment obsolete and constantly made necessary new types of guns, ammunition, fortifications, and equipment. Taxes mounted and yet the race for preparedness went on. The year following the Balkan crises (1913) witnessed a veritable orgy of preparedness. Germany appropriated one billion marks for equipment and planned to raise the army from 656,000 to 870,000 men; Austria raised her army from 463,000 to 560,000. Italy purchased new equipment; France lengthened the term of service from two to three years; Russia lengthened the term of service three months. The construction of strategic railways was pushed and a French military mission was sent to help Russia improve her military organization. The Turks asked the Germans to reorganize their army. It is important to note that while Germany is generally regarded as the most mili-



John Baer

"The Little Fellow Pays the Check"

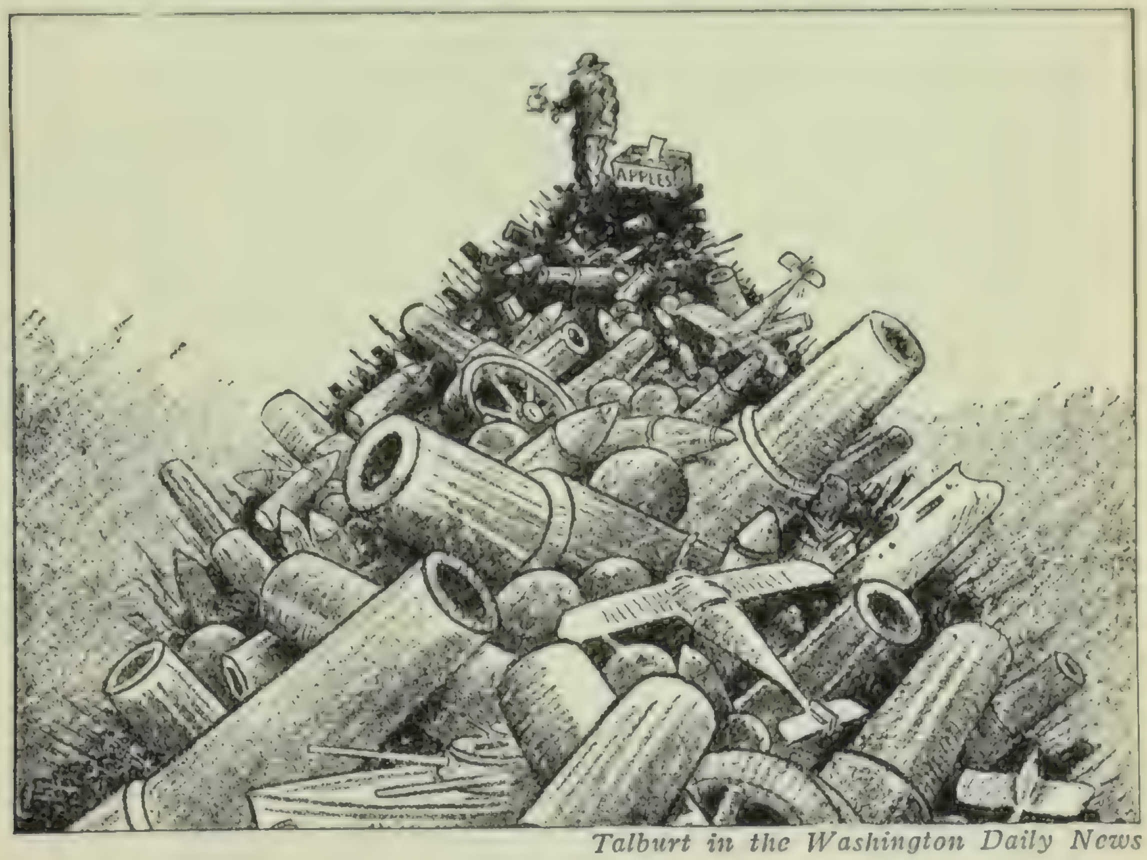
A cartoon of 1920 which shows the percentage of national expenditures in the United States that went in that year to pay for past wars and to prepare for future wars.

taristic nation of the period the standing armies of both France and Russia were larger than that of Germany, and the French army was the largest of all in proportion to population.

What has been said of military is also true of naval preparedness. England remained the great naval power throughout the nineteenth century. In 1888 a commission of three admirals reported that England should maintain a navy equal to that of any two other powers; this England justified on the ground that she was dependent on foreign sources for her foodstuffs and that her colonial routes must be protected. From 1888 to 1900 the only serious rivals to England's sea power were France and Russia and even when allied these two nations did not have as many first-class ships as the British. In the opening years of the twentieth century Germany and the United States joined the race for naval supremacy. The story can best be told by figures: in 1890 the United States spent $25,000,000 for her navy; in 1904, $80,000,000; in 1917, $313,000,000. In 1885 Germany spent $9,000,000; in 1890, $18,000,000; and in 1898, $30,000,000 for construction. Following the Spanish-American War and during the Boer War, Germany introduced her great navy bill of 1900, providing for a seventeen-year building program, calling for the expenditure of $370,000,000 on construction and $100,000,000 on dock yards and other equipment. Like army equipment, warships soon became obsolete; the type and size of guns changed; costs increased and the burden on the taxpayer mounted.

3. Influence of the military class. Within a nation large armies and navies breed arrogance; if a nation has powerful forces there is always a temptation to use them, and a temptation to believe that, since she has the power to enforce her will, her will is synonymous with justice. In other nations large armies and navies breed fear and suspicion. Large armies and navies also mean an influential group of officials ever urging greater preparedness. Moreover, since it is the business of military and naval officers to plan and prepare for war, they naturally come to believe that war is inevitable. Since they realize better than others the tremendous advantage that comes from striking first, they usually urge quick action in a crisis. They do not actually want war, but they are afraid to

hold back lest the enemy get the advantage of the first blow. The activity of military and naval heads in both Triple Alliance and Triple Entente in hastening plans for armament, in holding "conversations" with allied military and naval chiefs, was especially marked in the tense months of 1912 and 1913. In the crisis of July, 1914, the influence of the military and naval authorities in every nation was thrown on the side of war.

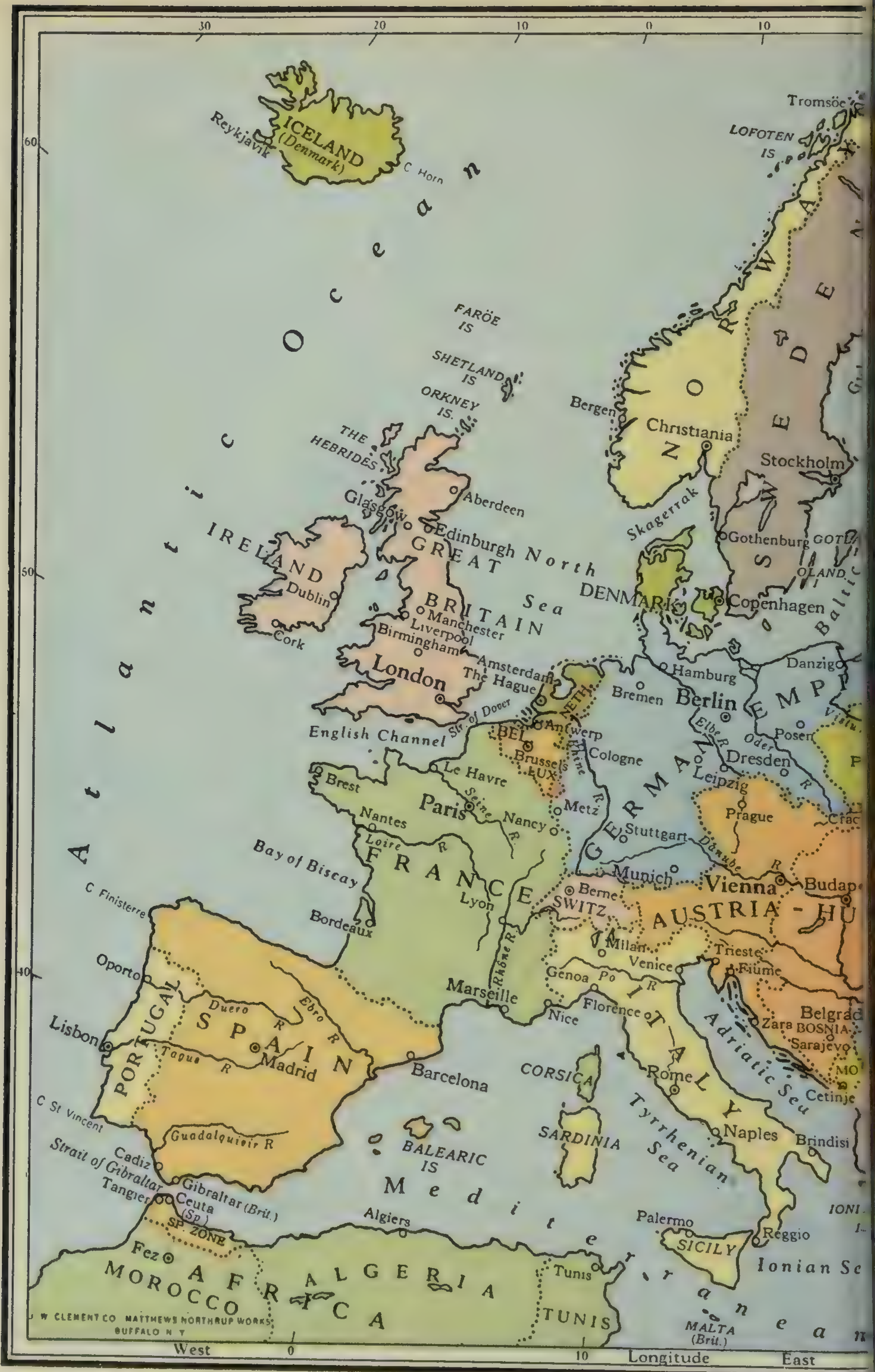


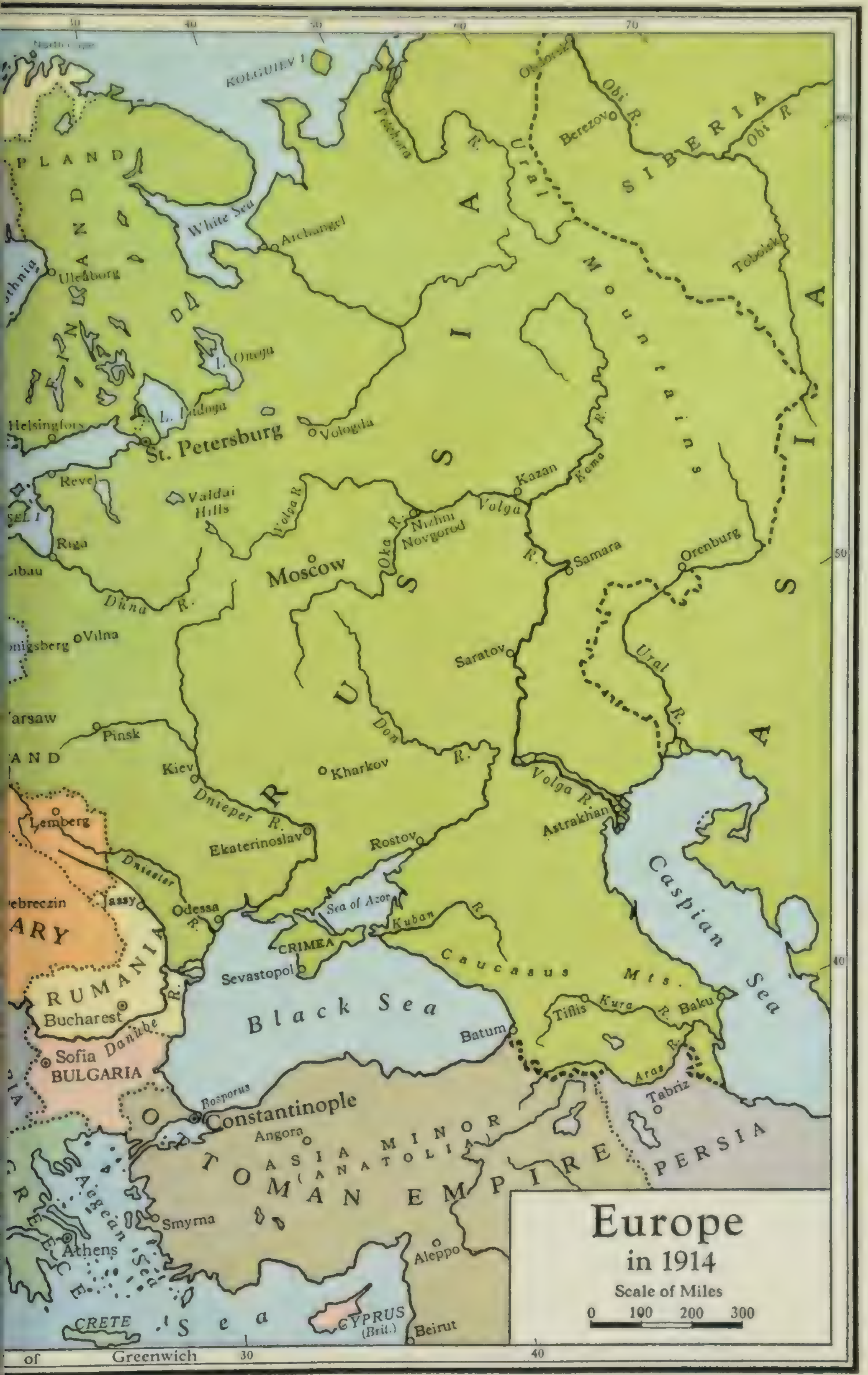
Talburt in the Washington Daily News

"THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT"

A graphic attempt to show the connection between the great expenditures for armament and economic depression. In 1930 and 1931 many of the unemployed in the large cities sold apples on the streets as a means of making a living.

C. Nationalism. 1. AS AN AID TO MILITARISM. Taxes for these great armaments had to be voted by parliaments elected by the people in every country. Why did the people who must pay the taxes consent? It is easy to see why munition makers, military and naval men, bankers with foreign investments, and various other groups who profited directly or indirectly from imperialism or militarism favored great armaments, but why should the great mass of citizens


30
20
10
0
10
60
50
40
ICELAND (Denmark)
Reykjavik
C Horn
Atlantic Ocean
FARÖE IS
SHETLAND IS
ORKNEY IS.
THE HEBRIDES
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Edinburgh
North Sea
IRELAND
Dublin
Cork
GREAT BRITAIN
Manchester
Liverpool
Birmingham
London
English Channel
Str. of Dover
Amsterdam
The Hague
NETH.
Antwerp
BEL.
Brussels
LUX.
Rhine R.
Cologne
Bremen
Hamburg
Berlin
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Posen
Dresden
Leipzig
Prague
Danzig
Vistula
GERMAN EMPIRE
Metz
Stuttgart
Danube R.
Munich
Vienna
Budapest
AUSTRIA-HU
Tromsöe
LOFOTEN IS
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Bergen
Christiania
Stockholm
Skagerrak
Gothenburg
GOTLAND
OLAND
Baltic
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Brest
Le Havre
Seine R.
Paris
Nancy
Nantes
Loire R.
FRANCE
Lyon
Rhône R.
Bay of Biscay
Bordeaux
Marseille
Berne
SWITZ.
Milan
Venice
Trieste
Fiume
Genoa
Po R.
Nice
Florence
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
Zara
BOSNIA
Sarajevo
Belgrade
MO
Cetinje
Rome
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Tyrrhenian Sea
Naples
Brindisi
IONI
Palermo
SICILY
Reggio
Ionian Sea
MALTA (Brit.)
C Finisterre
Oporto
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Duero R.
Ebro R.
SPAIN
Madrid
Tagus R.
Guadalquivir R.
C St Vincent
Cadiz
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar (Brit.)
Tangier
Ceuta (Sp.)
SP. ZONE
Fez
MOROCCO
AFRICA
ALGERIA
Algiers
Barcelona
BALEARIC IS
Mediterranean
Tunis
TUNIS
J W CLEMENT CO MATTHEWS NORTHRUP WORKS BUFFALO N Y
West
0
10
Longitude
East

Europe
in 1914
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
KOLGUIEV I.
PLAND
FINLAND
White Sea
Archangel
Uleåborg
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
Helsingfors
St. Petersburg
Vologda
Reval
Valdai Hills
Volga R.
Riga
Libau
Düna R.
Moscow
Oka R.
Nizhni Novgorod
Kazan
Kama R.
Volga
Samara
Orenburg
Saratov
Vilna
Königsberg
Warsaw
Pinsk
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Kharkov
Don R.
Ekaterinoslav
Rostov
Lemberg
Dniester R.
Jassy
Odessa
Debreczin
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
Bucharest
Danube
Sofia
BULGARIA
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
Sevastopol
Black Sea
Kuban R.
Caucasus Mts.
Batum
Tiflis
Kura R.
Baku
Aras R.
Tabriz
PERSIA
Astrakhan
Volga R.
Caspian Sea
Ural R.
RUSSIA
Pechora R.
Obdorsk
Ural Mountains
Berezovo
Obi R.
SIBERIA
Tobolsk
ASIA
Bosporus
Constantinople
Angora
ASIA MINOR (ANATOLIA)
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Smyrna
Aegean Sea
GREECE
Athens
CRETE
Sea
CYPRUS (Brit.)
Aleppo
Beirut
of Greenwich
30
40
50
60
70

vote to tax themselves and send their sons into the army? We asked the same question in the chapter on imperialism and the answer is the same—nationalism. People felt that national honor required them to keep up in the race for armaments. They accepted without question the argument that a great nation must have a great army and navy. Back of it all was fear, fear of their rivals, fear even of their friends. The great argument of militarists has always been that preparedness insures peace, that if a nation is strong enough no other nation will dare attack it. Every army and navy was built only for defense, so its proponents claimed, and so most people, under the influence of nationalism, believed.

2. INTENSIFIED BY SECRET DIPLOMACY. The power of nationalism for evil was intensified by secret diplomacy. No disinterested person can study the international relations of the past fifty years without being struck by the evils of secret treaties. Even when treaties were not secret, diplomatic negotiations were, and still are, carried on secretly; the average citizen was kept in the dark until his nation had definitely committed itself to a policy or course of action. Often things had gone so far that "national honor" was involved and the public was swept off its feet by nationalism to approve a course which it would not have tolerated if it had known of it and realized its implications from the beginning.

D. International anarchy. Imperialism, militarism, and nationalism were fundamentally responsible for the World War. Back of them, however, was an even more fundamental cause—international anarchy, the lack of any international power or authority to which nations might appeal to secure their rights. Individuals in their social and business relations with each other often have disputes, but these disputes seldom lead to bloodshed because society has built up a system of custom or law which fixes the rights of individuals, and has provided agencies for the settlement of disputes. Nations also had through the centuries built up international law which was supposed to define the rights and duties of nations. International law, like all civil law, was based on custom and tradition, but unlike national law before the World War it had no sanction; that is, there existed no force or agency for interpreting the law or enforcing its obligations. As society had become more complex and conflicts between individuals more frequent, national law had been changed and the machinery of enforcement made more elaborate. With all the increased contacts between nations which the railroad, steamship, and telegraph had made possible, the system of handling disputes between nations remained what it was in the days of the stagecoach and the sailing vessel. If one nation felt that another had violated its rights, it might protest and its officials might try by threat or compromise to secure satisfaction—or it might declare war. Among the nations there existed a state of anarchy—there was no international government. Among nations, as among primitive men, might made right.

We will speak of the attempts to do away with this state of anarchy by the League of Nations, the World Court, and other agencies in a later chapter. At this point we should note that nationalism was the main reason why international law had not progressed, why there had not been set up some authority to settle international disputes in a sensible way. No nation was willing to give up its sovereign right to do as it pleased regardless of consequences to itself or to others. This was the fundamental reason for the failure of attempts to ensure peace before the World War and it is the reason for the partial failure of similar attempts since. So long as national honor can justify every war as defensive, so long as nations are unwilling to recognize any authority higher than themselves, there is no hope for permanent peace.

II. Forces for Peace Before 1914

A. International coöperation. Strangely enough in the very period when Europe was dividing itself into two hostile groups and pursuing the endless race for military and naval supremacy, great steps were taken in the development of international coöperation and peace. The development of international trade had done away with the idea that any one nation could produce all of its own needs and support itself without help from the outside. Trade routes ran across international boundaries; railways did not stop at frontiers;

oceans were no longer barriers. Capital was international; labor everywhere had common ideals and was pursuing common aims. Literature, art, music, and science knew no national boundaries. World conferences were being held in which labor organizations, law associations, chambers of commerce, advertising men, bankers, charitable organizations, religious organizations, police and fire chiefs, health officers, scientists, and educators discussed their common problems and spread the benefits of their experiments. More than two thousand such international gatherings were held in the half-century preceding 1914.

Publishers' Photo Service

THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

The Peace Palace is the gift of Andrew Carnegie. It is the headquarters of both the Hague Court of Arbitration, established in 1899, and the World Court, established in 1922.

Governments, too, recognized the need for coöperative effort and put into effect plans for international action. The Congress of Paris, 1856, codified and amplified the laws of war. In 1864 the International Red Cross was established at Geneva. The Universal Postal Union, the Universal Telegraph Union, the Union for the Publication of Custom Tariffs, the Berne Convention for Patents and Copyright Laws, the Institute of Agriculture, the Latin Monetary Union, the International Danube Commission, the Pan-American Union, are examples of international coöperation of governments.

B. The Hague Conference. In 1898 the czar of Russia invited the governments of Europe and Asia and also Mexico and the United States to send representatives to The Hague for a conference on the reduction of armaments and the promotion of international peace. Delegates from twenty-six states met in the summer of 1899. The conference failed in its main object but it did establish a permanent court of arbitration at The Hague, and provided for the codification of the laws of war. Most of the states represented signed a convention agreeing not to use poisonous gases or poison or dumdum bullets in warfare. The second Hague Conference was called by the czar at the suggestion of President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907. Forty-four states were represented, including nineteen from the Western Hemisphere. The second conference also failed to bring about any reduction in armaments. It adopted resolutions calculated to make warfare more humane, provided for an international peace court, and agreed that a formal declaration of war must be made before the opening of hostilities. It recommended the calling of a third conference which never met.

C. The Hague Court of Arbitration. Conciliation, mediation, and arbitration had long been recognized in international law as ways of settling disputes between nations. Conciliation, sometimes called "good offices," is the suggestion by a third party that a dispute be settled. Mediation is the offer by a third party of a definite plan for settlement. Arbitration is the submission of a dispute to a court composed of one or more disinterested judges with an agreement in advance to abide by the decision. Arbitration has been used in several important cases, notably the *Alabama* claims, the Bering Sea controversy, and the Alaska boundary dispute between the United States and England. (The *Alabama* claims were claims made by the United States against England for damages done to Union commerce by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers purchased from British firms during the Civil War.) The Court of

Arbitration set up by the Hague Conference provides the machinery and a place for trying arbitration cases. A panel of judges, nominated by the states which signed the convention, was established from which judges might be chosen. No nation bound itself to arbitrate anything; both parties to a dispute must agree in each particular case to arbitrate. Following the Hague Conference, however, most of the nations made arbitration treaties with each other agreeing to submit certain kinds of disputes to the Hague Court. The fatal weakness of these treaties was that they did not make aribitration compulsory. Some provided that only cases of an "arbitrable nature" should be arbitrated; others excluded cases affecting a vital interest or national honor, leaving each nation to define these terms for itself. This meant of course that each nation would arbitrate only those disputes which it chose to.

D. The peace movement. The peace movement seemed to be gaining steadily in strength during the opening years of the twentieth century. More than one hundred fifty peace societies were preaching the economic waste and the horrors of war. Many writers and philanthropists fostered the movement. Count Leo Tolstoi of Russia was a great advocate of internationalism; in France Baron D'Estournelles de Constant founded a bureau of international conciliation and devoted his energies to propaganda for peace; the Swedish scientist Alfred Nobel created a fund for annual awards to those who had achieved outstanding success in science, idealistic literature, and the promotion of peace; in America Andrew Carnegie devoted a fortune to the promotion of peace. Impressed with the growing interdependence of nations and the strength of pacifist ideas, many optimists believed that there would never be another great international war. They failed to understand the strength of nationalism or the lengths to which patriotic statesmen were willing to go for the honor of their countries.

III. Immediate Causes

A. Why is the question of responsibility important? The intellectual world is still torn with dispute over the question as to who was directly responsible for the outbreak of the war. For the average person in every country involved in the war there is no such dispute; he has positive faith that his country was not responsible, that the enemy was guilty. In the preceding section we have tried to show that a situation had developed in Europe which made war likely if not inevitable. It seems obvious that this situation was due to fundamental forces of economics and human nature, not to the plans of any one individual, group, or nation. The immediate cause is of less importance than these fundamental ones but the question of who was directly responsible can hardly be dismissed as one that makes no difference. The Treaty of Versailles is based on the theory of Germany's responsibility; claims against Germany for reparations assume her guilt. Because of the revolutions in Germany, Russia, and Austria, documents have been published which, under ordinary circumstances, would not have been available to historians for half a century, if at all. These documents throw new light on the origins of the war; but unquestionably much more is yet to be learned. The archives of England are just being published and those of France, Belgium, and Italy have not yet been made public. It may well be that many of the facts now regarded as well established will be disproved by future revelations. On a question about which so much passion has developed it is impossible to have universal agreement, but everyone who believes in fair play should form an opinion on the facts that are available and be ready to revise this opinion if newly discovered facts prove it to be unsound. Patriotism is not a safe guide in determining war guilt.

B. The "Powder Magazine." In the early months of 1914 diplomats and statesmen feared war and were feverishly preparing for it. Even Belgium increased her army and adopted compulsory service. Triple Alliance and Triple Entente were straining every effort to secure a preponderance of power over the other group. Although in the months preceding the war France made a treaty with Germany which compromised their various interests in the Near East, and in the very weeks before the outbreak negotiations were completed between Germany and England which settled the long controversy over the Bagdad railway and virtually divided

Turkey into spheres of influence, suspicion between the two groups continued and preparations went on.

C. The assassination of the archduke. Serbia was bitter because of past wrongs and believed that Austria was planning an attack on her. Colonel Dragutin Dmitryevitch, head of the intelligence section of the Serbian general staff and the leading spirit in the "Society of Union or Death" or "Black Hand," conceived the notion that the murder of the Austrian Archduke would advance the cause of a "Greater Serbia." On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife were killed by a Bosnian student while attending military maneuvers in Sarajevo. Dmitryevitch planned the deed, and recent disclosures show that some members of the Serbian cabinet knew in advance of the plot.

D. The fateful fortnight. 1. GERMANY SUPPORTS AUSTRIA. To Austria-Hungary it seemed that the assassination was but the inevitable result of persistent intrigue and propaganda that Serbian secret societies had been carrying on among Slavic peoples subject to her control. To Austrians and Hungarians alike it seemed that the very life of their Dual Monarchy itself was at stake, and that drastic steps must be taken to crush once and for all anti-Austrian propaganda. Count Berchtold, foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, with the support of the military group in Austria decided to use the crisis to punish Serbia. In the name of the aged emperor, Francis Joseph, Berchtold despatched a letter to the kaiser: "The crime against my nephew is the direct consequence of agitation carried on by Russian and Serbian Panslavists, whose sole aim is to weaken the Triple Alliance and shatter my empire." Berchtold asked the German emperor for support and on July 5 the kaiser assured Austria that she could count on the backing of Germany. The kaiser also ventured the opinion that the Russian attitude would be hostile, but that Russia would hesitate before resorting to war; in any event Germany would stand by Austria. The general opinion among unbiased students of the origins of the war is that the kaiser and his ministers did not want war, although they must have known that they risked war when they gave Austria a free hand in the Serbian crisis. Three weeks later they tried to stay the hand of Austria but the *carte blanche* of July 5—that is, Germany's promise of support for whatever steps Austria might take—had carried the Austrians so far that it was then impossible to draw back.

2. Austria's ultimatum to Serbia. On July 7 a Crown Council of Austria-Hungary agreed that Serbia should be presented with so strong an ultimatum that she would be compelled to refuse, for it was believed that war, not a diplomatic success, was necessary. The ultimatum presented to Serbia on July 23, 1914, demanded among other things, (1) that Serbia officially condemn anti-Austrian propaganda; (2) that Serbia suppress anti-Austrian publications and societies; (3) that anti-Austrian teachers and textbooks should be excluded from the schools; (4) that Serbia dismiss such government officials as Austria might name; (5) that Serbia accept Austrian help in checking the obnoxious propaganda; and (6) that Serbia allow Austrian officials to assist in the investigation of the crime at Sarajevo. Serbia was given forty-eight hours to comply.

3. Serbia's reply, July 25, 1914. On July 25, Serbia made a cleverly worded reply, conciliatory in tone, which seemed on the surface to comply with most of the Austrian demands. Serbia thus secured the decided advantage of appearing before the world as willing to turn the other cheek. In substance, however, the Serbian reply contained many evasions and reservations. The only demand that Serbia appeared to reject flatly was the one requesting the participation of Austrian officials in the suppression of anti-Austrian propaganda and the investigation of the crime; to allow this would be to surrender her rights as a sovereign state. Serbia suggested that if her reply was unsatisfactory the whole matter be referred to the Hague Tribunal or to the decision of the powers. "The wishes of the monarchy are in the main fulfilled," declared the German emperor. "The few reservations can be cleared up by negotiations. A capitulation of the most humiliating sort is enshrined therein, and every ground for war disappears." Austria, however, without hesitation pronounced the reply unsatisfactory, broke off relations with Serbia, and started to mobilize.

4. Russia mobilizes, July 30. On July 28, 1914, Austria declared war on Serbia. The Austrian determination to crush Serbia

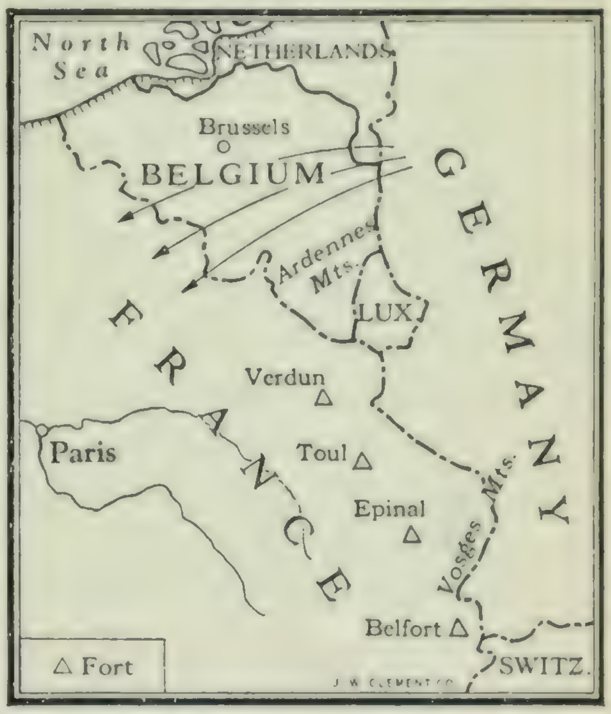
raised the question: Will Russia allow it? Once Russia decided to intervene the quarrel became a struggle not between Austria and Serbia, but between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. As in Austria so in Russia, some statesmen advised moderation, but the war party was in power. On July 29, the czar issued orders for general mobilization. The kaiser appealed to the czar, urging that Russian mobilization would precipitate a general war; the czar did countermand the order for general mobilization and directed that mobilization should proceed against Austria alone. The war party, however, continued their arguments with the czar and on July 30 again obtained his consent to general mobilization.

5. GERMANY DECLARES WAR ON RUSSIA. Upon receipt of knowledge of Russia's general mobilization, Germany, July 31, sent an ultimatum to Russia demanding the cessation of mobilization. Russia refused. On August 1 Germany declared war on Russia. On the same day Germany sent a twelve-hour ultimatum to France asking whether she would remain neutral. France replied that she "would consult her interests." Germany knew that war with Russia meant war with France, for France with a beaten or weakened ally would be without prestige, a condition which Germany well knew that France could not tolerate.

6. FRANCE FAILS TO RESTRAIN RUSSIA. Under the leadership of Poincaré, who became prime minister of France in January, 1912, the Dual Alliance had assumed new vigor. According to the account of Izvolski, Russian ambassador at Paris, Russia spent millions in bribing the French press to spread propaganda to win the French people over to her support. In 1913 Delcassé, arch-enemy of Germany, was sent to represent France at Petrograd. In 1914 Poincaré, then president, paid an important visit to Petrograd. The same year Russian and French military and naval experts discussed their common problems. It seems clear that just as Germany encouraged Austria, France encouraged Russia. While the French agreed to work with England for mediation and agreed to England's request to respect the neutrality of Belgium, they remained passive in the last few days of July and did nothing to hold Russia in check.

From July 27 to August 1 the kaiser and the German leaders were trying to undo the effect of the *carte blanche* of July 5; but the attitude of France was that she could not restrain or even suggest restraint to her ally, Russia.

7. GERMANY DECLARES WAR ON FRANCE, AUGUST 3; INVADES BELGIUM AUGUST 4. On August 2 German troops were moving toward the French border and on August 3 Germany declared war on France. On the evening of August 2 the German minister to Belgium presented an ultimatum to Belgium which it appears had been drawn up on July 28 and forwarded to the German minister to be ready in case of need. At the time of the presentation of the ultimatum, German troops were already on their way to the Belgian border. The ultimatum declared that German troops must be allowed to pass through Belgium in order to forestall France. Germany promised that if Belgium granted her request, indemnity would be paid for all damage that was done, and that Belgian independence and integrity would be respected, but that if Belgium refused, her fate was to be left to the decision of arms. Belgium accepted the second alternative with a fortitude that won the admiration of the world. Belgium replied that Germany had guaranteed her neutrality and that if she allowed German troops to pass through Belgium, she would be false to her international obligations and her honor. Belgium would not preserve her own security by sacrificing her neutrality and she resolved to repel every attack upon her rights. The Germans had made up their minds; on the second of August, the day the German note was presented to Belgium, German troops had occupied the neutral territory of Lux-



WHY THE GERMANS WENT THROUGH BELGIUM

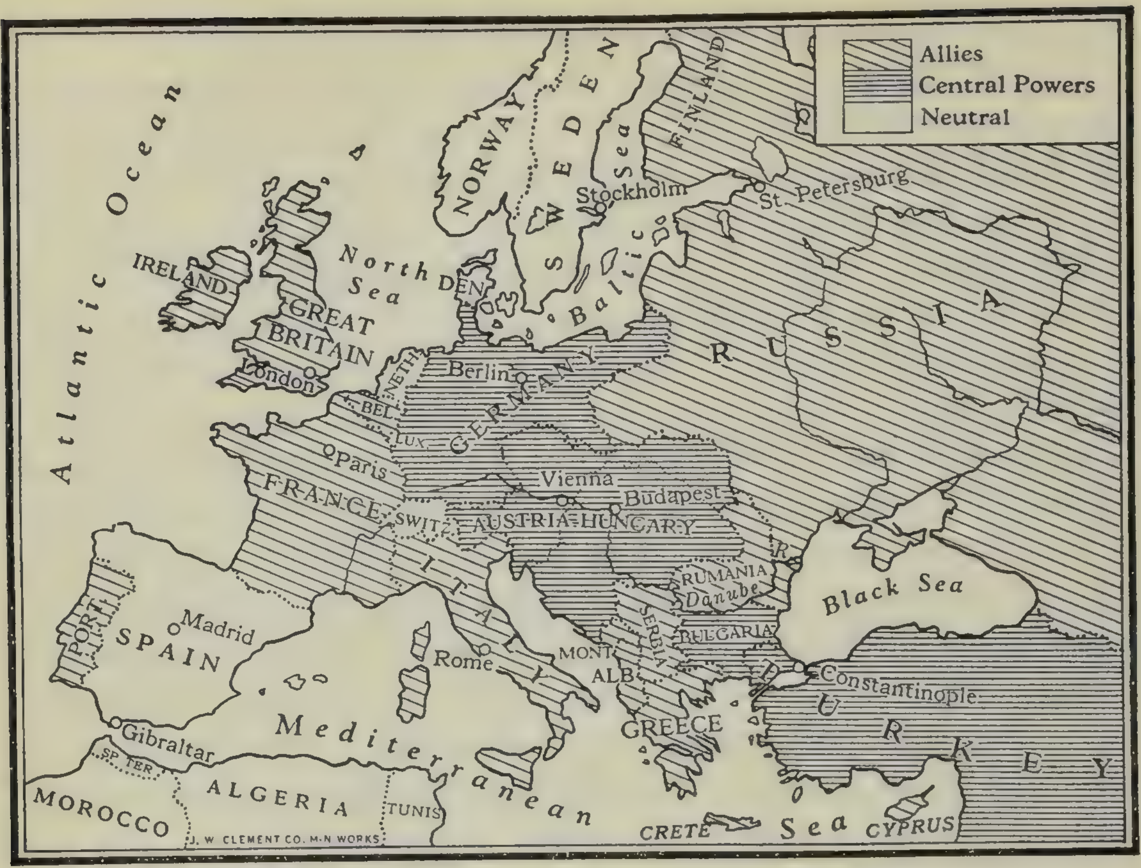
emburg despite the protests of the grand duchess. On the fourth of August, Belgium was invaded.

8. ENGLAND ENTERS THE WAR, AUGUST 4. England's ultimate action throughout these eventful days was apparently uncertain. Sir Edward Grey, foreign secretary, refused to agree to a policy of neutrality as the Germans wished, or to declare that England would support France and Russia as the French desired. The British cabinet was evidently fearful that public opinion would not support a war over the question of Serbia, but that it might be aroused over the violation of Belgian neutrality. On August 2 Sir Edward Grey was authorized to give the assurance that if the German fleet came into the channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet would give all the protection in its power. On August 3 the English ordered the mobilization of the Expeditionary force; on the same day the news reached England that Belgium had received an ultimatum. When Belgium gave her indignant reply to Germany, she also appealed to England to assist in upholding her neutrality. On the fourth of August England presented an ultimatum to Germany demanding that the latter respect the neutrality of Belgium. Germany refused, and England entered the war.

E. Germany's defense of the invasion of Belgium. On the same day the kaiser in a speech from the throne declared: "We are animated not by lust of conquest, but by a stern resolve to maintain the position which God has given us. We draw the sword with a clear conscience and clean hands." The chancellor thus defended the invasion of Belgium: "Were we to wait till the powers between whom we were sandwiched chose the time to strike? Gentlemen, we are in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg, and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. That is contrary to international law. The wrong we thus do we will endeavor to repair directly when our military aim is achieved. Whoever is threatened as we are and is fighting for his all can only consider how to hack his way through." Later on in the same day he used the fateful words—"Just for a word—neutrality—just for a scrap of paper—Great Britain is going to make war on a kindred nation." These phrases—"necessity knows no law," "just for a scrap of paper"—were used with telling effect by the powers opposed to Germany to arouse the moral conscience of the world against the Teutonic group who were painted as a ruthless gang of desperate conspirators.

The German chancellor's statement that England went to war "just for a scrap of paper" is only half truth. We have seen that as early as July 31 England became nervous about the status of Belgium, and that on August 2 she promised naval support to France. England feared for her own safety; in thus acting she was pursuing a traditional policy for it has been her constant ambition to keep small weak border states in western Europe. The average Britisher rallied to the support of the cabinet, partly because of indignation at Germany's violation of Belgium neutrality, but largely because the neutrality of Belgium meant the security of England. Apart from these considerations is the fact that England was a member of the Triple Entente. It is clear that England drew very close to both Russia and France in the years preceding the war. She had long looked askance at German naval and commercial strength, and these considerations doubtless influenced her actions in those trying days of 1914.

The diplomats apparently played a great game of bluff. Austria tried to bluff both Serbia and Russia; Russia's bluff was to mobilize; Germany by threat of war tried to bluff Russia out of mobilization; France refused to state her course of action, and that too was the policy of England. All countries had lived so long in the atmosphere of fear, which militarism and nationalism had created, that each was afraid to hold back lest it be at a disadvantage if war did break out. Not one of them desired a European conflagration, but, fearing that their bluff would be called, sanctioned all military measures short of war. Several suggestions were made that the whole question be referred to an international conference—the old Concert idea; but diplomatic red tape moved so slowly, while the situation changed so rapidly, that the frantic efforts to avoid a conflict by means of a conference failed. It is worth recording that the League of Nations now furnishes the means for quicker action in a crisis.


Allies
Central Powers
Neutral
Atlantic Ocean
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
London
North Sea
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
DEN.
Baltic Sea
NETH.
BEL.
LUX.
Berlin
GERMANY
RUSSIA
Paris
FRANCE
SWIT.
Vienna
Budapest
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
RUMANIA
Danube
Black Sea
ITALY
Rome
MONT.
ALB.
SERBIA
BULGARIA
GREECE
Constantinople
TURKEY
PORT.
Madrid
SPAIN
Gibraltar
SP. TER.
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
Mediterranean Sea
CRETE
CYPRUS
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European Nations in the World War

F. The line-up of the powers in 1914. On August 4 the alignment of powers was Germany and Austria-Hungary *versus* Serbia, Russia, France, and England. Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, loyal to her agreement with France in 1902, immediately declared her neutrality, and justified her position on the ground that she was only bound to assist Germany and Austria-Hungary in a defensive war. Rumania, also allied with Germany and Austria, likewise refused to be bound by the alliance and declared herself neutral. After long diplomatic negotiations with both sides, Italy finally joined the Allies in 1915, and Rumania did the same in 1916. Montenegro, knowing full well that in the event of a German victory her fate would be similar to that of Serbia, joined the Entente on August 7; Japan, in order to get Shantung—we have seen that Germany controlled Shantung (see page 586)—declared war against Germany on August 23. On August 1, 1914, Germany had concluded a secret treaty with Turkey and finally, after much duplicity in dealing with the Entente, Turkey declared war against Russia in October. Later the Teutonic powers were able to draw Bulgaria to their side while the Entente gained the support not only of Rumania and Italy, but also of the United States, China, Portugal, Greece, and several South and Central American states.

THE ALLIES		THE CENTRAL POWERS	
Country	*Date of Entrance*	*Country*	*Date of Entrance*
Serbia	July, 1914	Austria	July, 1914
Russia	August, 1914	Germany	August, 1914
France	August, 1914	Turkey	October, 1914
Belgium	August, 1914	Bulgaria	October, 1915
England	August, 1914		
Montenegro	August, 1914		
Japan	August, 1914		
Italy	May, 1915		
San Marino	June, 1915		
Portugal	March, 1916		
Rumania	August, 1916		
Greece	November, 1916		
United States	April, 1917		
Panama	April, 1917		
Cuba	April, 1917		
Siam	July, 1917		
Liberia	August, 1917		
China	August, 1917		
Brazil	October, 1917		
Guatemala	April, 1918		
Nicaragua	May, 1918		
Haiti	July, 1918		
Honduras	July, 1918		

THE OPPOSING SIDES IN THE WORLD WAR

G. Who was responsible? What were the causes of the war? Clearly the tragedy at Sarajevo merely served as the immediate occasion for the outbreak. In the words of G. P. Gooch, the eminent English historian: "The root of the evil lay in the division of Europe into two armed camps, which dated from 1871, and the conflict was the offspring of fear no less than of ambition. The Old World had degenerated into a powder magazine, in which the dropping of a lighted match, whether by accident or design, was almost certain to produce a conflagration." But back of this, stretching their roots far into the past, were the fundamental causes—imperialism, militarism, nationalism—each strengthening the other, all combining to make a conflict inevitable.

It seems futile to try to assess the relative guilt of the nations either for the fundamental or immediate causes. No nation was guiltless; every nation can justify its action by the actions of others. No statesman, probably, actually wanted war, but every statesman put his own country's immediate advancement above world peace. To quote Gooch once more: "The outbreak of the Great War is the condemnation not only of the clumsy performers who strutted for a brief hour across the stage, but of the international anarchy which they inherited and did nothing to abate."

IV. Military Campaigns

A. New methods of warfare. In studying the war we will give but the barest outline of military campaigns, devoting our attention rather to the new methods of warfare used and to the diplomatic developments. Modern armies are huge machines requiring highly trained technical experts as officers and directors of a complicated system of activities. Improved instruments of destruction call for a group of experts in chemistry, physics, mathematics, engineering, and cartography (map or chart-making). The mere problem of feeding and caring for the absolute necessities of an army of a million men is a gigantic undertaking. Hospital work requires a large staff of doctors, nurses, and assistants as well as vast expenditures for buildings and equipment. Sanitary measures to check the spread of disease must be developed to an unusually high degree. Speedy communication between different parts of a huge army require the elaborate development of all sorts of signaling devices; it becomes necessary to construct complete systems of telephonic and telegraphic communications.

Trench warfare on a colossal scale became a characteristic of the World War. Each army constructed two or three zigzag parallels of trenches, connected with each other and with numerous dugouts for the use of soldiers and the storage of supplies. Approach to the front line trenches was made by means of other trenches extending far to the rear. Between opposing trenches, often little more than a stone's throw apart, was "no man's land," obstructed by tangles of barbed wires and protected by hidden nests of machine guns as well as artillery. The trenches were defended by rifle, bayonet, and hand grenade; and of much more importance, the machine gun. Part of the equipment of the trench soldier was steel helmets and gas masks. In an infantry charge to capture even a few yards of ground, the soldier had to climb over the top, not infrequently cut and stagger and crawl his way through barbed wire, and then engage in hand-to-hand bayonet encounter with the enemy. Before such a charge long preparations had to be made. Airplanes, which take the place of the cavalry as the eyes of the army, had flown over the enemies' lines making photographs and observing maneuvers. Almost unceasingly and particularly before an attack, the artillery laid down a merciless barrage of shot and shell with the hope of forcing

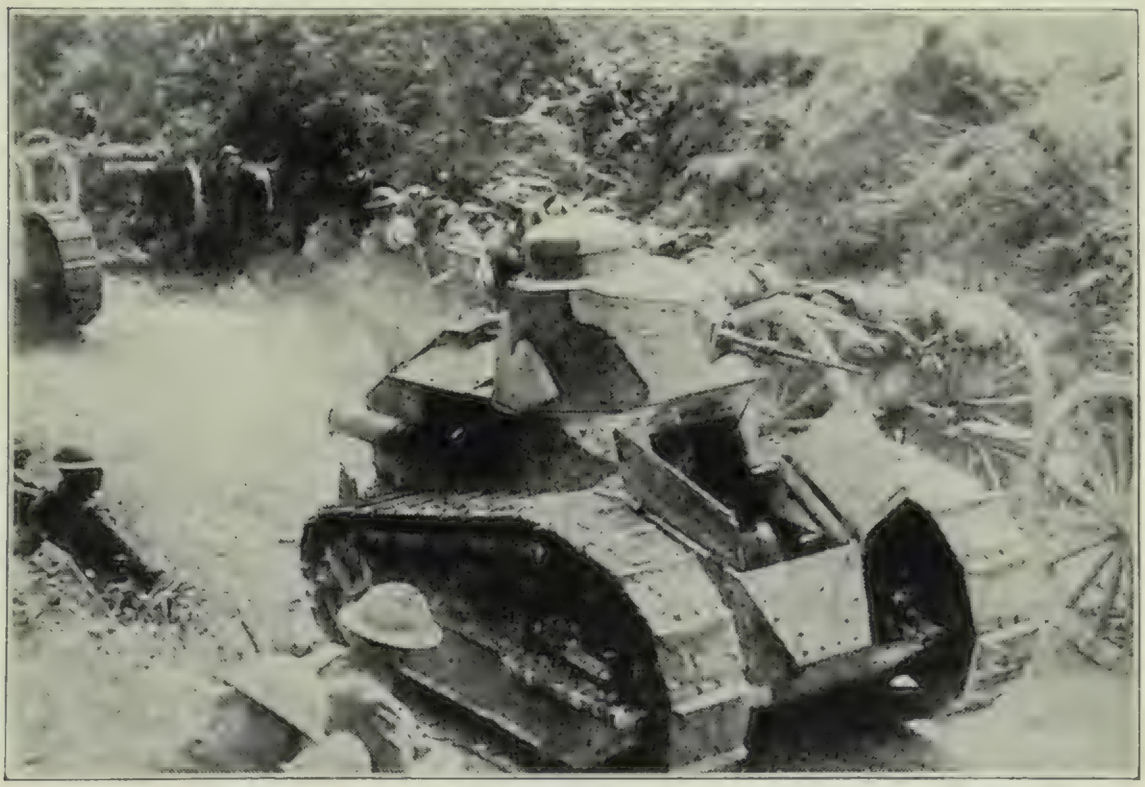
Culver Service

Trench Warfare

the enemy out of the trenches to be taken. Frequently, as the infantry advanced, the artillery laid down, from behind and over their heads, a creeping barrage, the impact of shot and shell slowly advancing in front of the infantry. Occasionally, this creeping barrage, failing to keep ahead of the infantry, killed many of the men it was intended to protect. To conduct such a charge required the utmost precision in the calculation of time and distance as well as the speedy transfer of accurate orders along miles of front.

Huge field guns with an effective firing range of fifteen to twenty miles were necessary to shatter steel and concrete fortifications and dugouts. Shells filled with poisonous gases were shot from the mouths of cannon; liquid fire was also used. So important did the use of poisonous gases become that special departments of Chemical Warfare Service were organized to handle the services that chemical science could render to the art of destruction. The British were the first to make use of the tank—a huge, armored motor car, drawn by caterpillar tractors, that could plunge through entanglements, over hills and obstacles, furnishing steel protection for its occupants and equipped with rapid-fire guns spitting destruction in all directions. Back of the lines were the artillery emplacements protected by all sorts of camouflage devices. Camouflage, the art of concealment, became a necessary and important adjunct of modern war. Ships conveying food, munitions, and men were protected by "smoke screens" or were painted with many colored, zigzag stripes to make it difficult for observers to estimate their position or speed. Dugouts, trenches, and gun placements were cleverly concealed from enemy observation. Aviation, in its infancy in 1914, made great strides. Airplanes, indispensable for scouting and directing artillery fire, were used for dropping explosive bombs upon strategic points. Germany made use of huge dirigible balloons—the famous Zeppelins—for scouting and also for dropping bombs on undefended British and French towns in the hope of frightening the civilian population. On the sea the Germans developed powerful submarines that could operate for several days and at long distances from their base.

The war was conducted on such a colossal scale that it was necessary to utilize the whole civilian population and to commandeer industry. In short, modern war is a struggle not only between professional soldiers, but between whole nations. Governments tottering toward bankruptcy found it necessary to impose burdensome taxes and to borrow staggering sums which generations yet unborn must pay. Governments resorted to government operation of railroads, telegraphs, and other utilities and to price-fixing, control, and regulation of basic industries. In the mad rush to profit from the war, industrial plants were enlarged and converted to the production of war supplies. The whole organization of industry, agriculture, and domestic and foreign trade was dislocated.



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THE ARMORED TANK

Barbed wire entanglements and shell holes did not prevent the progress of this moving fort, one of the most effective machines of destruction developed during the World War.

To build up morale, to create enthusiasm and a will to sacrifice, governments organized propaganda agencies to influence public opinion. It is because of the effectiveness of this propaganda that many people still believe so many things about the war and its origin that are not so. Every government maintained a strict censorship and was careful to disclose only those things which reflected its own actions as glorious and righteous, and the actions of the enemy as despicable.

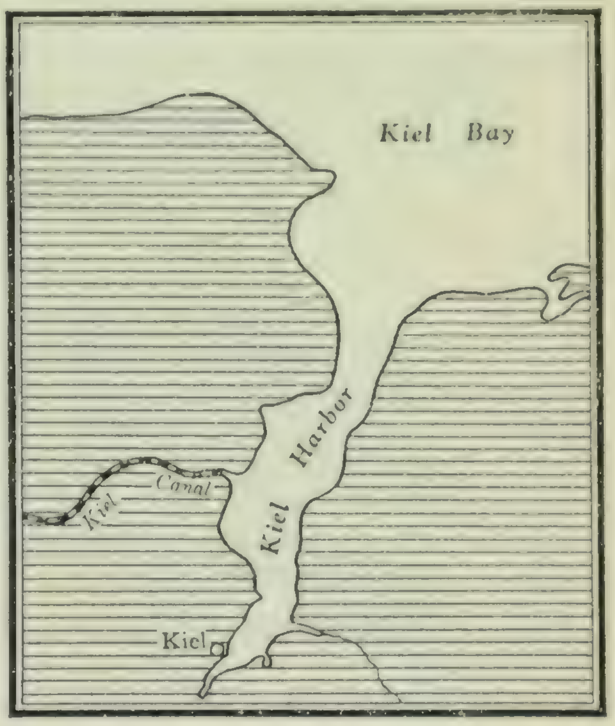
B. 1914. 1. Germany's first drive. The Central powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) were numerically the weaker; the combined population of Russia, England, and France was twice that of the Central powers. None the less, Germany and Austria had at the outset a decided military advantage. Thanks to their large reserves of trained men the armies they immediately put in the field were larger, better trained, and better equipped than those of the Entente. This initial advantage the Central powers lost as the war dragged on because it became possible for England and Russia to put more and more troops into the field. Throughout the conflict the Central powers had the advantage of geographical compactness and unity of command, while on the other side it was difficult for France and England to keep Russia supplied with necessary equipment and, until the closing months of the war, each member of the Entente insisted on having its own armies in the field commanded by its own generals.

The German plan of campaign was simplicity itself—crush France before England's little army could help her and before Russian mobilization would force a division of German forces; and then, with France prostrate, subdue England and the slow-moving giant, Russia. To strike France quickly, Germany sent her armies through Belgium. Belgium's brave resistance saved Paris, for it delayed the drive until England could send aid to the French and Russia could begin the invasion of East Prussia. Germany transferred some of her troops to the east and her drive against the French army was checked in September. In both east and west the rival armies "dug in" and began the dreary years of trench warfare, a war of attrition, that is, the slow wearing down of each other.

2. England maintains control of the seas. Naturally in such a war one of the most important factors working on the side of the Entente was British sea power. England was indisputably mistress of the seas and mute testimony to the fact was given by

the failure of the Germans to attempt seriously to wrest control from her. Within a few months the seas were cleared of German warships; the main German fleet was bottled up in the German harbors. German merchant vessels were likewise swept from the seas, either captured or destroyed or interned in neutral ports. Once in 1916 the German fleet, creeping into the North Sea, made an effort to overpower the British. Both England and Germany still dispute the victory of the battle of Jutland. The Germans inflicted considerable damage on the British, but they retired to their hiding place and never again made an effort to get to the open sea. The only weapon left to the Germans was the submarine; as we shall see later, they made deadly use of it and for a time were able seriously to threaten the Entente.

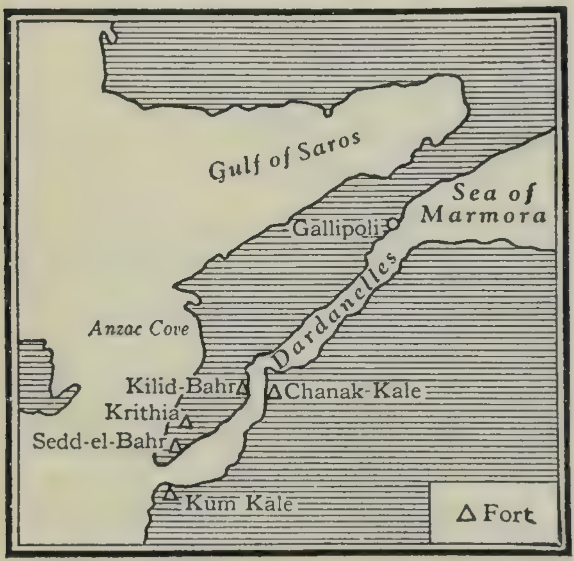
British mastery of the sea gave the Entente overwhelming advantages in a long drawn out contest. By saving England from invasion, it gave the Entente time to provide the necessary training for the raw recruits, who volunteered in England, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and equally important, to supply them with necessary raw materials and the newer weapons of warfare and defense. The Entente was able to transport men and supplies overseas from all parts of the globe, and particularly from the United States. Germany was forced to become practically self-sufficient, her supply of foreign goods limited to those which she could get through neutral countries on her border.



THE REFUGE OF THE GERMAN NAVY

The British navy also served to carry the war outside of Europe, while making it impossible for Germany to give any assistance to her colonies. In the Pacific, Japan took advantage of the war to establish her leadership in the Orient, taking possession of Kiaochow and the German islands north of the Equator, while Australia and New Zealand seized the German islands south of the Equator. In Africa, British and French colonial troops took German Kamerun and Togoland. The Union of South Africa occupied German Southwest Africa in 1915 and finally, in 1918, conquered German East Africa. (See map on page 578.)

C. 1915. 1. THE DARDANELLES CAMPAIGN. Turkey's entrance into the war on the side of Germany in October, 1914, enlarged the sphere of activity of the British navy. In order to establish closer communication with Russia and to separate Turkey from the Central powers, and in the hope that all the Balkan states would join the Entente, England planned an attack on Constantinople. The Dardanelles campaign lasted from February to December, 1915. At first, a combined British and French fleet tried to capture the Turkish fortresses guarding the Straits, but without success. Then the British landed on the Gallipoli peninsula a large body of colonial troops, the "Anzacs," mainly from Australia and New Zealand. In spite of desperate fighting and terrible losses from wounds and disease, the forts could not be taken, and the expedition, which had been organized with such high hopes, ended in failure.



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THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA

2. GERMANY'S VICTORIES AGAINST RUSSIA ON THE EASTERN FRONT. At the beginning of 1915 the Germans apparently decided that it would be easier to reach a decision against Russia in the east than against France and England in the west. Leaving enough troops to defend the western front, Germany concentrated men and supplies on the Russian line. Throughout the spring and summer, Germans and Austrians hammered away at Russia, recovered Galicia, invaded Poland, and conquered most of Lithuania and Cour-

land. Russian losses were enormous, and although she remained in the war for another year, she was of small value to the Entente. Little of importance occurred on the western front during 1915. The Entente was too busy at the Dardanelles and too deficient in supplies, guns, high explosives, and disciplined troops to undertake anything more than minor offensives.

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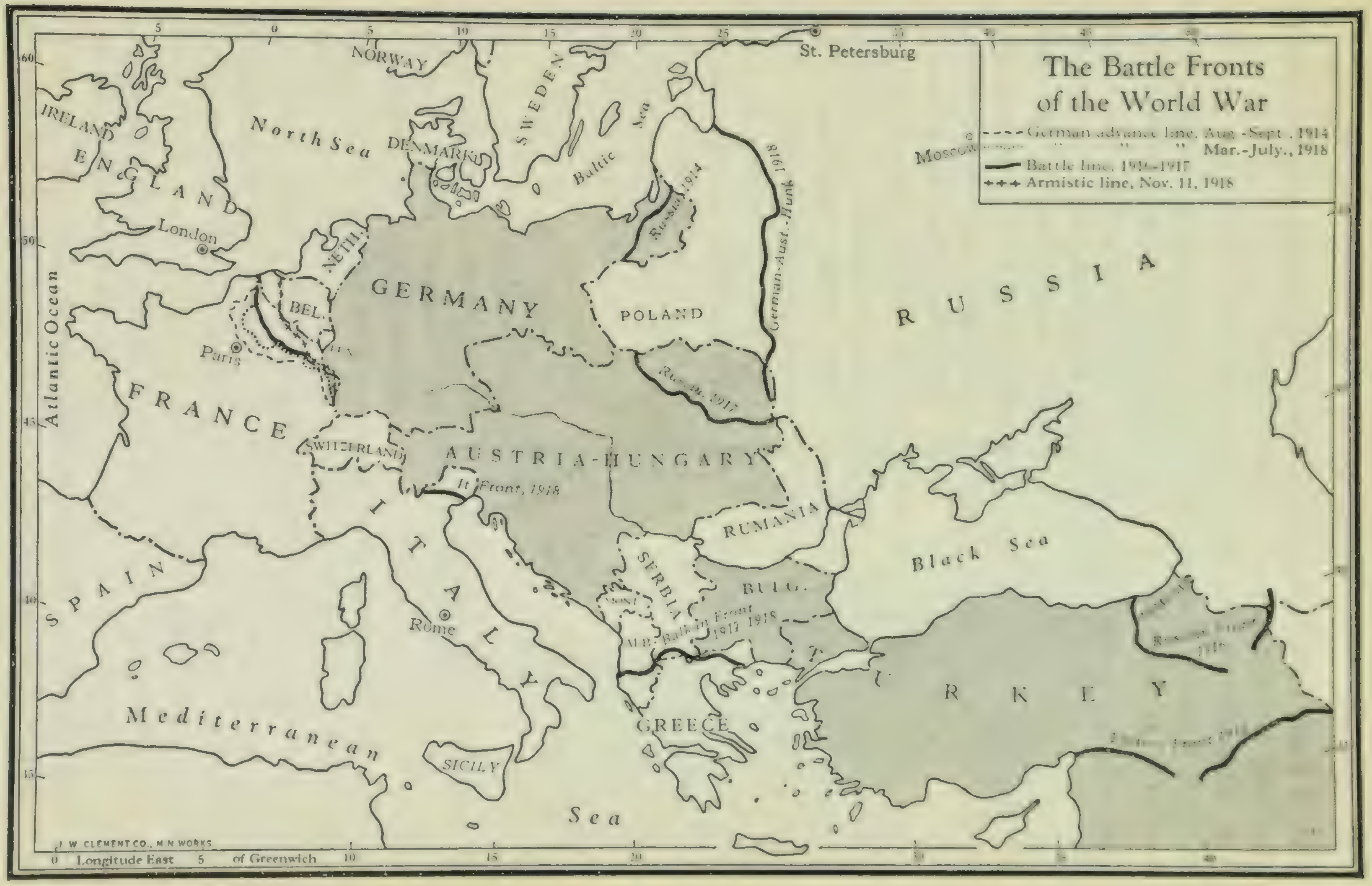
Barbed Wire Entanglements

D. 1916, Verdun. With Russia beaten, and the Dardanelles campaign abandoned as a costly failure, the Germans, apart from the fact that they had lost control of the sea, had a decided military advantage at the opening of 1916. Troops and munitions were now transferred from the eastern to the western front and plans were made for a crushing blow against France. From February to June the Germans pounded away at Verdun, struggling for a decision. But the French had used 1915 to prepare themselves and under the leadership of General Petain put up a brilliant defense. "They shall not pass," became the slogan. The Germans attacked, gained ground, were repulsed, attacked again, and again were repulsed. They gained one hundred and thirty square miles of territory at a sacrifice of three hundred thousand men, but, thanks to the brave resistance of the French, they did not pass.

In order to relieve the pressure on Verdun, the English and French assumed the offensive on the Somme, where bitter fighting took place from June to November, but without decisive result. The offensive of the Somme caused the Germans to prepare a new line of trenches some hundred miles to the rear of the battle line; to this famous "Hindenburg line" they made a strategic retreat in March, 1917, devastating the intervening territory. Meanwhile Rumania entered the war on the side of the Entente in August, but was completely crushed within five months by a combined German, Bulgarian, and Turkish army.

E. 1917. The outstanding events of 1917 were Russia's revolution and military collapse (see page 501), Germany's submarine campaign, and the entrance of the United States into the war. Leaving these for future consideration, we shall sum up briefly the military developments of the final two years. Nothing decisive happened on the western front in 1917. In the fall, Austria, relieved from Russian pressure in Galicia, delivered a terrific blow against Italy, which had entered the war on the side of the Entente in May, 1915, driving the Italians back to the Piave River. Here, with the aid of French and British troops, the drive was checked. During 1917 German submarines played havoc with Allied shipping but improved methods of defense against the under-sea boats lessened their threat before the end of the year. The submarine campaign failed as the drive at Verdun had failed in 1916. Germany, therefore, determined to make a last desperate bid for decision on the battlefield before the forces of the United States could be made effective.

F. 1918. 1. GERMANY'S LAST DRIVE. Germany's last great effort began March 21, 1918, by a series of great drives in the region of the Somme. At first they swept everything before them, and the Allies, faced by defeat, at last brought about unity of command by appointing Foch, a French general, as Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies. The German attacks continued, now in the center, now in the north, now in the south. The fall of the channel ports

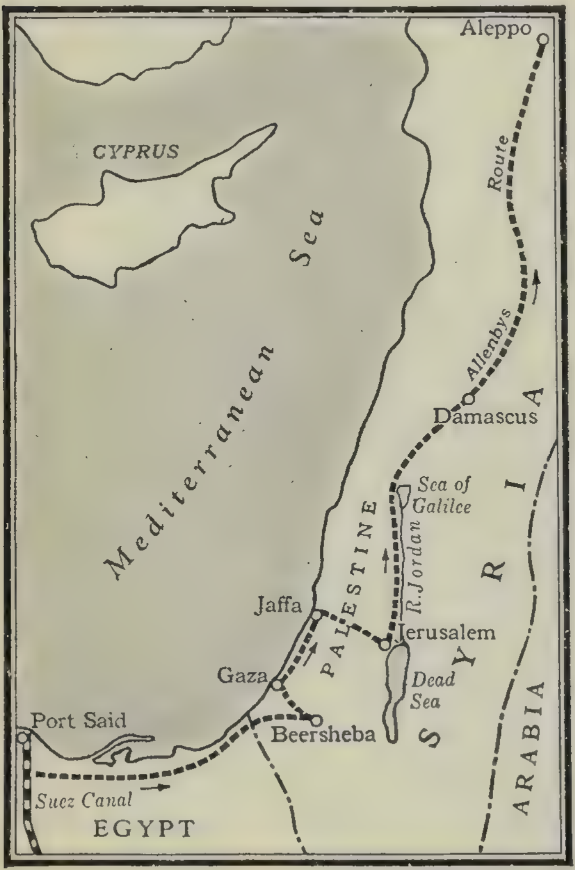


The Battle Fronts of the World War

German advance line, Aug.-Sept., 1914
" " " Mar.-July., 1918
Battle line, 1914-1917
Armistic line, Nov. 11, 1918
St. Petersburg
Moscow
NORWAY
SWEDEN
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
North Sea
DENMARK
Baltic Sea
NETH.
BEL.
LUX.
GERMANY
Russia 1914
German-Aust.-Hunk 1918
POLAND
RUSSIA
Russia 1917
Paris
FRANCE
Atlantic Ocean
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
It Front, 1918
RUMANIA
Black Sea
SERBIA
MONT.
BULG.
ALB.
Balkan Front 1917 1918
ITALY
Rome
SPAIN
TURKEY
GREECE
Mediterranean Sea
SICILY
J. W. CLEMENT CO., M.N. WORKS
Longitude East of Greenwich
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
60
55

and of Paris seemed certain, but the Allies fought stubbornly and gradually the German attack slowed down.

2. The Marne, St. Mihiel, and the Argonne. The strategy of Foch seems to have been to allow the Germans to wear themselves out by these terrific onslaughts, without sacrificing too much either in men, munitions, or territory. Meanwhile, the Americans were rushed to the front; large bodies of men and huge quantities of munitions had been massed in reserve and on July 18 Foch began a great counter-offensive. The second battle of the Marne was a triumph for the Entente. The Germans had exhausted themselves and had no fresh reserves of men or munitions to bring up. British, French, and Americans attacked all along the line. The Germans were forced back and back. On September 12 the Americans at St. Mihiel, beginning their first independent offensive, drove the Germans from a salient which they had held since the outbreak of the war. Then followed the Argonne-Meuse offensive which carried the Americans to Sedan. All the territory that the Germans had acquired since beginning their great drive in March was recaptured, the Hindenburg line was broken at several points, and by October the Germans were being pushed out of French and Belgian soil.


Aleppo
CYPRUS
Mediterranean Sea
Allenby's Route
Damascus
Sea of Galilee
R. Jordan
PALESTINE
SYRIA
ARABIA
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Gaza
Dead Sea
Port Said
Beersheba
Suez Canal
EGYPT

J. W. CLEMENT CO. M N WORKS

Allenby's Campaign

3. Allied victories in the Near East. Not only were the Allies victorious in those summer months along the western front, but the Italians, recovering from their defeat of 1917, checked an Austrian attack along the Piave River. Austrian resistance col-

lapsed; the Austrian retreat became a rout, and the Italians finally occupied the coveted "Italia Irredenta" (see page 378). In Mesopotamia the English forces advanced to Mosul; in Palestine, General Allenby, in command of English troops and Arab forces which joined them, conquered Jerusalem in the winter of 1917 and in 1918 marched northward, taking Damascus and Aleppo. In September, 1918, French and British troops at Saloniki, aided by the Greeks, Serbs, and Italians, started an attack on the Bulgarians. Austria and Germany were so hard pressed themselves that they could not render much help. Bulgaria was crushed. Macedonia and Serbia were reconquered by the Allies.

4. Collapse of the Central powers. The Central powers could not endure the storm. On September 30, 1918, Bulgaria surrendered to the Allies; a month later, October 31, the campaign in Palestine and Mesopotamia forced the Turks to surrender; the Italian and Balkan drive against Austria had caused that empire to disintegrate. Poles, Czechs, Croats, and Slovenes announced their independence. On the 4th of November Austria quit the war and on November 11 Germany signed the armistice which brought the great war to a close.

V. Diplomacy During the War

A. The secret treaties. The story of Allied diplomacy during the war is not an inspiring one for it reveals the war not as a moral crusade but as a struggle between conflicting imperialisms. In September, 1914, England, France, and Russia signed the Pact of London by which they agreed to fight together and not make any separate peace; to this agreement Japan and Italy later adhered. The entrance of Turkey gave the Russians the chance for which they had long been hoping, and it was finally agreed, quite secretly of course, that when the war was over, Russia could have Constantinople, the Dardanelles, the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, and Poland. France was to get Alsace-Lorraine, and control the territory up to the Rhine; in the Near East, France was to get Cilicia and Syria, and the hinterland stretching up to the headwaters of the

Tigris and Euphrates was to be a French sphere of influence. Great Britain was to get most of the German colonies, Mesopotamia, and a protectorate over other territories in Turkey, as well as the neutral zone of Persia established by the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907. Later both Italy and Greece were promised a part of Turkey.

Italy in 1914, as we have seen, declined to support the Triple Alliance, and proclaimed her neutrality. But immediately Italy began to bargain with both the Central powers and the Entente. Italy first suggested to the Central powers that as compensation for remaining neutral she should be given Trentino; Germany was in favor of granting Italy's demands but Austria stubbornly refused. Austria finally agreed to discuss terms with Italy, but meanwhile Italy's other ear had been listening to suggestions from the Entente, and her demands upon Austria increased. Inasmuch as it was easy for England and France to be generous with other people's territory, Italy struck an excellent bargain with them, but a bargain that was weighted with great complexities for the future. By the Secret Treaty of London on April 28, 1915, England, France, and Russia promised Italy the Trentino, the Southern Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, Northern Dalmatia and the islands near it. (The coast line from Istria to Dalmatia, including Fiume, was not promised to Italy.) The twelve islands of the Dodecanese in the Aegean, obtained by Italy from Turkey in the Tripolitan war (see page 679), were recognized as fully belonging to Italy. If Turkey was partitioned Italy was to get the province of Adalia and a share of the spheres of influence; her possession of Libya was confirmed, and if England and France increased their colonial possessions in Africa, Italy was to be allowed to extend Eretria and Somaliland. England, France, and Russia were to prevent the pope from taking part in the Peace Conference and Italy was to share in the war indemnity. For this price Italy agreed to start fighting within a month. Five years afterward Mr. Asquith put forth the following defense of the secret treaty: "The French and ourselves were fighting for our lives on the western front and the treaty represented the terms on which Italy was prepared to join forces." This is not quite so simple or so crude as the German chancellor's justification of the invasion of Belgium, "necessity knows no law," but it means the same thing. On May 23, Italy fulfilled her promise by declaring war against Austria.

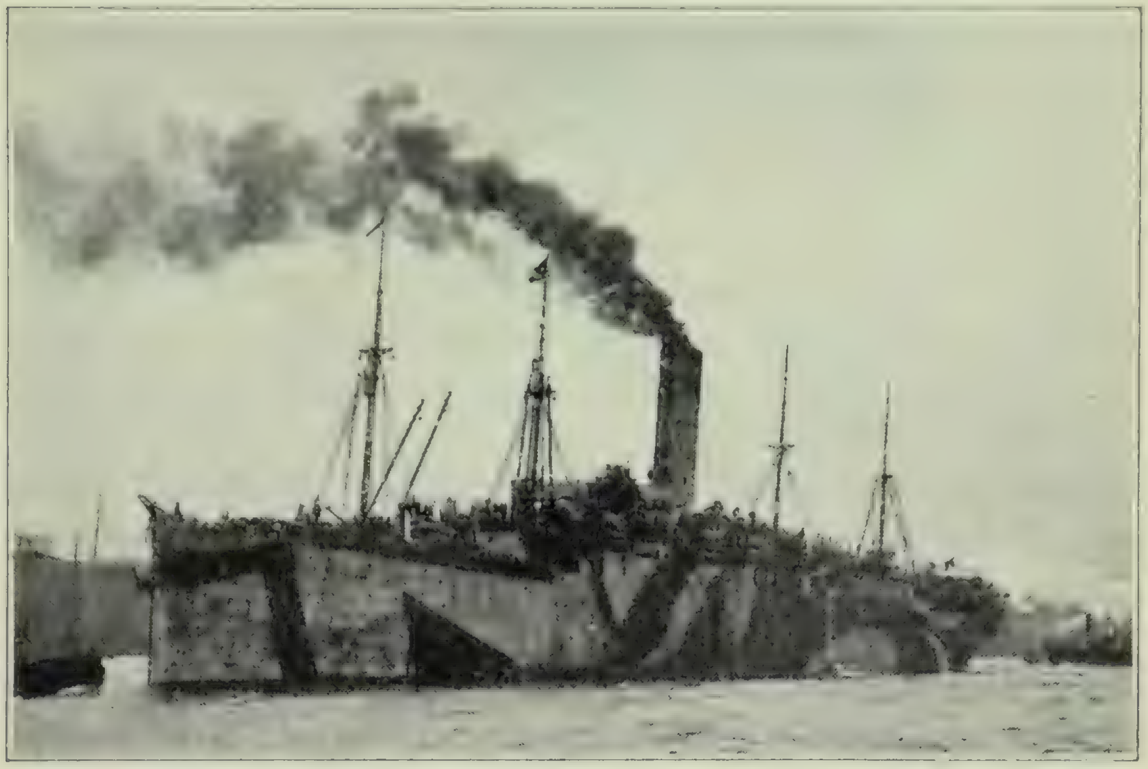
The courting of Italy by both groups was duplicated by flirtations among the Balkan states not yet in the war—Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece—which were so similar to the Italian bargainings that they need not be recounted in detail. Bulgaria was the first of the Balkan states to make up her mind and she sold her services to the Central powers in October, 1915. Rumania, it will be recalled, was attached to the Triple Alliance, but decided to imitate Italy with whom she concluded a treaty of "common action" in September, 1914. But even after Italy had made her bargain, Rumania held out, and it was not until 1916 that the Entente was able to induce her to join. Matters were complicated in Greece by a division of sympathy between the king and his prime minister, Venizelos. The Entente finally supported Venizelos in staging a revolution against King Constantine, who was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, and on June 30, 1917, Greece, now under the control of Venizelos, declared war against the Central powers.

Greece and Rumania as well as Italy had been promised their reward by secret treaties; so too had Russia, England, and France come to an agreement as to the division of the spoils. Even Japan had a secret arrangement which awarded her the German islands in the Pacific north of the Equator and, despite the fact that China fought on the side of the English and French, the German rights in Kiaochow and Shantung. The game of secret intrigue was constantly played throughout the war. It was fraught with danger, for the promises made were often inconsistent with the interests of the various partners in the game. The secret treaties bobbed up to plague the powers in the making of peace, and the effort to adjust claims based upon these treaties has been a fruitful source of friction. But probably the effect of their revelation upon people who had believed in the justice of the Entente cause was more damaging to the peace of the world than the friction their attempted fulfillment created. For the high idealism current during the war in the minds of the masses was replaced by a sad disillusionment, a cynical and skeptical indifference to the honeyed words of statesmen. In short, the secret treaties revealed that the defeat of Germany and her allies had not crushed imperialism; all that had happened was merely the triumph of one imperialistic group over another.

B. The entrance of the United States. 1. THE RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS IN WAR TIME. Germany's use of submarines was the immediate cause of the United States' entrance into the war, but before describing the submarine controversy, it will be well to summarize the rules of international law in regard to private trade in war time, as they had been developed through centuries of usage and codified by the Congress of Paris of 1856, and the declaration of London of 1909. In time of war every merchant vessel, whether flying the flag of a belligerent or a neutral, must submit to "visit and search," that is, it must stop when hailed by a warship of either belligerent, show its papers, and permit examination of its cargo. A vessel owned by a citizen or corporation of a belligerent country is fair prize—that is, it may be seized and taken into port, or if it is inconvenient for the captor to take it into port, it may be sunk, only, however, after provision has been made for the safety of passengers and crew. Neutral trade is as free in time of war as in time of peace, except for contraband and blockade. Contraband is guns, munitions, and other supplies used directly in the prosecution of the war. A citizen of a neutral country may sell contraband to a belligerent, but it is subject to capture. Blockade is the right of one belligerent to close a port or ports of the other belligerent to all commerce. After notice of a blockade has been given, any ship caught sailing to or from a blockaded port may be seized. Blockades to be binding must be effective; that is, the belligerent maintaining the blockade must have enough vessels on the scene to make it dangerous to attempt to enter or leave the port. A neutral vessel may be captured if trying to run a blockade or carrying contraband. In any case the safety of passengers and crew must be safeguarded.

2. ENGLAND'S DISREGARD OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. Early in the war, England endeavored to blockade all German ports, and issued a long list of contraband. When she found that Germany's neutral neighbors were greatly increasing their imports, and that these imports were undoubtedly going to Germany, she seized neutral car-

goes bound for neutral ports. She also stopped neutral mail ships and examined the mail. These acts were clearly contrary to international law, and the neutrals, led by the United States, who was the greatest neutral nation and had most at stake, protested. England's breaches of international law were forgotten, however, when more flagrant ones were committed by German submarines.



Paul Thompson

A British Liner Camouflaged Against Submarine Attack

The optical illusions created by the weird zigzag painting make it difficult for the vessel to be sighted accurately at a distance.

3. Germany's use of the submarine violates international law. Germany was far ahead of other countries in the development of the submarine and had a powerful fleet of them ready for use in 1914. During the first months, however, she used them only against enemy war vessels. In the winter of 1915 her prospects looked dark. She had failed in her first great drives. She had lost her colonies. Her merchant fleet had been driven from the seas. She was beginning to suffer from the effects of the British blockade. An extremist faction gained strength in her government, and forced the

adoption of the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. She had protested against England's blockade on the ground that it was not maintained by a cordon of ships as had been the custom in the past. (The use of the submarine and mine made it impossible for ships to keep any fixed patrol.) England believed that new methods of warfare made necessary new rules of international law. Germany now proceeded to make some new rules for herself. In February, 1915, she declared the waters around the British Isles a "war zone," that enemy vessels "would be destroyed without it always being possible to warn the crew or passengers of the dangers threatening," and that "even neutral ships would be exposed to danger in the war zone."

By its nature the submarine is unfitted for use against merchant vessels in accordance with the accepted principles of international law. A submarine is of frail construction and runs the risk of being rammed if it hails a ship. It cannot carry men enough to put a prize crew on board the seized vessel, nor can it take passengers and crew on board itself. Experience proved that the only way in which the submarine could be effective was to sink vessels without warning, leaving passengers and crew to shift for themselves, thus violating international law.

4. THE SINKING OF THE *Lusitania* AND THE *Sussex* PLEDGE. To Germany's declaration of the war zone, the United States protested that if American lives were lost Germany would be held to "strict accountability." England resorted to the expedient of flying neutral flags on her merchant ships. In the first months of the unrestricted use of the submarine several neutral vessels were sunk and several neutral lives were lost. On May 7, 1915, the whole world was shocked by the news that the great Cunard liner, the *Lusitania,* had been sunk without warning. Eleven hundred and fifty-three passengers were lost, including 114 Americans. Feeling in the United States ran high; many were in favor of an immediate declaration of war against Germany. But President Wilson refused to be stampeded. He sent Germany a stiff note of protest and Germany replied, regretting that American lives had been lost, but attempting justification on the grounds that the *Lusitania* carried munitions, that

she was armed, that Americans had been warned by newspaper advertisements not to take passage on her, and that the British blockade was killing thousands of German women and children. Germany's contentions were true but they were irrelevant. Germany had a right to sink the *Lusitania* since it was a British ship; her crime against international law and humanity was her failure to provide for the safety of the passengers and crew. A long series of notes passed between the United States and Germany, while Wilson was being assailed in his own country as a coward and a German sympathizer. In March, 1916, the unarmed channel steamer, the *Sussex,* was torpedoed and several Americans perished. Wilson threatened an immediate breach of diplomatic relations. Germany disavowed the sinking of the *Sussex,* offered indemnity for the loss of American lives, and declared that in the future "merchant vessels should not be sunk without warning and without saving lives." She added that she would expect the United States to help bring an end to the illegal British blockade.

5. PROPAGANDA. The country believed that the controversy was settled and breathed a sigh of relief. Wilson was reëlected in 1916 because "he kept us out of war." Other reasons for friendliness toward the Entente and bitterness against Germany were, however, piling up. The first few months of the war the country had been indeed neutral. The feeling was general that this was Europe's affair with which we were, happily, not concerned. Germany had always been regarded highly by Americans. German scholarship, German thoroughness, German thrift, were widely admired; "made in Germany" was a trademark which guaranteed high quality. German-Americans were among the most respected citizens of the country. But as time went on the feeling toward Germany grew progressively more unfriendly. In bringing this about, Allied propaganda and Allied control of the news, which pictured all the atrocities of the war as being committed by Germany, were of course important factors. Charges, grossly exaggerated but having a basis of fact, were made that Germany was filling the country with spies, stirring up labor troubles, and blowing up munition factories in an effort to stop the flow of munitions to the Allies. Most important of all was the fact

that due to England's control of the seas all our exports went to the Allies. American munition makers and exporters grew wealthy, selling goods to England and France. Since American bankers had loaned the Allied governments large sums to pay for these goods, they and the people to whom they had sold Allied bonds had an economic interest in having the Allies win the war. Pocketbooks affect the thinking of the best of us.

Publishers' Photo Service

A VILLAGE IN THE SOMME VALLEY

Children who grew up amid such ruins and the bombardments which caused them have vivid and bitter memories of the horrors of war. Such scenes help explain the French demand for security.

At the beginning of 1917 the Allied situation was critical. War-weariness swept the Entente. The soldiers in the trenches were sick of the war—sick of the bloodshed, the noise, the mud, the lice, the monotony. The people at home were sick of the war—sick of taxation, high prices, food rationing, sick of the suspense of reading casualty lists. Everywhere the common people were asking, Is it worth it? Every belligerent government was approaching bankruptcy. The Allies could not keep up the war without American munitions, and their credit was nearly at an end, but if the United

States entered the war, the United States government would put its vast sources of credit at Allied disposal.

6. Unrestricted submarine warfare. At the same time Germany was also desperate. War-weariness swept her people as well as the Allies. The great drive against Verdun had cost dearly in men and money and it had failed. The extremists came into power again and on January 31, 1917, Germany announced the reopening of unrestricted submarine warfare. February 3 President Wilson handed the German ambassador his passports; Germany made good her threats; American vessels were sunk without warning. On April 6 President Wilson went before Congress and asked for a declaration of war.

Wilson's speech was a masterpiece. He began by describing in great detail the aggression of Germany, her attacks on our commerce, her attempts to blow up our factories, her suggestion to Mexico that she attack us in case we joined the Allies. He closed with the statement that it was for none of these things that we were going to war, but for idealistic reasons. "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of nations can make them."

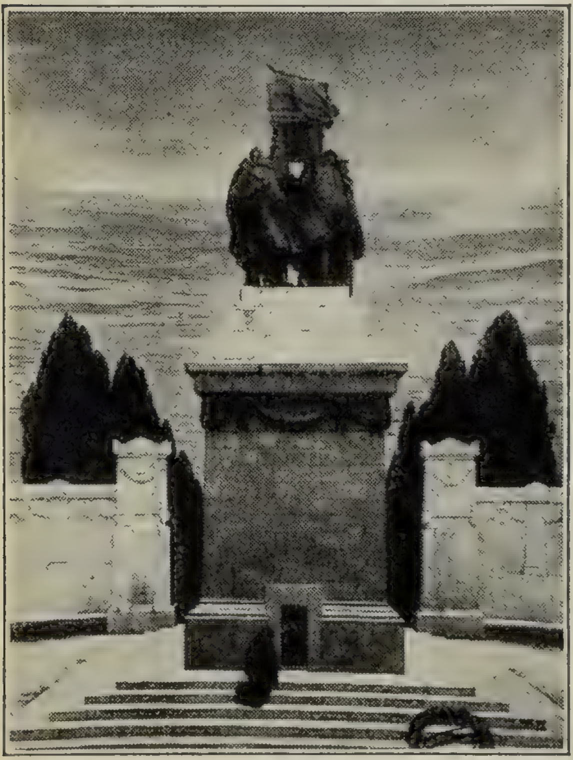
7. America's contribution to victory. The overwhelming majority of the country supported the declaration of war. Those who hated and feared Germany got comfort from the first part of Wilson's speech; idealists got comfort from the last part; those who hoped to profit from it were content that war had at last come regardless of what phrases introduced it. The voice of the few who protested that might could not make right, that it might be well before signing a blank check to find out what the Allies intended writing upon it, was smothered in the general chorus of approbation. The country turned whole-heartedly to the prosecution of the war. Conscription was introduced and troops were rushed to France.

More important than the contribution of the United States in fighting men was the vast amount of munitions and supplies furnished to the Allies. Most important of all was the strengthening of Allied morale, brought about by the knowledge that the United States with its vast resources was back of the Entente. The phrase, "a war to make the world safe for democracy," was just what was needed to rouse the fighting spirit of the Allies and at the same time discourage the Germans.

C. Wilson's Fourteen Points. No less important than Wilson's contribution in putting the war on an idealistic basis was his work for a just peace. Before the United States entered the war, various suggestions of socialistic groups for peace negotiations had been spurned by both sides. Germany's offer of a peace conference in December, 1916, had been rejected by the Allies as insincere. Shortly after the German offer, Wilson asked both sides to state their war aims, and in January, 1917, in a speech to the Senate, declared for a "peace without victory." "Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser; it would be accepted under duress and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently, but only as upon quicksand." But having entered the war, Wilson seemed to have forgotten his idea of peace without victory and talked of "force without stint—force to the utmost." After the United States had joined the Allies he paid no attention to the demands of the Russian socialists for a peace "without annexations and without indemnities," when an endorsement from him would have forced the Allies to consider this point of view. The peace resolution of the German Reichstag went unnoticed. He replied for the Allies to the pope's suggestion for a peace conference that it was impossible to negotiate with the irresponsible and autocratic masters of Germany because they could not be trusted. And then, in January, 1918, he revived the hopes of liberals all over the world by his famous "Fourteen Points."

The war aims of the United States as stated in the Fourteen Points may be summarized as follows: (1) Open covenants of peace openly arrived at. (2) Freedom of the seas. (3) Removal of economic barriers. (4) Reduction of armaments. (5) An adjustment of all colonial claims on the principle that the interests of the population must be considered. (6) The evacuation of Russia and the free development of Russia along lines of her own choosing. (7) The evacuation and restoration of Belgium. (8) The evacuation and restoration of France, and the righting of the wrong done in 1871. (9) The adjustment of Italian frontiers along clearly recognizable lines of nationality. (10) Autonomous development for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. (11) The evacuation of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro; free access to the sea for Serbia. (12) A secure sovereignty for Turkey, and the assurance of undoubted security of life and unmolested opportunity of autonomous development for nationalities under Turkish rule; the opening of the Dardanelles. (13) The erection of an independent Polish state with a free and secure access to the sea. (14) The organization of a league of nations affording mutual guarantees to great and small states.

D. Armistice negotiations. The Fourteen Points of President Wilson remained throughout the war the ablest exposition of Allied war aims. It will be recalled, however, that they were quite inconsistent with the secret treaties that the Allies had made among themselves. The year 1918 saw the last German bid for military decision and the turning of the tide against them. On September 15 Austria made a bid for an informal discussion of peace terms. The request of Austria was refused but on September 27 President Wilson made another notable address in which he emphasized the necessity for a peace of justice and for a league of nations to guarantee peace. A few days later, Bulgaria collapsed and Germany appealed directly to President Wilson expressing her willingness to make peace on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points and "subsequent discourses, notably that of September 27." Wilson, in reply, demanded to know if Germany really accepted the Fourteen Points and merely wished to discuss details, and if the German chancellor was speaking for the German people or for those who were responsible for the war. The German chancellor replied that Germany accepted the Fourteen Points and merely intended to discuss details of their application, that Germany was willing to evacuate Allied territory, and that reforms in the German government had made the cabinet responsible to the Reichstag. President Wilson communicated his conversations with Germany to the Allies. Meanwhile, Austria-Hungary and Turkey dropped out of the war. The Allies agreed to negotiate peace on the basis of the Fourteen Points, reserving, however, Point Two, dealing with freedom of the seas, and interpreting Wilson's phrase concerning restoration as meaning that "compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies by land, sea, and from the air." President Wilson communicated this message to Germany and informed that government that Marshal Foch would give German representatives the armistice terms.



Pantheon de la Guerre

A Symbolical Painting of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

The inscription is "Pro Patria" (For the Fatherland).

On November 8 Foch gave to Germany the terms of an armistice—the evacuation of all conquered territories, the withdrawal of German troops beyond the Rhine, the establishment of a neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine, the return of prisoners, the surrender of guns, airplanes, and other material, the surrender of the fleet, and the cancellation of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk (see page 506) and the treaty with Rumania. This was an armistice dictated by victors. But Germany was beaten on the field, and at home a revolution was taking place; she had no choice. Wilson, during his negotiations of October, had delivered sledge-hammer blows at autocracy and irresponsible governments. The morale behind the lines was broken. Germany became a republic and organized a provisional government with a socialist, Ebert, as president. On November 9 the kaiser abdicated. On November 11, 1918, the new German government accepted the terms of the armistice and at eleven o'clock in the morning the World War came to an end.

E. Costs—human, financial, and spiritual. The World War was the greatest calamity which civilization ever suffered, at least in modern times. Fully ten million men, the pick of the population of the belligerent countries, were killed; twenty million more were wounded; and many of them were left hopeless cripples. Other millions of men, women, and children died from disease and famine. Millions of children of the war-time generation suffered from undernourishment which will leave its mark on the human race for years.

The cost of the war in money reached a total which is difficult to estimate and even more difficult to comprehend. The indebtedness of the belligerent countries increased about $135,000,000,000; amounts raised by taxes reached over $50,000,000,000. The value of property destroyed raises the total to nearly $350,000,000,000. The loss of such things as the Louvain Library and the Rheims Cathedral cannot be computed in money.

The war left Europe, victors as well as vanquished, in economic chaos. Industry, devoted for years to producing instruments of destruction, was faced by the task of getting back to a peace-time basis. Millions of demobilized soldiers had to find their way into productive employment; severe unemployment was the normal condition in all countries. Machines needed repair and replacement and capital was hard to get. Markets had been lost; trade was disorganized; international exchange was in confusion. Debts had mounted in all countries until carrying charges took the lion's share of government income; the future of unborn generations was mortgaged. Governments found it impossible to collect enough taxes to pay current expenses; budgets refused to balance. To meet deficits, paper money was issued in ever-growing quantities. Wages, of course, had to follow, but they lagged behind prices. The standard of living of whole populations was materially lowered. Particularly difficult was the position of government employees and those who lived on fixed incomes. In every country a few profiteers had made great fortunes by government contracts or bold speculation and the sight of the lavish spending of this "blood money" only increased the misery of the rest of the population.

A loss that cannot be reckoned in material terms is that in spiritual values. War brings out some of the finest traits in human nature, but it also brings out some of the worst—hate, fear, greed. For years a large part of the world was led by propaganda, official and unofficial, to hate its enemies, to believe the worst of them. For years some of the best minds of the world devoted themselves to proving that might makes right, that lying is justified, and brutality a virtue when directed against the enemy. The world cannot soon recover from such an orgy of hatred.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. "Imperialism could not exist without militarism and neither could exist without nationalism." Explain.

2. "Preparedness for war is the best insurance for peace." Discuss this statement in the light of the events of 1914.

3. "Just as a community maintains a police force and a fire department to protect life and property, so a nation should have an army and navy for the same purpose." Is this a sound argument?

4. Imagine yourself a Serb in 1914. How would you feel about the activities of the anti-Austrian societies?

5. Imagine yourself an Austrian in 1914. How would you feel about the declaration of war on Serbia?

6. Imagine yourself a Russian in 1914. How would you feel about the mobilization of the army?

7. As an intelligent citizen of the United States at the present time how do you feel about all of these actions?

8. Is the war spirit more apt to be aroused by diplomats or a "jingo" press? Discuss fully.

9. Discuss the statement that the subject of the causes of the World War "is too involved to make any review of printed testimony a safe basis for changing an opinion which was forged by the fires of war."

10. Discuss the statement of Professor Carl Becker, that "a good

case can be made, and has been made, for the idea that a sovereign state is justified in doing anything it thinks expedient to do. A good case can be made, and has been made, for the idea that the systematic massacre called War is never justifiable."

11. "In the World War, as in no other war, not only were armies and navies involved but entire populations." Explain this statement and show why it is true.

12. "Germany lost the war in the first two months." Explain.

13. Why was the West opposed to the entrance of the United States into the war long after the East favored it?

14. Explain what President Wilson meant by "making the world safe for democracy." To what extent was it a real cause for the entrance of the United States?

15. What was the main strength of the Fourteen Points? The main weakness?

16. Some prominent men have said that the World War was a major cause of the business depression of 1930-33 in the United States. What truth is there in this statement?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Causes

- Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 711-718
- Benns, pp. 3-111
- Schapiro, pp. 708-718
- Scott and Baltzly, pp. 499-518
- Magruder, pp. 490-502
- Fay, *The Origins of the World War,* Vol. I, pp. 32-52. Vol. II discusses in detail the events of June and July, 1914.
- Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 499-523
- Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 242-289
- Barnes, *World Politics,* pp. 293-325

The Question of Responsibility

- Fay, *The Origins of the World War,* Vol. I, pp. 1-32; Vol. II, pp. 546-558
- Gooch, *History of Modern Europe,* pp. 555-559
- Barnes, *World Politics,* pp. 445-511
- Schmitt, *The Coming of the War*

The War

Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 725-765
Benns, pp. 25-156
Schapiro, pp. 719-740
Ogg and Sharp, pp. 657-678
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 518-539
Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* pp. 667-725
Gooch, *History of Modern Europe,* pp. 559-658
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 289-419
Barnes, *World Politics,* pp. 352-367, 408-414

The Armistice

Magruder, pp. 502-513
Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*

CHAPTER XXX

THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

1. THE PEACE CONFERENCE

PRESIDENT WILSON had aroused hopes in the hearts of people everywhere that the end of the World War was to usher in a new order in international affairs. It was "the war to end war," a war to crush militarism and autocracy, a war for the preservation of the rights of weak and small nations, a war to destroy political and economic discrimination and injustice. This idealism, bolstering up the morale of the Allies, did much to bring them the victory. The war was so terrible that people needed to be buoyed up by such hopes. But while the masses were carried away by Wilson's words, the statesmen of many countries, true to their training and habits of thought, looked only to their own futures and to the immediate interests of their own countries and failed to see the vision beyond.

A. The secret treaties. Secret treaties had been made before the United States entered the war which apportioned the Ottoman Empire and the German colonies between Great Britain, France, and Italy; promised the Trentino, Istria, and Dalmatia to Italy; Alsace-Lorraine and control of the left bank of the Rhine to France. (See pages 717-719.) In spite of their endorsement of Wilson's principles, the Allied statesmen at the peace conference insisted on their claims under these secret treaties. Following the armistice, Lloyd George in England had dissolved Parliament and in the "khaki election" was returned to power on the slogan that Germany must pay for the war. Just before the peace conference opened, Clemenceau in France informed the Chamber of Deputies that he still believed in the balance of power, and intended to enter the conference to get all that he could in the way of sanctions, reparations, and guarantees for France.

Wide World Photos

"THE BIG FOUR"

The gentlemen, from left to right, are Orlando, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Wilson. They were the most important framers of the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

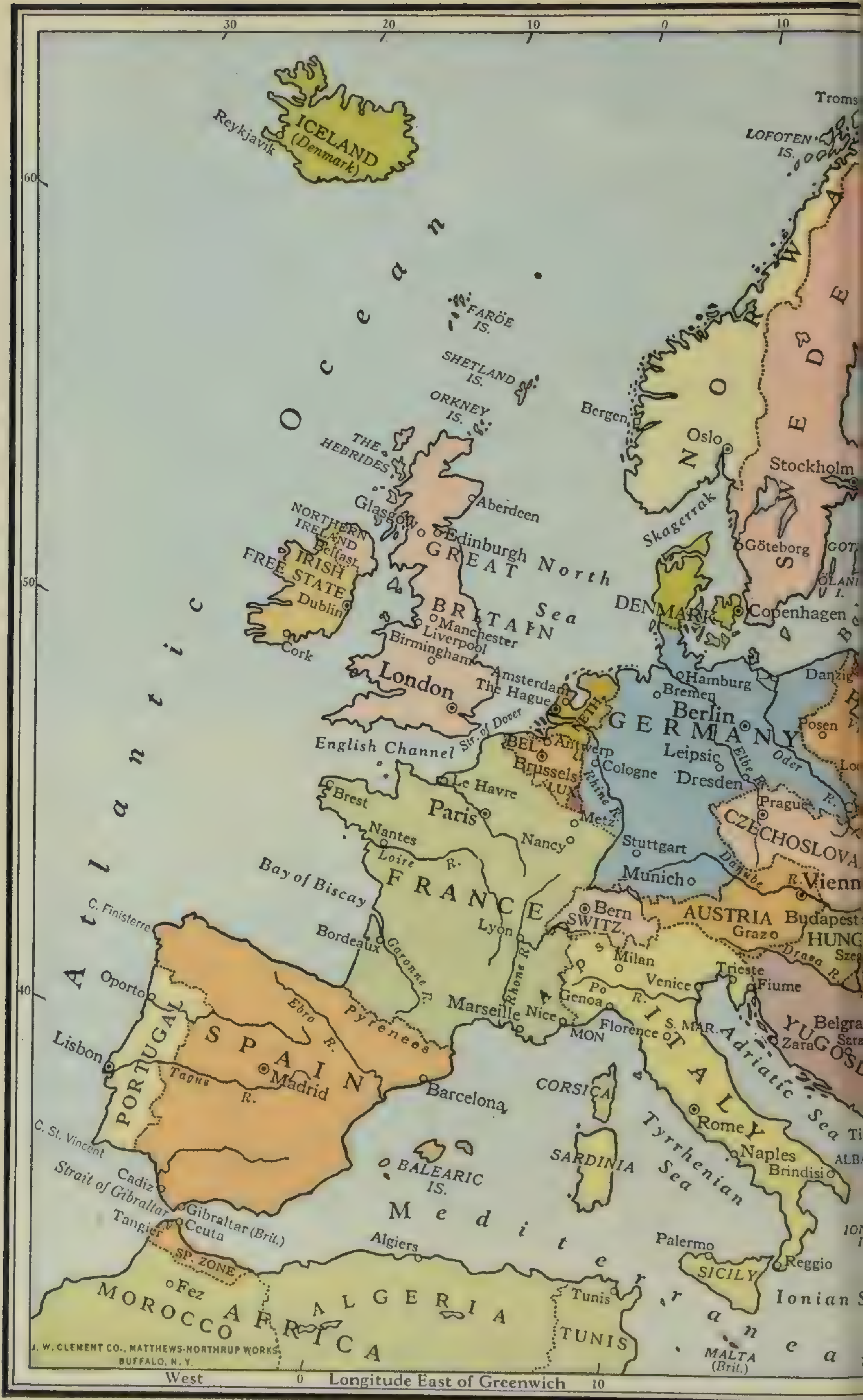
B. The makers of the peace. The peace conference was held at Paris during the early months of 1919. It is significant that the first plenary session opened on January 18, 1919, in the Palace of Versailles, the anniversary and the place where forty-eight years before the German Empire had been proclaimed. (See pages 391-392.) Delegates from all the Allied countries, nearly half the states of the world, were present. It was agreed that all important decisions be left to a council of ten, composed of two delegates from each of the five great powers. Various details were apportioned to other commissions, but the important work and all the final decisions rested with the council of ten. This council was soon reduced to five, the heads of the delegations of the five powers, the "Big Five." Since Japan was directly concerned only with the Far Eastern settlement, and since Italy withdrew after the dispute over Fiume (see page

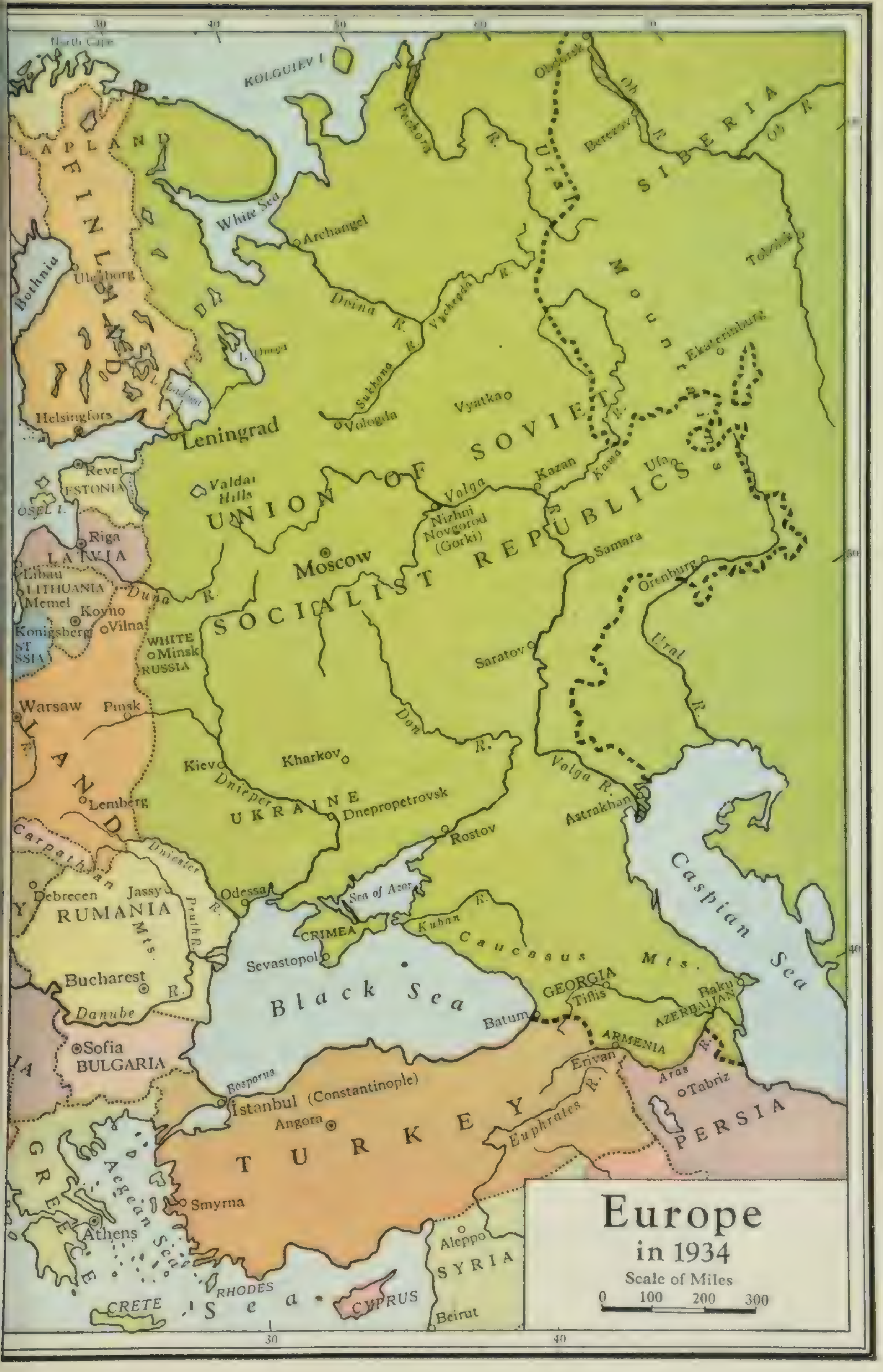
378), the Big Five became the Big Three—Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Wilson. These men are chiefly responsible for the ultimate form of the treaty.

One of the first acts of the conference was to throw into the discard the first of Wilson's Fourteen Points, "Open covenants of peace openly arrived at." The treaty consisted of open covenants secretly arrived at. The formal sessions of the conference were indeed open, but they were merely ceremonial occasions to ratify the decisions of the Big Three whose meetings were all secret.

President Wilson sought no territorial compensation or gains of any kind for the United States, but he had come to believe that the hope of the world lay in the organization of an association of nations for the preservation of peace. He succeeded in making the Covenant of the League of Nations the first article of the Treaty of Versailles. We shall describe the organization and work of the League later. (See page 756.) We should note at this point, however, that the League was an integral part of the peace treaty and that in many instances the League is entrusted with the task of carrying out the provisions of the treaty. Many critics of the League objected to it because they considered it the agent for the execution of an "unjust" peace, but its friends looked upon it as an agency which provided for the revision of the terms of the treaty if such a procedure should prove desirable.

C. The Treaty of Versailles. In Europe, by the terms of the treaty, Germany surrendered Alsace-Lorraine to France; Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium; Memel to the Allies who later turned it over to Lithuania; parts of Posen and West Prussia to Poland. In order to give Poland a port, the German city of Danzig was made a free city under the protection of the League. France was given the coal mines of the Saar Valley which was to be governed for fifteen years by a commission appointed by the League. At the end of the period a plebiscite is to be held to decide the future government. The people in Upper Silesia and southern East Prussia were to be allowed to choose between Germany and Poland in a plebiscite, and those of Schleswig were to choose between Germany and Denmark. In the East Prussian plebiscite the people voted to remain with Ger-


30
20
10
0
10
60
50
40
ICELAND (Denmark)
Reykjavik
Atlantic Ocean
FARÖE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
THE HEBRIDES
NORTHERN IRELAND
Belfast
IRISH FREE STATE
Dublin
Cork
Glasgow
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
GREAT BRITAIN
Manchester
Liverpool
Birmingham
London
North Sea
Str. of Dover
English Channel
Troms
LOFOTEN IS.
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Bergen
Oslo
Stockholm
Skagerrak
Göteborg
GOT
ÖLAND
Copenhagen
DENMARK
Amsterdam
The Hague
NETH.
BEL.
Antwerp
Brussels
LUX.
Hamburg
Bremen
Berlin
GERMANY
Danzig
Posen
Leipsic
Dresden
Cologne
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Prague
CZECHOSLOVA
Metz
Stuttgart
Munich
Danube R.
Vienn
Le Havre
Brest
Paris
Nantes
Loire R.
Nancy
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
C. Finisterre
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Lyon
Rhone R.
Bern
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA
Graz
Budapest
HUNG
Szeg
Drava R.
Alps
Milan
Venice
Trieste
Fiume
Po R.
Genoa
Nice
Marseille
MON
Florence
S. MAR.
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
YUGOSL
Belgra
Zara
Pyrenees
Ebro R.
Oporto
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
Madrid
Tagus R.
Barcelona
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Tyrrhenian Sea
Rome
Naples
Brindisi
ALB
C. St. Vincent
Cadiz
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar (Brit.)
Ceuta
Tangier
BALEARIC IS.
Mediterranean
Algiers
Palermo
SICILY
Reggio
Ionian S
ION
SP. ZONE
Fez
MOROCCO
AFRICA
ALGERIA
Tunis
TUNIS
MALTA (Brit.)
J. W. CLEMENT CO., MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS BUFFALO, N. Y.
West
0
Longitude East of Greenwich
10


Europe in 1934

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
30
40
50
60
North Cape
KOLGUIEV I.
LAPLAND
FINLAND
Bothnia
Uleåborg
White Sea
Archangel
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
Helsingfors
Leningrad
Revel
ESTONIA
OSEL I.
Riga
LATVIA
Libau
LITHUANIA
Memel
Kovno
Vilna
Konigsberg
Valdai Hills
Pechora R.
Obdorsk
Ob R.
Berezov
SIBERIA
Ural Mounts
Tobolsk
Ekaterinburg
Dvina R.
Vychegda R.
Sukhona R.
Vologda
Vyatka
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
Kama R.
Ufa
Kazan
Volga
Nizhni Novgorod (Gorki)
Moscow
Samara
Orenburg
Duna R.
WHITE RUSSIA
Minsk
Saratov
Ural R.
Warsaw
Pinsk
POLAND
Don R.
Kharkov
Kiev
Dnieper
UKRAINE
Dnepropetrovsk
Lemberg
Volga R.
Astrakhan
Rostov
Carpathian Mts.
Dniester
Pruth R.
Debrecen
Jassy
RUMANIA
Odessa
Sea of Azov
Kuban R.
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
CRIMEA
Sevastopol
Black Sea
Bucharest
Danube R.
GEORGIA
Tiflis
Baku
AZERBAIJAN
Batum
ARMENIA
Erivan
Aras R.
Tabriz
PERSIA
Sofia
BULGARIA
Bosporus
Istanbul (Constantinople)
Angora
TURKEY
Euphrates R.
GREECE
Aegean Sea
Athens
Smyrna
RHODES
CRETE
Sea
CYPRUS
Aleppo
SYRIA
Beirut

many. The Upper Silesian plebiscite was also favorable to Germany, but as several centers voted for union with Poland, Poland demanded a division of the territory. The Council of the League finally intervened and divided the territory. In the Schleswig plebiscite the northern third voted for union with Denmark, the rest remained with Germany. (See map, page 475.)

Germany gave up all her colonies and all government property, rights, and concessions in them. Japan received Kiaochow and all rights formerly enjoyed by Germany in the Shantung peninsula. (See page 586.) The other colonies were not given outright to the Allies, but were assigned to them as "mandates" to be administered under the supervision of the League. (See page 649.)

In addition to these cessions of territory, Germany had to renounce all privileges acquired by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Russia (see page 506), and that of Bucharest with Rumania (see page 714). She recognized as independent and sovereign the new states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria, and agreed to recognize as binding upon herself any treaties that the Allies might make with Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary.

The forts along Germany's western frontier were to be destroyed, the importation or production of war material was prohibited, conscription was abolished, and the army reduced to a volunteer force of one hundred thousand. The German navy was to consist of six battleships, six cruisers, and twelve torpedo boats; she was allowed to have no submarines or airplanes. The balance of the German navy was to be turned over to the Allies, but the ships which had been interned at a British base were sunk by their own crews just before the time for turning them over to Allied crews. Heligoland was to be dismantled, the Kiel Canal opened to all nations. The kaiser and several others accused of breaches of international law were to be turned over to the Allies for trial. The refusal of Holland, whither William had fled, to surrender him to the Allies, relieved them of the embarrassing task of trying him. Several German naval and military officials were finally tried in German courts and a few were punished.

Allied subjects were given the right to trade with Germany, to reside in Germany, to enjoy most-favored-nation treatment in tariffs, to have free navigation of German rivers, and to use her railroads on the same terms as German citizens, but no reciprocal rights were given to Germans in other countries. As a guarantee of the fulfillment of the treaty the left bank of the Rhine was to be occupied by Allied troops for a period of fifteen years. In 1930, following Germany's acceptance of the Young Plan, the last of the French troops were withdrawn from this area. Germany was compelled to pay the costs of this army of occupation, over one and one half billion dollars according to German estimates. The provisions of the treaty in regard to reparations are given later in this chapter.

After the treaty was drafted and approved by the conference, it was submitted to the Germans for ratification. No round table discussion of the peace terms was allowed, but the Germans sent a written protest. Their criticism was summarily dealt with and after a few minor modifications, Germany was given five days in which to accept or reject the treaty as a whole. The German cabinet resigned but a new one agreed to sign. After the treaty with Germany, President Wilson and many of the other dignitaries went home, but the conference remained in session for a year more preparing the settlements with Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

D. The treaties with Germany's allies. We have already discussed the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and also the dispute which arose between Italy and Yugoslavia over Fiume as a result of it. (See pages 378, 542.) By the Treaty of St. Germain Austria was reduced to a state of about seven million inhabitants with an insignificant army of thirty thousand. She was compelled to recognize the independence of Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, and agreed to the cession of various territories to the new states. In the matter of reparations, disarmament, and the granting of rights to allied subjects, the treaty followed the general lines of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Treaty of Trianon was signed with Hungary. Like Austria she was compelled to recognize the independence of the new states and cede them territory. Transylvania went to Rumania and the Banat was divided between Rumania and Yugoslavia. Hungary became a land-locked Magyar state of some eight million people. (See maps on pages 399, 736.)

The Treaty of Neuilly punished Bulgaria for her part in the war. Rumania obtained Dobrudja; Yugoslavia received a large part of Macedonia; the Thracian coast went to the Allies who agreed to turn it over to Greece. (See map on page 736.) Bulgaria agreed to pay an indemnity of five hundred million dollars and to reduce her army to thirty thousand.

Elsewhere we have recorded the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres which the Allies imposed upon Turkey, and also the opposition of the Turkish Nationalists, led by Kemal, who finally succeeded in securing a revision of the treaty at Lausanne in 1923. (See page 405.)

E. New nations receive recognition. In addition to these major treaties several other agreements and conventions were made during 1919 and 1920. Russia agreed to recognize Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland as independent states. (See map on page 521.) They were welcomed into the family of nations and became members of the League. White Russia, the Ukraine, and Transcaucasia were granted autonomy but federated themselves with Soviet Russia. The Allies approved the seizure of Bessarabia by Rumania. In 1920, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia formed an alliance, popularly known as the Little Entente, which aimed to preserve their recent acquisitions. In 1933 the Little Entente nations were bound closer together by new agreements which made them practically a unit in economic matters and in foreign relations. From its beginning the Little Entente received helpful encouragement from France who was trying to find new friends to take the place of Russia. In line with this policy was France's backing of Poland, whose large army and ambitious plans brought her into frequent conflicts with Germany, Russia, and Czechoslovakia.

II. Why Did the United States Refuse to Ratify the Treaty?

Germany's position in the fall of 1918 was hopeless, but she could have continued fighting for months. She accepted the severe terms of the armistice. Fearing that her old government might stand in the way of peace, she overthrew it and set up a republic. Whatever one's opinion may be as to the justice of the peace treaty, it was not what Germany had expected, or what Wilson's supporters had hoped for.

Why was Wilson unable to get the peace his supporters expected? All sorts of opinions have been expressed, but the most reasonable ones seem to be as follows. In the first place, the statesmen with whom Wilson was associated at the peace conference were not sincere in their acceptance of his ideas. They were quite willing to agree to vaguely expressed ideals but had no intention of carrying them out. Their language was the language of the Fourteen Points, but their aims and their methods were those of the secret treaties. Second, they had the background of experience in European politics and the knowledge of former intrigues which no one who had not taken part in them could have. Third, Wilson's position was weakened by not having the united support of his own country. Before the end of the war, during the Congressional elections of 1918, Wilson had made the mistake of asking the people to return a Democratic Congress to assist him in the successful prosecution of the war. The apparent injustice of this appeal, which implied that Republicans had not coöperated with him toward the winning of the war, aroused such resentment that the Republicans were able to obtain a majority in the new Congress. Furthermore, instead of building up public opinion as to what a peace of justice and understanding involved, Wilson had allowed liberal opinion to be suppressed during the war. Many people, led by war-time propaganda to believe that Germany was solely responsible for the war and that she had conducted it in a brutal manner, were not ready to accept Wilson's ideals when the fighting stopped. Finally, Wilson believed that the all-important thing was to establish a League of Nations and found himself forced to grant concessions in order to get votes for the League. He realized that there were many injustices in the treaty, but hoped to remedy them through the League.

When the Treaty of Versailles came before the United States Senate for ratification, politicians looking for party advantage, isolationists (that is, advocates of the old policy of aloofness and unconcern about European affairs) who failed to realize that conditions had changed since the time of Washington and Monroe, and sincere liberals who believed that the treaty was unjust and unworkable, all combined to defeat it. Public opinion, disillusioned and war-weary, feeling that the United States had spent much and gained nothing by entering the war, generally approved the Senate's action in refusing to ratify the peace treaty. Wilson refused to modify the treaty and broke down under the strain of trying to persuade the country to accept it. The Republican party, which opposed the treaty and the League, came into power in 1920 and entrance into the League became, for years at least, a dead issue. In 1921 the United States concluded a brief treaty with Germany by which she received all the privileges to which she would have been entitled under the Treaty of Versailles.

The United States found it difficult to pursue the policy of isolation. She is the creditor nation of the world and her business men and bankers, vitally concerned in European affairs, have wielded a tremendous unofficial influence. Except for the Washington conference, the government for several years refused to take any part in the affairs of post-war Europe. It contented itself with sending unofficial "observers" to the important conferences and letting its will become known in roundabout fashion. After long agitation the Senate agreed to join the World Court, but with several reservations which delayed final action. (See pages 766-767.) Recently, however, the government has taken a more direct part. It has cooperated with much of the social and humanitarian work of the League and has been officially represented at all important conferences held under League auspices.

III. Failure of the Peace Treaties to Make Peace

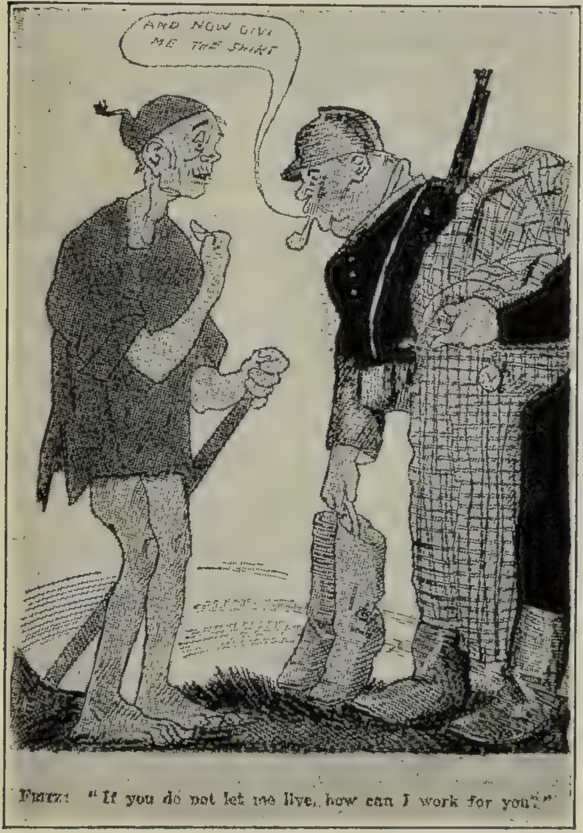
The years following the war were troubled ones for victors and vanquished alike. In every country economic chaos and political confusion reigned. The new governments of Central Europe, the Balkans, Russia, and the new states formed from former Russian territory, were almost overwhelmed by the magnitude of the problems before them and the older governments were little better off. The refusal of the principal powers to recognize the Communist régime in Russia added to the confusion and delayed recovery. Worst of all the peace treaties failed to bring peace. For several years after the armistice conditions became worse rather than better. The German Tyrol under Italian rule, the Danzig corridor, Upper Silesia, the boundary between Poland and Lithuania, were but a few of the sore spots. Old national jealousies and rivalries continued; new ones developed from the formation of intensely nationalistic states out of the ruins of Austria-Hungary and Russia. The victorious powers increased their armaments even above the pre-war level; the new states, encouraged by the great powers, impoverished themselves to maintain large armies. Protective tariffs, dictated by strong national feeling rather than common sense, hindered economic recovery. Statesmen of the Allied countries, not content with making Germany helpless in a military way, were determined to prevent her from regaining her place as a great manufacturing and trading nation.

The Treaty of Versailles left France infinitely stronger than her ancient enemy Germany. She went about insuring her leadership on the Continent by building up a system of alliances with the small states. Belgium, Poland, and the Little Entente—Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—strengthened their armies with French aid and accepted French leadership in foreign policy. French statesmen had hoped by the war to attain France's ancient ambition of making the Rhine her eastern boundary. They did not succeed in this, but they did gain Allied occupation of the German territory west of the Rhine until 1930. They still had hopes of gaining the territory permanently, and planned and financed a separatist movement in the Rhineland. They used reparations, whose total had not been fixed, as a club to coerce Germany.

IV. The Reparations Problem

The question of the reparations to be paid by Germany to the victorious Allies has been the cause of much bitterness and confusion. For years it kept Germany in turmoil; it prevented sane consideration of other questions; it delayed economic recovery; it continued war-born hatreds.

A. How much should Germany pay? In the pre-armistice negotiations England and France had insisted that Germany agree to make compensation "for all the damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." The peace conference voted to include in this damage to the civilian population the sums which the Allies had spent on allotments to families of their own soldiers during the war and all that they would spend on pensions in the future. This made so huge a total that it was impossible to expect Germany to pay it all; it became a question of how much Germany could pay, not how much she should pay. She was required to pay for ships destroyed by turning over the bulk of her merchant fleet and by new construction; she was to furnish materials to restore the devastated regions and to deliver large quantities of coal to France, Belgium, and Italy. A reparations commission was created to determine the total amount and fix the annual payments.


AND NOW GIVE ME THE SHIRT
FRITZ: "If you do not let me live, how can I work for you?"

L'Asino, Rome

"THE VERSAILLES TREATY TERMS"

An Italian cartoonist's method of expressing one of Germany's arguments against paying the reparations bill.

B. How could Germany pay? Although Germany had but little of her territory devastated she had suffered greatly from the blockade and had lost some of her richest coal fields, her markets, her colonies, and her merchant fleet. She had little wealth with which to pay reparations, but the problem of transferring this wealth to the Allies was an even greater one. To understand that it is necessary to know how international exchange, that is, payment between nations, is carried on.

Trade is carried on between peoples in different parts of the United States and no difficulty arises about making payments because all people in the United States use the same currency. Payments can be made by shipments of currency, by postal money order, or—and this is the most common form of payment—by sending a bank check. Checks are accepted because a bank in San Francisco handles the same currency that a bank in New York does. When, however, people wish to make payments to people in other countries for goods purchased, for services rendered, for investments, for interest on debt, or for any other purpose whatever, complications arise because other peoples do not use our currency and will not accept it—unless it is gold coin. The gold coins of any country are acceptable in other countries because gold has real value all over the world. As long as two countries keep their standards fixed, that is, as long as neither changes the quantity of gold in its gold coin, the exchange value of their coin will remain fixed. When a country changes the quantity of gold in its coin, the coin will still be accepted but the value of the coin will fluctuate according to the amount of gold it contains. Gold, however, even in normal times, makes up only a small part of the currency in circulation in any country; silver and other metals and a large amount of paper money are used. This non-gold currency is not accepted in other countries because it has little or no intrinsic value. In 1931 England went off the gold standard and many countries, including the United States in 1933, followed her example. In countries which are off the gold standard there is no gold in circulation, the governments do not redeem other forms of currency in gold, nor do they permit the exportation of gold.

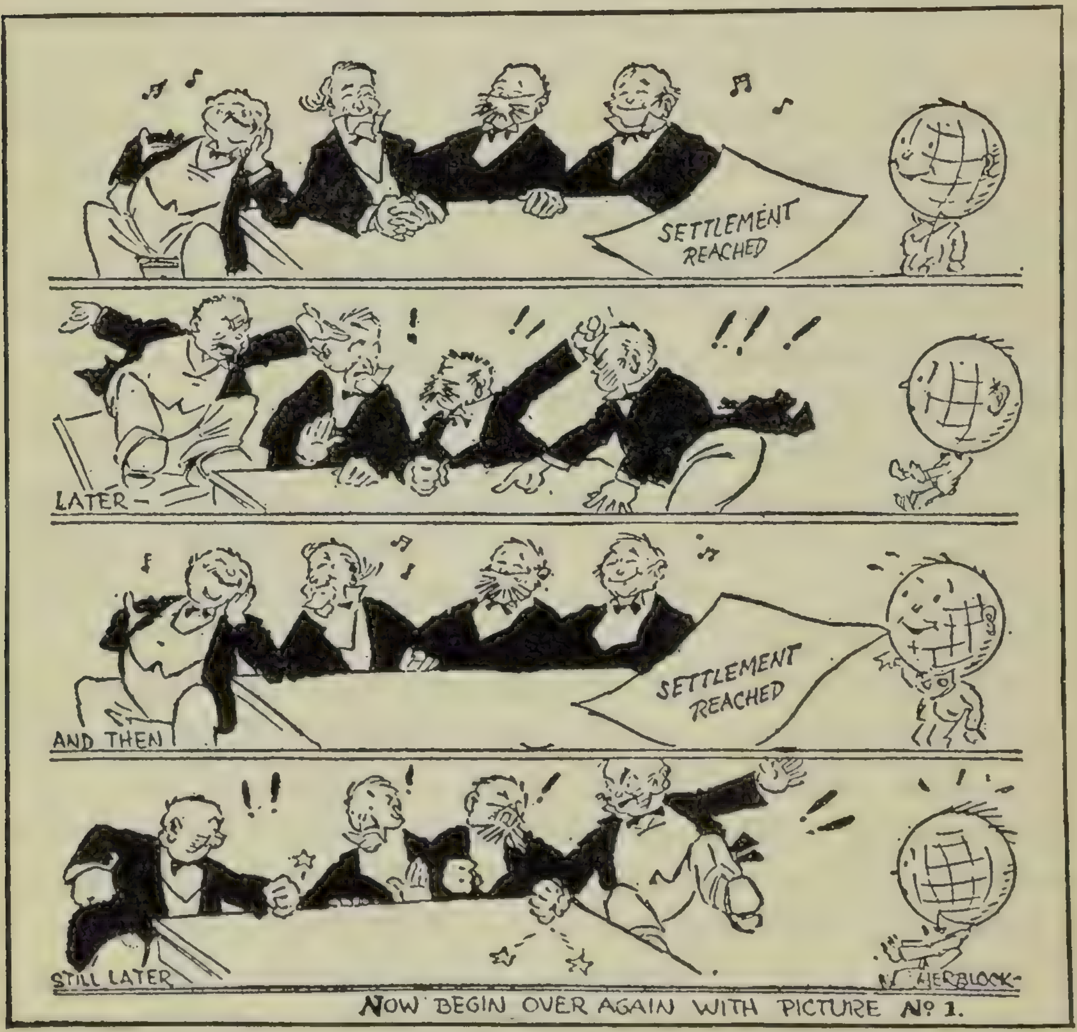
Since there is not enough gold in the world to make all international payments, since it is expensive to ship gold, and since most countries, even when they are on the gold standard, have barely enough gold to serve as a reserve with which to redeem their other currency, a system of foreign exchange has been developed to make payments between countries, whether between individuals or governments. This system is based on the fact that there is usually a balance of payments, that is, the payments going out of the country are approximately equal to the payments coming in. A simplified example will help to make the system clear:

A resident of the United States, A, buys $100 worth of goods from a resident of England, B. At about the same time a resident of England, X, buys $100 worth of goods from Y, a resident of the United States. A and X each owe $100; B and Y each have $100 due them. If A pays Y and X pays B everyone will be satisfied and no money will have to cross the Atlantic. This is practically what happens. It is done through a system of bills of exchange which are bought and sold by banks acting as foreign exchange brokers. To return to our example, Y, the American exporter, sells to an American bank his right to collect $100 from X, the English importer. (The evidence of this right to collect, an order from Y to X to pay, is called a bill of exchange.) An English bank with which the American bank has an account collects the money from X and credits it to the account of the American bank. X has now paid what he owes, Y has received what is due him; the American bank has advanced $100 (less its fee) to Y and has received in return a credit in an English bank. Then A, the American importer, buys from the American bank its credit of $100 in the English bank and sends it to the English exporter, B, who collects it from the English bank.

Bills of exchange are used for all international payments—for goods purchased abroad, for investments by residents of one country in securities of another country, for interest on investments in one country sent to citizens of another country, for freight charges paid to foreign ship owners, for tourists' expenses, for debt payments between governments. There may be a three- or four-cornered exchange; that is, to return to our former example, B and Y may both be residents of Brazil, without affecting the general principle or method used. The important thing to keep in mind is that the total of payments sent out of a country for all purposes must equal the total of payments sent in for all purposes. If more payments go out of a country than come in, that country's currency becomes less valuable in foreign exchanges; that is, it will buy less of the currencies of other countries. Small differences may be made up by the shipment of gold but no country has gold enough to continue to export gold over a long period of time.

Germany has no gold mines and only a limited supply of gold. It is obvious, then, that if she is to make reparations payments of certain amounts she must sell abroad goods and services whose value is that much more than the value of goods and services which she imports. Germany has to import foodstuffs and raw materials to feed her population and to supply her manufacturers. It is obvious that she can pay reparations only by selling manufactured goods abroad. But manufacturers of Allied countries do not want German manufactures imported to compete with their own, nor do they want them sold to other countries where they hope to sell their own. At the same time that the Allied countries were clamoring for reparations from Germany, they were, by protective tariffs, blocking the only way by which Germany could make payments.

C. The occupation of the Ruhr. After two years of wrangling between Germany and the Allies and between the Allies themselves, after innumerable conferences, after various fantastic proposals as to the total, the Reparations Commission, in May, 1921, fixed the total of payments at thirty-three billion dollars. The German government, faced by an ultimatum threatening the occupation of the Ruhr Valley, accepted the terms and started the impossible task of paying half a billion dollars plus 26 per cent of the value of her exports annually. She had already turned over to the Allies military supplies, gold, and other goods to the value of approximately ten billion dollars. Germany made the first payments, but it was obvious that she could not continue. England was beginning to see that her own economic recovery was dependent on that of Germany and was inclined to compromise. France had suffered heavily during the war and had realized very little in the way of early reparations, while the rehabilitation of her devastated areas had required large sums. She demanded full payment, hoping to drive Germany into defaulting and to seize territory as a "sanction." In December, 1922, the French and Belgian members of the Reparations Commission outvoted the British member and declared Germany in "voluntary" default on reparation payments. In January, 1923, France occupied the Ruhr Valley, the most important industrial center in Europe. Germany stopped all payments and began a policy of passive resistance. France did not secure any more reparations than she had before, but Germany's resistance cost so heavily that the mark became almost valueless and all Europe was in confusion.


SETTLEMENT REACHED
LATER—
AND THEN
SETTLEMENT REACHED
STILL LATER
HERBLOCK
NOW BEGIN OVER AGAIN WITH PICTURE Nº 1.

Chicago Daily News

"THE WAR-DEBT SITUATION"

D. The Dawes Plan. France's own finances became so involved that she was forced to listen to the American bankers, and to consent to the appointment of an international commission to survey Germany's economic situation and work out a plan for reparation payments. Due to France's insistence the commission was not allowed to fix the total of reparations. General C. G. Dawes, later vice-president of the United States, was made chairman of the commission and the plan which went into effect in September, 1924, is known as the Dawes Plan. The main features of the plan were: (1) that a foreign loan was to be made to Germany to enable her to stabilize her currency; (2) that annual payments gradually increasing until they reached a maximum of six hundred and fifty million dollars be made (since the total amount was not fixed the number of annual payments was not fixed); (3) that Germany's obligation ended when she turned over the sums fixed in German currency to the Agent General for Reparations, an official appointed by the creditor nations who was to have general supervision over the entire plan.

The Dawes Plan did not solve the problem of reparations. It was, however, an important step toward that solution and toward the improvement of international relations. It took the reparations problem out of the hands of politicians and put it into the hands of bankers. It helped the peoples of the Allied countries to realize that the problem was an economic one that could not be solved merely by coercing Germany. It led to the Locarno treaties and to Germany's entrance into the League. (See page 770.) Germany made the payments called for under the plan, but she did so, according to the opinion of many economists, by lowering the standard of living of her workers to a dangerous extent. S. Parker Gilbert, the American who acted most efficiently as Agent General, reported that the transfer of funds to the creditor nations had been possible only because German firms and German cities had borrowed large sums from abroad. Germany believed that the amount of her payments should be lowered and especially that the total amount should be fixed. In 1929 the whole problem was turned over to a commission of bankers and economists, on which the Germans were given representation and of which Owen D. Young, an American who had served as a member of the Dawes Commission, was chosen chairman.

E. The Young Plan. After long and difficult negotiations the new plan, commonly called the Young Plan, was adopted, ratified by the powers, and went into effect in September, 1929. It fixed the total of reparations at a cash value of about eight billion dollars, which with interest would have amounted to about twenty-seven billion dollars when payments were completed. The office of Agent General for Reparations and all other foreign controls over German finances were abolished. This, with the withdrawal of the army of occupation, restored German sovereignty over her own domestic affairs. For the transfer of payments the Bank for International Settlements was established—a bank located at Basel, Switzerland, whose capital stock was subscribed by the banks of issue of the countries interested in reparations and by a group of private banks in the United States. Germany makes the reparations payments to the bank in her own currency; the bank credits the proper amounts to the accounts of each of the creditor nations. Some economists believe that in time the International Bank will become the principal agent for the transfer of international payments of all kinds.

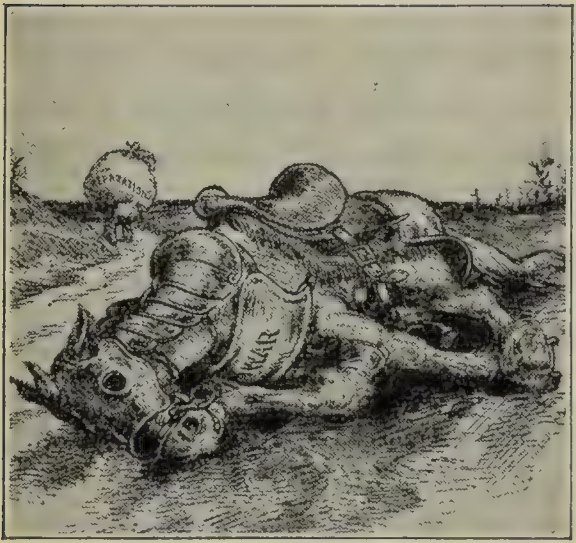
F. The moratorium of 1931. As the Dawes Plan helped clear the air of suspicion and hatred, so too did the Young Plan contribute to the process of liquidating the war. The world-wide depression which began in 1930 brought the problem to the front again. Many Germans, pointing out that, since Germany must pay in goods, the reduction in prices was equivalent to an increase in the amount of German payments, demanded a revision and their demand found sympathetic supporters in England and the United States. Economic conditions in Germany grew steadily worse. To prevent a complete collapse of German industry and finance President Hoover in the summer of 1931 proposed that there should be a postponement for one year of reparations and war debt payments. When this moratorium went into effect many felt that it prepared the way for a complete reconsideration of the whole question of reparations and war debts.

G. The Lausanne Agreement. When the moratorium expired in 1932 the European powers in conference at Lausanne agreed to settle the whole reparation question with a payment by Germany of seven hundred and fourteen million dollars, beginning in 1935. This final sum was about equal to two annual payments under the Young Plan. The creditor nations declared, however, that their acceptance of this agreement depended on their ability to negotiate a satisfactory arrangement of their debts to the United States; if they failed to make such a satisfactory agreement the Young Plan would be resumed. Hitler's coming into power in Germany, however, made it certain that Germany would pay no more than the sum fixed at Lausanne, whatever arrangement was made about debts.

H. The inter-Allied debts. Closely tied up with the problem of reparations is that of debts between the Allies. During the war and immediately after, the United States lent about twelve billion dollars to the Allies, mainly to England, France, Italy, and Belgium. These sums were not advanced in money but in supplies; that is, private citizens and companies in the United States had sent munitions and food to the Allies for which they had been paid by the United States government, and the government accepted bonds of the Allied countries in payment. For several years neither interest nor principal was paid. The United States had become the creditor nation of the world. Her wage scale was double that of the most prosperous European country. Her wealth made European poverty seem all the harder by contrast.

Naturally a demand arose in Europe for the cancellation of the debts, which was echoed by many in the United States. The main argument for cancellation was that the war had been a common cause, that Europe had furnished most of the men and suffered the devastation, while the United States had furnished munitions. Others denied that the war had been a common cause or that there was any moral obligation on the United States to cancel or reduce, but advocated reduction for business reasons. They pointed out that if Europe was forced to pay large sums to the United States she could not continue to buy American goods in large quantities. The arguments against cancellation were that it had been a business proposition, that much of the debt had been contracted after the armistice for other than war purposes, that the United States had gained nothing from the war while the Allies had gained a great deal, and that Europe might well pay if she curtailed her extravagant expenditures for armaments.

In 1922 the United States appointed a commission to consider funding the debts, that is, grouping the various debts that were made at different times to a country at different rates of interest into a lump sum and provide for their payment at a certain interest rate over a period of years. Agreements were reached which embodied substantial reductions, not in the principal but in the interest rates. Payments were fixed extending over a period of sixty-two years. Terms were arranged according to the ability of the different countries to pay; England being best able to pay received the least reduction while Italy received the greatest. Although American presidents from Harding to Roosevelt insisted that there was no connection between reparations and war debts the Allied countries expected to get the sums which they promised to pay from German reparations. England officially stated in the famous Balfour note of 1922 that she wished from Germany and her Allied debtors only enough to pay the United States. The amounts which Germany was to pay for the last twenty-one years of the Young Plan were just enough to enable the Allies to pay the United States. At the time that the Young Plan was adopted agreements were made that if the debt payments to the United States were reduced in the future, German payments to the allied countries would be reduced proportionately.



Brooklyn Daily Eagle

"Paying for a Dead Horse"

This cartoon by C. R. Macauley won the Pulitzer Prize in 1929.

The world-wide economic depression which started in 1929 brought the question of war debts to the fore again. Just as Germany found it more difficult to pay reparations when world prices fell, the other nations found it more difficult to make their payments to the United States. American public opinion failed to understand that the United States could receive payments from Europe only if she imported goods and services from Europe in excess of the goods and services she exported. (See page 746.) Political leaders found it easier to drift with public opinion than to educate it. When the moratorium ended in 1932, although conditions were worse than in 1931, Congress refused to listen to any talk of an extension and insisted that Europe must pay. Simultaneously, hard times led to an increase of nationalism and made the European debtor nations less willing to make the sacrifices which were necessary if payments were to be made. After prolonged but fruitless attempts to secure a reopening of the question England made the payment due in December, 1932, but France defaulted and France's example was followed by most of the other nations. When the payments again came due in 1933, England made part payment as "an acknowledgment of the debt." Italy and some of the smaller states did the same but France and the other states made no payment. At the request of the United States formal discussion of war debts was barred from the World Economic Conference held in London in 1933, but reference to them cropped out continually and the failure to face the question was doubtless one of the reasons for the failure of the conference. Many in both Europe and America believed, in 1934, that the settlement of the problem of war debts was a prime requisite for the revival of international trade and the strengthening of international good will.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. "President Wilson's great mistake was that he did not get a definite acceptance of his war aims from the Allies before he took the United States into the war." Give arguments for and against the soundness of this statement.

2. "President Wilson sacrificed the first thirteen of his points in order to win the fourteenth." What evidence can you find to support this statement?

3. Explain the statement that the Peace of Versailles was a dictated, not a negotiated, peace.

4. In November, 1918, the German people hailed Woodrow Wilson as one of the great men of all time. A year later most of them hated him bitterly. Explain why.

5. How would each of the following affect Germany's ability to make reparation payments? Growth of the German merchant marine; restoration of Germany's colonies to her; protective tariffs in other countries; increased tourist travel in Germany; loans to German firms by American capitalists; increased imports of foodstuffs into Germany from South America.

6. Explain why England was more willing than France to reduce German reparations.

7. Why were the representatives of European countries appointed to negotiate the debt settlements with the United States willing to pledge payments over a period of sixty-two years in return for small immediate payments?

8. "Germany can keep up her reparation payments only by permanently lowering the standard of living of her workers." Explain.

9. Why was President Hoover's plan for a moratorium on reparations and international debts in 1931 good statesmanship from both a humanitarian and a selfish economic point of view?

10. "President Hoover's moratorium was looked upon by many Europeans as the reëntrance of the United States into European affairs." Explain.

11. Would it have been practical or desirable for the agreements at Versailles to have been openly arrived at? Discuss fully.

12. Speaking to the American Senate in January, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson urged a "peace without victory." "Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser; it would be accepted under duress and would leave a sting, a bitter resentment, upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently, but only as upon quicksand." Wilson was bitterly criticized for this speech. Have subsequent events tended to support the point of view of Wilson or his critics?

13. Is the argument, mentioned on page 751, that the European countries could pay their debts to the United States if they spent less on armaments sound? Give reasons.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Peace Conference and the Treaties

- SCHAPIRO, pp. 741-758
- SCOTT and BALTZLY, pp. 539-553
- BENNS, pp. 156-209
- HAYES, Vol. II, pp. 781-807
- HAZEN, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 726-768
- SLOSSON, *Twentieth Century Europe*, pp. 435-483
- NICOLSON, *Peacemaking 1919*
- MAGRUDER, pp. 502-513
- LANGSAM, *The World Since 1914*, pp. 93-133

Reparations

- BENNS, pp. 252-283
- SCHAPIRO, pp. 773-777
- HAYES, Vol. II, pp. 789-790, 836-839
- SCOTT and BALTZLY, pp. 668-673
- MAGRUDER, pp. 513-526
- OGG and SHARP, pp. 825-840
- KNIGHT, BARNES, and FLUGEL, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 564-570
- KEYNES, J. M., *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*
- HAZEN, *Europe Since 1815*, pp. 1081-1093
- SLOSSON, *Twentieth Century Europe*, pp. 613-623
- BARNES, *World Politics*, pp. 555-575
- BUELL, *International Relations*, pp. 523-554
- LANGSAM, *The World Since 1914*, pp. 161-185
- Consult also *Readers' Guide*

CHAPTER XXXI

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The World War served as a terrible object lesson of how destructive war could be. Moreover it was obvious that with the steady development of science another war would be even more terrible. During the war for most people the remedy was simple—crush the enemy who had brought on the war and the danger of future wars would be over. A few realized that merely to crush the enemy would not end war, for other enemies were bound to rise up. They realized that what was necessary was some international organization which would end international anarchy by promoting international coöperation and providing peaceful methods of settling disputes between nations. Toward this goal of international organization many people in many lands have been working ever since the World War. One of the main instruments for international coöperation is the League of Nations, whose covenant was written into the peace treaty largely through the efforts of Woodrow Wilson.

I. The League of Nations

A. Organization. The original members of the League were the twenty-nine Allied states which ratified the treaties of Versailles or St. Germain and thirteen neutrals who were invited to join. "Any fully self-governing State, Dominion, or Colony" may be admitted to membership by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly. Under this provision seventeen states have been admitted—Brazil and Costa Rica have resigned—making a total membership in 1934 of fifty-seven. In 1933 Japan gave notice of her withdrawal to take effect in 1935. The principal states still outside the League are the United States, Russia, and Egypt. Germany was admitted in 1926; in October, 1933, Hitler gave notice of Germany's withdrawal.

There are two principal governing bodies of the League, the Assembly and the Council. The Assembly consists of representatives of all members, each member having one vote and the right to send not more than three representatives. The Council consists of five permanent and ten non-permanent members who are elected by the Assembly for three-year terms. The five permanent members are France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Germany. The Assembly regularly meets in September each year and the Council meets regularly three times a year and has had several special meetings. In practice the Council has handled the more immediate questions and has acted as an executive committee to carry out acts recommended by the Assembly. The Assembly acts as an international forum for public discussion. Neither body may take any action without unanimous consent, except on certain routine matters where the covenant specifically provides for decision by a majority vote.

A LA MEMOIRE DE
WOODROW WILSON
PRESIDENT DES ETATS UNIS
FONDATEUR DE LA SOCIETE DES NATIONS
LA VILLE DE GENEVE

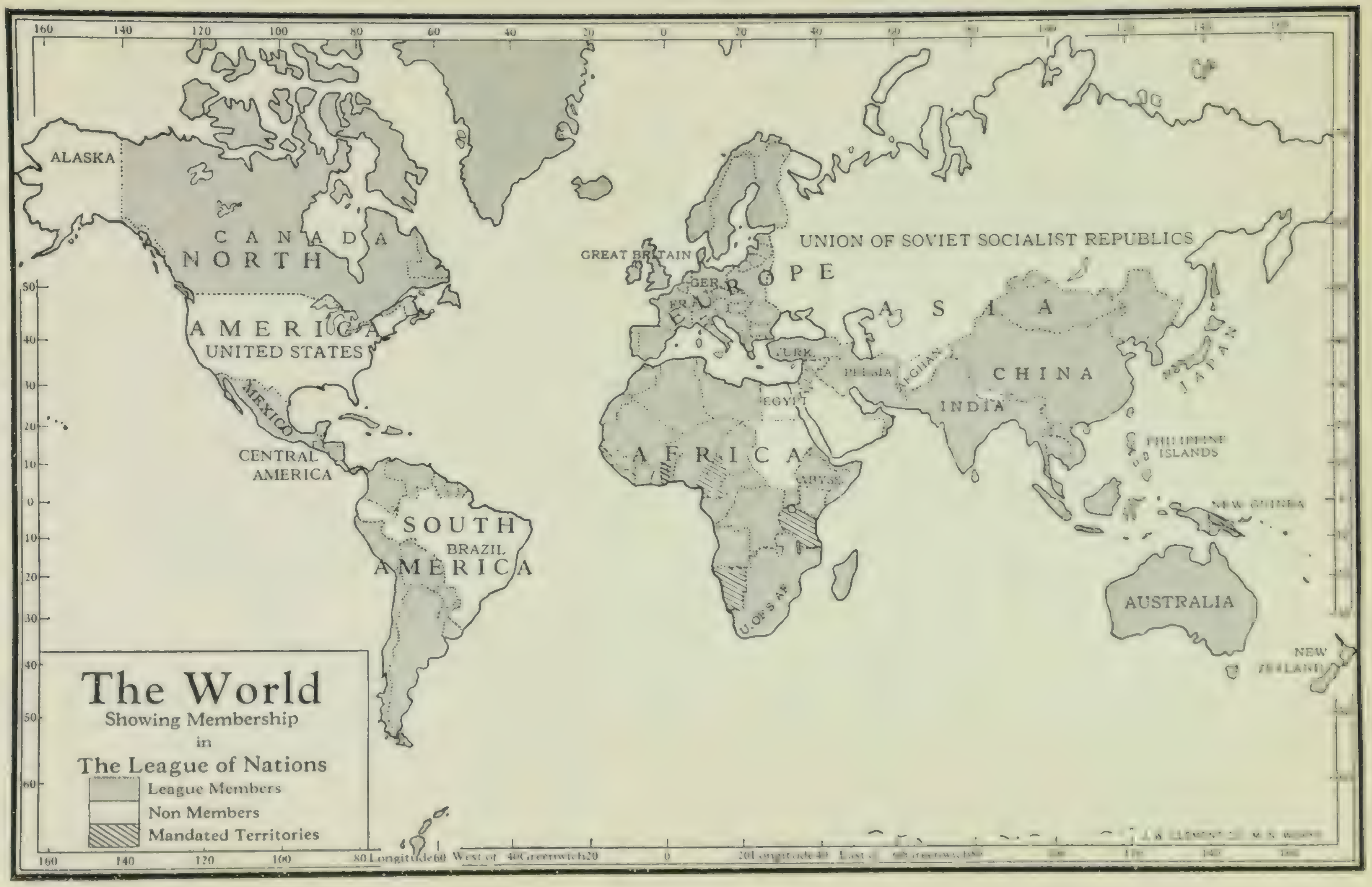
Wide World Photos

The League of Nations Building, Geneva, Switzerland

The vast amount of secretarial work of the League—keeping records, carrying on correspondence, collecting information, publishing reports, preparing for conferences, registering treaties—is performed by the Secretariat. Sir Eric Drummond, an Englishman, served most ably as secretary general of the League from its beginning until 1933 when he was succeeded by Avenol of France. The secretary general appoints, with the approval of the Council, the some seven hundred other members of the Secretariat, representing more than forty nationalities. The members of the Secretariat are servants of the League, appointed by the League, paid by the League, and responsible to the League alone, not to their national governments. They thus constitute a permanent international civil service.

To handle special problems the League has created various committees, technical organizations, and advisory commissions. Some of these are permanent, some temporary. They are made up of experts in different fields and their work of furnishing technical information and advice has been invaluable to the League.

B. How does the League settle disputes? In the League covenant members agree to submit any dispute that may arise, (1) to arbitration, or (2) to judicial settlement by the World Court, or (3) to mediation by the Council or the Assembly. Members further agree in no case to go to war until three months after an award. Disputes are not submitted to the World Court or to arbitration unless the parties to the dispute so agree; but once a dispute is so referred, all members of the League agree to accept the award and not to go to war with a member which complies with the award. Either party to a dispute may refer it to the Council, or any member of the League may bring any question likely to endanger peace to the attention of the Council. The Council after investigation shall publish its recommendation. If this recommendation is agreed to by all members of the Council except those who are parties to the dispute, all members agree not to go to war against a member complying. If any state goes to war in violation of its pledge, it shall be considered to have made war on all members of the League and shall be subject to (1) boycott, (2) blockade, and (3) if all pacific measures fail, such military measures as the League may decide. These coercive measures, "sanctions," as they are called, have never been

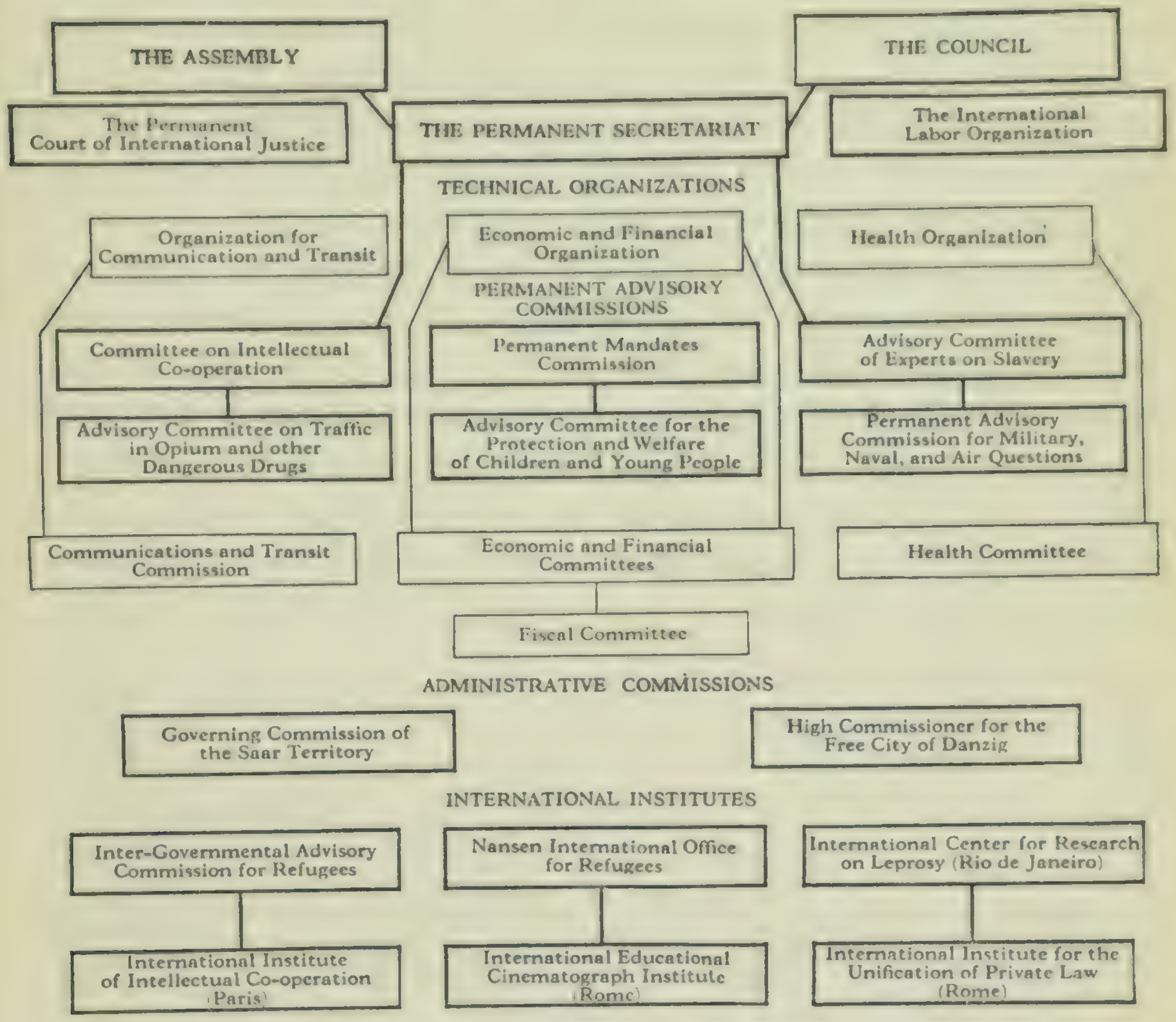

The World
Showing Membership
in
The League of Nations
League Members
Non Members
Mandated Territories
ALASKA
CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
GREAT BRITAIN
GER.
FRA.
EUROPE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
ASIA
TURK.
PERSIA
AFGHAN.
CHINA
INDIA
JAPAN
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
NEW GUINEA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
AFRICA
EGYPT
ABYSS.
U. OF S. AF.
Longitude West of Greenwich
Longitude East of Greenwich
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
10
30
50

used by the League; it seems unlikely that they ever will be used. The League is not a super state. Its strength lies not in its power of compulsion, but in its method of conference and publicity and in its ability to appeal to the enlightened public opinion of the world.

C. What disputes has the League settled? The League has settled several disputes, some of them such as might easily have led to war. When Yugoslav troops invaded Albania in 1921 the League acted promptly, ordering the troops withdrawn, and compelling Yugoslavia to respect the Albanian boundary. In 1925, a boundary dispute between Greece and Bulgaria led to the invasion of Bulgaria and the bombardment of a town by a Greek army. Bulgaria appealed to the Council. The Council sent an ultimatum ordering the troops of both nations withdrawn back of their own frontiers. Both nations accepted the order, and after the report of a commission sent by the Council to investigate Greece paid damages. Various other disputes have been settled by the League, but all of them have been between the smaller states.

The League's first real test came in the Manchurian affair. (See page 598.) This was the first time it had been called upon to settle a dispute which involved a great power. Critics of the League insist that in the Manchurian affair the League failed. It is true that the League did, after long delay, send the Lytton Commission which made an admirable report. It is true that, after considerable prodding by the smaller states, the League did adopt the Lytton recommendations. But the fact remains, say the critics, that Japan, a charter member of the League, a permanent member of the Council, violated the League covenant, violated the Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty, seized the territory of a fellow member of the League, and still holds that territory in spite of all the League could do. Friends of the League, however, insist that the Manchurian affair is not yet finished. Japan's puppet state of Manchukuo has not yet been recognized by any member of the League or by any other nation. Japan's foreign trade is falling off; her currency is depreciated; she has, so it is rumored, been unable to secure loans from bankers of other countries. It is possible—prob-

Organization of the League of Nations

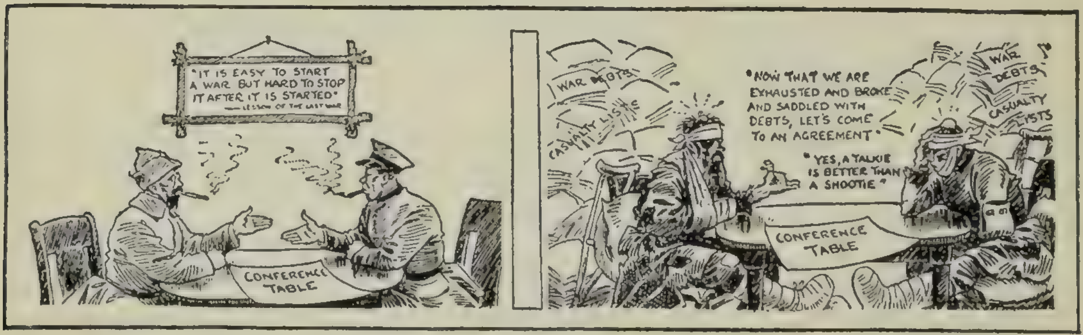

THE ASSEMBLY
THE COUNCIL
The Permanent Court of International Justice
THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT
The International Labor Organization
TECHNICAL ORGANIZATIONS
Organization for Communication and Transit
Economic and Financial Organization
Health Organization
PERMANENT ADVISORY COMMISSIONS
Committee on Intellectual Co-operation
Permanent Mandates Commission
Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery
Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs
Advisory Committee for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People
Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval, and Air Questions
Communications and Transit Commission
Economic and Financial Committees
Health Committee
Fiscal Committee
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSIONS
Governing Commission of the Saar Territory
High Commissioner for the Free City of Danzig
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTES
Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees
Nansen International Office for Refugees
International Center for Research on Leprosy (Rio de Janeiro)
International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (Paris)
International Educational Cinematograph Institute (Rome)
International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (Rome)

MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE, JANUARY 1, 1934

Abyssinia
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
British Empire
Bulgaria
Canada
Chile
China
Colombia
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Esthonia
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
India
Iraq
Irish Free State
Italy
Japan
Latvia
Liberia
Lithuania
Luxemburg
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Panama
Paraguay
Persia
Peru
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Salvador
Siam
South Africa
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

able, say friends of the League—that the League ideal of the peaceful settlement of disputes will yet triumph.

A stream can rise no higher than its source; the League is no better than the governments which make it up. When it is said that the League failed in the case of Manchuria it means that the great powers failed. The great powers control the Council and to a great extent control the League; France, England, and Italy would never have joined an organization which gave Albania and Liberia the same voice in the affairs of the world as themselves. The great powers were unwilling to bring pressure to bear to prevent Japan from doing what they had done in the past; they were afraid to create a precedent which might be used against them in the future. The League cannot fulfill its high purpose of promoting international coöperation and preserving peace if the governments which make it up insist on policies designed only to promote their own nationalistic and imperialistic ends.


"IT IS EASY TO START A WAR BUT HARD TO STOP IT AFTER IT IS STARTED"
—LESSON OF THE LAST WAR
CONFERENCE TABLE
WAR DEBTS
CASUALTY LISTS
"NOW THAT WE ARE EXHAUSTED AND BROKE AND SADDLED WITH DEBTS, LET'S COME TO AN AGREEMENT"
"YES, A TALKIE IS BETTER THAN A SHOOTIE"
WAR DEBTS
CASUALTY LISTS
CONFERENCE TABLE

Chicago Tribune

LET'S TALK IT OVER

Does the idea expressed in this cartoon constitute an argument for the League of Nations?

For the first ten years of its existence the League grew steadily in influence and prestige. The admission of Germany lessened the force of the charge originally made that the League was "a new Holy Alliance" designed to enable the victorious Allies to hold what they had gained in the World War. The growing tendency of the smaller states in the Assembly to criticize the actions of the great powers was a hopeful sign. Evidence of the growing prestige of the League was the fact that nations sent their leading statesmen and foreign secretaries instead of subordinate officials to represent them at League meetings. The wave of economic nationalism which resulted from the depression hurt the League. Faced with overwhelming economic problems the leaders of every nation seemed to feel that they must look out for their own country first, regardless of the effects of their actions on the rest of the world. The failure to check Japan's aggression in Manchuria lessened the prestige and influence of the League. The withdrawal of Japan and Germany hurt it more. In December, 1933, the Fascist Grand Council demanded changes in the organization of the League and threatened that Italy would withdraw unless these demands were met. At the beginning of 1934 the fate of the League seems doubtful. Its future depends upon whether nationalism or internationalism is to prevail and this is a question which public opinion in each country must answer. It is a question of vital importance.

D. What other work has the League done? 1. HEALTH ACTIVITIES. While less spectacular than the settlement of disputes, some of the most important work of the League has been the everyday routine activities of the Secretariat and the various commissions along humanitarian, social, and economic lines. A brief description of the work of two of these organizations will help us to understand the scope and importance of this phase of the League's work. The Health Organization from its headquarters in Geneva and in Singapore collects from all over the world and sends out to all the world by mail, telegraph, cable, and radio information concerning the outbreak and spread of epidemics and contagious diseases. It conducts tours of health officials of different countries to study medical methods of other countries. It sends commissions to study disease—malaria, leprosy, cancer, sleeping sickness—in regions where they are most prevalent. It has established uniform standards for medicines and serums. It sent a commission to help prevent the spread of typhus from Russia in 1920 when it was epidemic there. It coöperated with the government of Greece in handling tuberculosis among the refugees who flocked into Greece after the war with Turkey in 1922. Its experts have helped reorganize the public health services of Bolivia and China. It has coöperated in the study of infant mortality with several European governments and also with those of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. It has held various conferences on health problems attended by health officials and physicians from all parts of the world.

2. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES. The Economic and Financial Organization was established by the Brussels Financial Conference, called by the League in 1920 to consider the economic problems of war-torn Europe. Its first great task was the economic reconstruction of Austria, who appealed to the League for help in 1922. Exhausted by the war and dismembered by the peace treaties, Austria was in a state of complete economic collapse. Her government was bankrupt, her currency practically worthless, a large part of her population on the verge of starvation. The League arranged for a loan for Austria and appointed a commissioner to take charge of her finances. Under his strenuous measures economic stability was gradually restored. Similar steps were taken for Hungary in 1923. The League planned and supervised a loan to Greece in 1922 to enable her to deal with refugees. Other loans were arranged by the League for Bulgaria, Esthonia, and Danzig. League advisers also helped several of these countries to handle their finances during the depression. Through conferences and investigations the Economic and Financial Organization has dealt with many varied subjects. The two world economic conferences called by the League, the first at Geneva in 1927 and the second in London in 1932 (see pages 248 and 254), brought together economists and statesmen from practically every country in the world. While neither of these conferences accomplished much directly, they did promote a better understanding of fundamental economic problems.

3. OTHER ACTIVITIES. A mere list will suffice to indicate some of the other activities carried on by the sections of the Secretariat and the League's auxiliary organization. Outstanding among them are administration of the Saar and Danzig districts, relief of war refugees, protection of minorities, control of mandates, promotion of intellectual coöperation between nations, codification of international law, improvement of communication and transit between nations, suppression of slavery, and the regulation of traffic in opium and dan-

gerous drugs. The various League organizations have collected and made easily available for study a mass of valuable technical information in many fields. By bringing together men and women of all nations to discuss world problems from an international point of view they are building up a spirit and a technique of international coöperation and good will without which world organization can never be achieved.

E. An appraisal of the League by one of its friends. Edward Benes, Minister for Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia, who has been active in the work of the League since its beginning, has summed up the League's record and aspirations in *Foreign Affairs* as follows:

> The League of Nations is only in its beginnings. Let anyone who feels like reproaching it for not having done this or that, or with not having acted with sufficient speed in any particular question, bear in mind that its effort to bring about the organization of international coöperation, peace, and security have had to pierce the steel armor collected during long centuries around the conceptions of national prestige, national honor, and national duty.
>
> The important fact is that there exists an institution which is working systematically for the revision of these age-old shibboleths. The degree of progress made by the League in any particular question depends upon how thick is the armor of the old ideas in comparison to the strength of the onset of international improvement.
>
> The tasks of the League will never be completed; they are eternal. . . . It will succeed in its tasks in proportion as it manages to keep on its side a sufficiently large section of the public opinion of the world, for that is and always will be its strongest weapon.

II. THE WORLD COURT

A. Organization. Two organizations closely associated with the work of the League but independent of it are the International Labor Organization (see page 287) and the Permanent Court of International Justice, commonly called the World Court. The World Court was provided for in the covenant of the League; its statute or constitution was drafted by a committee of jurists appointed by the Council. Its fifteen judges and four deputy judges are elected by the Council and Assembly, voting separately. Only states, not individuals, may appear as parties before the Court. In case a state which has no judge on the Court is a party before it, a judge from that state may be selected for that particular case. The Court meets annually at The Hague; special sessions are held when necessary.

B. Jurisdiction. The World Court should not be confused with the Permanent Court of Arbitration which was established as a result of the Hague Conference of 1899 and also meets at The Hague. (See page 695.) The World Court is a court of law; it deals with legal, not political, questions. Ordinarily the World Court has only voluntary jurisdiction; that is, it hears only those cases which two states agree to submit to it; one state can not compel another to take a case to the Court. In a large number of recent treaties, however, a provision has been included that any dispute arising under the treaty shall be referred automatically to the Court. The Court statute also contains an optional clause—optional in the sense that member states may ratify it or not as they choose—which provides that if certain types of disputes arise between states which have ratified the optional clause, they shall go to the Court. The types of dispute included are those concerning (1) the interpretation of a treaty, (2) any question of international law, (3) the existence of a fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligation, (4) the reparation to be made for breach of an international obligation. In 1933, forty states, including Germany, France, Italy, and England, were bound by this optional clause. Eight others had signed but had not ratified it. Thus the Court is becoming increasingly a court of compulsory jurisdiction.

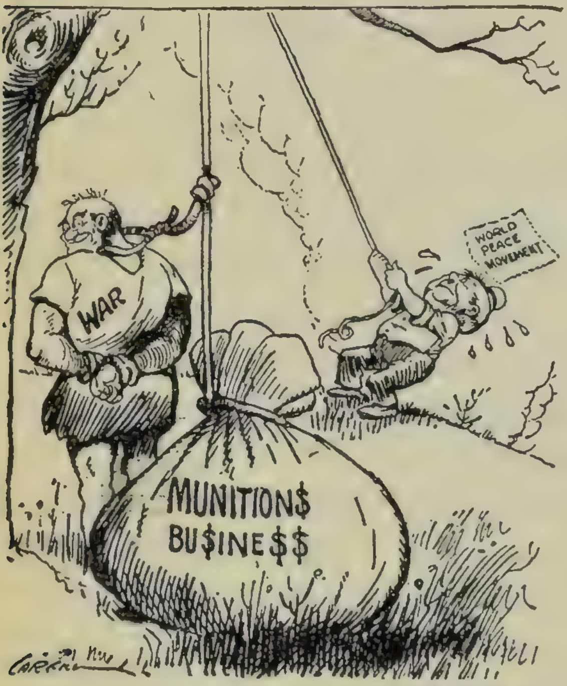
Besides its power to try cases the Court has the unusual power of giving advisory opinions at the request of the Council or Assembly. From January, 1922, to the end of 1933 the Court had rendered twenty judgments and twenty-five advisory opinions. Although its decisions and opinions do not create binding precedents they are gradually building up a body of international law. In the opinion of most observers the Court has given ample proof of its ability and usefulness and has grown steadily in prestige.

C. The United States and the Court. In 1926 the United States Senate voted to ratify a treaty by which the United States would join the World Court with five reservations. The first four, which were intended to put the United States on an equal basis with those members who were also members of the League, were accepted by the members. The fifth reservation provided that the Court should not, without the consent of the United States, render any advisory opinion in any case in which the United States had or claimed an interest. The statute of the Court did not make it clear whether the request for an advisory opinion must be made by a unanimous or merely a majority vote of the Council or Assembly. If a unanimous vote were required the reservation would give the United States no more power than any other member of the Council; if only a majority vote were required the United States would have more power than other members. To the fifth reservation, therefore, the members replied that the United States should have the same rights over advisory opinions as other members had. President Coolidge decided that this did not constitute an acceptance of the reservation and the matter was dropped.

In 1929 Elihu Root, who had been a member of the committee which drafted the Court statute, met with representatives of the members of the Court and drafted a compromise which is commonly known as the Root Protocol. The protocol provides that in case of a request for an advisory opinion the United States shall be notified and given an opportunity to file objections. If, after objection by the United States, the Council insists on the advisory opinion, the United States may withdraw from the Court without "any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to coöperate generally for peace and good will." This protocol was accepted by the Court members and signed by President Hoover. It had not, in February, 1934, been ratified by the Senate.

III. PROGRESS TOWARD DISARMAMENT, SECURITY, AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

A. Can security be won by arming or disarming? The founders of the League of Nations realized, as had other workers for peace, that one of the main causes of war was the fear and suspicion bred by large armaments. Accordingly, they fixed the making of plans for disarmament as one of the main duties of the League. The League established commissions for the study of armament and related problems but found progress slow and difficult. Instead of armaments being reduced they reached a new high level. In 1930 the nations of the world spent between four and five billion dollars on armaments—nearly twice the amount spent in 1913. Why are nations so unwilling to disarm? The makers of armament and military and naval supplies and those who furnish them materials naturally favor armaments since they benefit directly from them. Military and naval officers are also usually strong champions of large armies and navies. These groups are powerful, but they form a small minority in any country. Nations would not spend large sums for armament unless the people themselves felt the need for armament. People want armament because they want security; they want to feel that their property and institutions are free from danger of outside attacks. They have been taught to believe that this security could be had by large armies and navies.

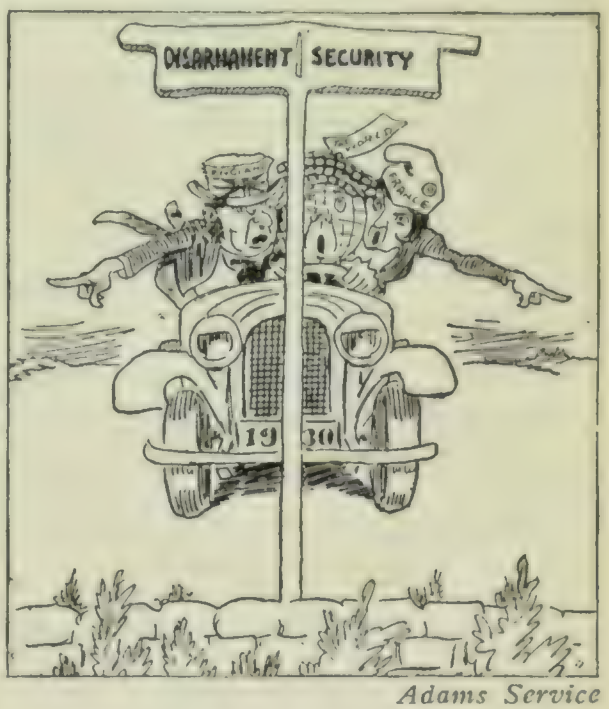


South Bend Tribune

"THE FORTUNES OF WAR"

What argument does this cartoon suggest for the substitution of government for private manufacture of munitions?

Many believe that the World War showed the fallacy of this belief in the power of armaments to give security. Certainly armaments had never been larger than they were in 1914 and never had there been a war so destructive and terrible for all concerned. If a nation is dependent on armament for security then she is not secure if another nation has a larger armament. But if she increases her armament, then other nations increase theirs and a race in armament results, as was the case in the years before the World War. Moreover the developments of science, many believe, make the conventional type of armament useless for protection. What good are powerful armies if they can be wiped out in a few hours by gas bombs dropped from airplanes? What good are the best equipped navies if they can be sunk by attacks from the air? Military and naval strategists admit that no satisfactory defense against air attacks has been developed. Even the civilian population of cities thousands of miles from the battle front is not safe. Germany, for example, was disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles. The manufacture of poison gas and military airplanes was prohibited. But Germany's neighbors knew well that Germany could in a few days transform her great chemical plants into plants for the manufacture of poison gas; she could transform her powerful commercial airplanes into war planes. No great industrial country can be disarmed. The only way to have security through armament is to go back to a mere primitive civilization.



Adams Service

"WHICH ROAD TO PEACE?"

Convinced of the futility of trying to attain security through armament, many have declared that the only real security for a nation today lies in building up an international organization which will make disputes less likely and provide a peaceful means of settling disputes that do arise. The Covenant of the League of Nations does not outlaw war. Reliance is placed chiefly on delay, investigation, and publicity. There is no penalty for war in case of a dispute upon which the Council is unable to agree unanimously. The League found nations unwilling to disarm because they did not trust the means for peaceful settlement which the Covenant established. Accordingly steps were taken to strengthen the machinery for peaceful settlement. But nations were afraid to pledge themselves to peaceful settlement because armaments still existed. This is the dilemma of those who are working to prevent war. Nations arm because they are not secure; they are not secure because they arm. During the past ten years several attempts have been made to break this vicious circle by two methods of approach. One, generally favored by France, is to strengthen the machinery for peaceful settlement as a prelude to disarmament; the other, generally favored by England, is to disarm as a prelude to establishing methods for peaceful settlement. Both methods must of course proceed together.

B. The Washington Conference. The first definite step toward disarmament was taken by the United States in 1921, when President Harding called the Washington Conference. The accomplishments of the conference in Far Eastern affairs have already been told. (See page 596.) Secretary of State Hughes presented a plan for the limitation of capital ships, which, with some modifications, was adopted by the principal naval powers. England, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy agreed to reduce their capital ships to a ratio of 5; 5; 3; 1.75; 1.75, and to build no more capital ships for ten years. (A capital ship was defined as one of more than ten thousand tons.) Land armaments were not considered and no limitation was put on cruisers or auxiliary navy craft or on airplanes or submarines. The Washington Conference was significant in being the first time that armaments had ever been reduced at all by international agreement.

C. The Locarno treaties. Meanwhile the League was working on plans for strengthening methods of peaceful settlement. A proposal that all states agree to submit every dispute to peaceful settlement and to take up arms against any state that refused to do so failed. England proposed regional agreements in place of this more ambitious plan. In pursuance of this idea, a conference was held at Locarno in October, 1925, which resulted in a "Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy." By this treaty these nations as a group and individually guarantee the present boundaries between Germany and Belgium and Germany and France and the demilitarization of German territory west of a line drawn fifty kilometers east of the Rhine. Germany, Belgium, and France mutually agree not to attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other except (1) in defense against a violation of this agreement; (2) in case of a "flagrant breach" of the treaty provisions for the demilitarized German territory, or (3) in case of action authorized by the League. Great Britain and Italy agree to take up arms against an aggressor whenever the Council of the League declares a violation has occurred or when either nation has satisfied itself that a flagrant violation makes immediate action necessary. Separate arbitration treaties were signed by Germany with France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, by which the contracting parties agree to settle by peaceable means all disputes as to their respective rights that may arise between them. While the actual terms of these treaties constituted mainly a reaffirmation of the obligations already assumed by members of the League, the spirit in which they were made indicated a distinct advance toward the pacification of Europe. The Locarno treaties went into effect in September, 1926, with the admission of Germany to the League.

D. The Geneva naval conference. While the Washington treaties stopped the competitive building of capital ships, they led to a rivalry in cruisers just under the ten thousand ton limit of capital ships. President Coolidge in an effort to end this rivalry called a conference which met at Geneva in June, 1927. England, Japan, and the United States sent representatives; Italy and France refused to attend officially, but sent observers. The conference failed to accomplish anything because the United States and England were each looking for a formula which would give itself the advantage under the appearance of equality.

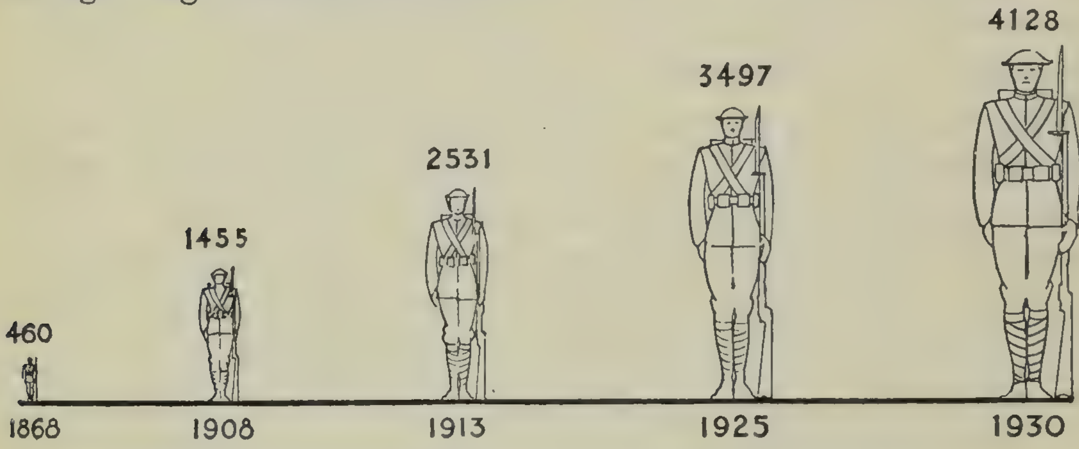
E. The Pact of Paris (The Kellogg Peace Pact). In the spring of 1927 Briand, Foreign Minister of France, informally proposed that the United States and France should make a treaty agreeing to settle any disputes that might arise between them by peaceful methods. Secretary of State Kellogg took up the proposal and offered to make a treaty with France formally "renouncing war as an instrument of national policy" and adding the suggestion that other nations be invited to adhere to the treaty. After the exchange of several notes, France, in the spring of 1928, accepted the Kellogg proposal with reservations that the treaty should not be interpreted to interfere with France's obligations to the League of Nations or to her allies, and that the prohibition against war should not apply to a war of defense. The proposals were submitted to the other great powers and were accepted with reservations similar to those of France. England added the reservation that the treaty should not prejudice her freedom of action in certain unnamed regions where she had vital interests.

The treaty was signed by fifteen nations in August, 1928, and the other nations, including Russia, have since signed it. The Pact of Paris, or, as it is sometimes called, the Kellogg Pact, has but two provisions: (1) "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy." (2) They "agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means." The weakness of the treaty is that it provides no machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes, and it is not clear what force the reservations have. The strength of the treaty is its psychological effect on public opinion. For the first time in history war is outlawed. If people want peace they have but to insist that their governments do what they have pledged themselves to do.

F. The "General Act" of the Assembly. In 1925, the Assembly of the League requested the Council to constitute a preparatory commission for a disarmament conference. This commission held sessions for the next five years, all of them attended by representatives of the United States and the later ones by Russian representatives, but at first progress was distressingly slow. Each representative seemed determined to prevent any reduction which did not leave his nation in a stronger relative position. In the

League Assembly, however, Germany, already disarmed, insisted that some action be taken and the smaller nations echoed Germany's demands. To further the cause of security and disarmament the Assembly in 1928 approved several model treaties to be used by nations who might wish to provide for the peaceful settlement of all classes of disputes. These treaties were later embodied in a General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. States ratifying this General Act agree to settle every dispute that may arise between them and other states which have ratified the act either by arbitration, by reference to the World Court, or by a conciliation commission. Several of the smaller states have ratified the act and in 1931 both France and England did so.

G. The London Naval Conference. With the failure of the Geneva Conference and a deadlock in the Preparatory Commission over methods of naval limitation, progress toward disarmament seemed hopeless until the great naval powers came to some agreement. Following the visit of MacDonald, again in power in England as head of the Labor government, to the United States in 1929, the London Naval Conference met in London early in 1930 attended by the five powers which had signed the Washington Treaty. The old problem of the relation of security to the reduction of armaments cropped up again to trouble the conferees. France was unwilling to limit her navy unless she received guarantees of help in case of attack, which guarantees the United States was unwilling to give. Italy demanded parity with France which France refused. England, the United States, and Japan finally signed a three-power treaty leaving France and Italy to settle their differences by later negotiations. By the treaty the three powers agreed to build no more battleships until 1936. A maximum tonnage in each class of ships was fixed for each nation, England and the United States being allowed equal tonnage—or as nearly equal tonnage as could be arrived at—in each class and Japan being allowed from 60 to 70 per cent of that fixed for the other two powers. The treaty contained a so-called "escalator clause" providing that, in case of building by any nation not signatory to the treaty, any signatory might increase its ships after notifying the other two. The treaty marked a step in advance by fixing top limits for the navies of the three greatest naval powers and so precluding the possibility of a naval race between them. It was, however, distinctly a treaty for limitation, not for reduction. The United States was allowed to build one billion dollars' worth of cruisers in order to attain parity. The Conference was a disappointment for those who had hoped that it would mark the beginning of definite reduction.



How the World Expenditure for Armament Grows

The figures above each soldier give in millions of dollars the total annual expenditures of the principal powers for the years indicated.

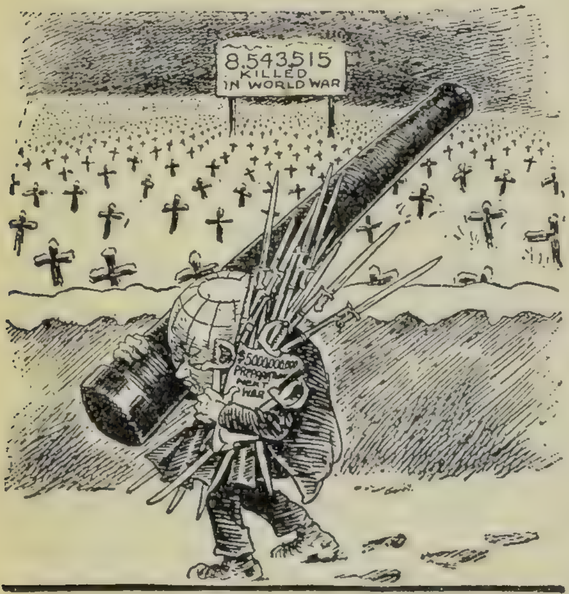
Public sentiment in the United States opposed any large increase in the navy and Congress refused to authorize building up to the treaty limits. In 1933, however, President Roosevelt allotted two hundred and fifty-seven million dollars for new vessels as a part of the public works program to relieve unemployment. Following the announcement of this increase Japan, who doubtless felt the need for more ships because of the isolated position in which the Manchurian affair had placed her, announced that she would demand equality with England and the United States in naval strength when the London Treaty expired in 1935.

H. The World Disarmament Conference. Some progress having been made toward naval limitation by the London Conference the Preparatory Commission continued its labors. After five years of patient collection of materials, nationalistic wranglings, and jockeying for position, the Commission finally completed its work in 1930. It drew up a skeleton treaty providing for limitation of all classes of armaments; the World Disarmament Conference, which met at Geneva in February, 1932, was supposed to decide the actual figures for each nation.

When the long-awaited conference finally met it found all the old obstacles, which had for years troubled the preparatory commission, still obstructing progress. France clung to her old demand that security must precede disarmament. Each nation put forward plans which would limit the form of armaments which it did not want while leaving untouched those it wanted. Behind the scenes munition makers lobbied. Financial difficulties from which every nation was suffering because of the depression were a strong argument for reduction, but on the other hand the intense nationalism which had grown with the depression offered a new obstacle. The dispute between China and Japan over Manchuria, which was at its height when the conference met, did not create an atmosphere favorable to thoughts of disarmament.

Although the conference was supposed merely to fill in the figures in the skeleton treaty which the Preparatory Commission had made, so many amendments were offered that the original treaty was hardly recognizable. One of the plans which was most widely discussed was that sponsored by England and the United States for "qualitative disarmament," that is, that arms suitable for offense be strictly limited while purely defensive arms be left alone. It was found practically impossible, however, to define "offensive arms," each nation insisting that the arms in which it was strong were purely defensive. With several recesses the conference continued in session until June, 1933, when it adjourned to meet in October. Meanwhile new obstacles to disarmament had arisen.

From the beginning of the conference Germany demanded equality of arms. She insisted that if the other nations did not reduce their arms as they had agreed to do in the Treaty of Versailles she must be allowed to arm herself. The inequality in armaments forced on Germany was doubtless one of the reasons for the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. His dictatorship which was established in March, 1933 (see pages 482-487), greatly complicated the problem of disarmament. It seemed that some concession would have to be made to the Nazis' demand for equality, but at the same time all of Germany's neighbors were much less willing to reduce their own arms. In an attempt to save the conference from failure a Four-Power Pact between England, France, Italy, and Germany was signed in June, 1933. By this pact the four powers agreed to "coöperate" in the maintenance of peace, to consult on all economic matters of European interest, and, "within the covenant of the League," to examine all proposals affecting treaty revision and the territorial integrity of its members. Neither the Four-Power Pact nor the unofficial negotiations that went on during the summer satisfied Hitler. Just before the conference was due to reopen in October he announced Germany's withdrawal from the conference and the League. This bomb shell made any immediate step toward disarmament impossible; the conference adjourned again to meet at a later date. With Germany out of the conference, with Japan applauding Germany's action, with Italy threatening to withdraw, with nationalism rampant everywhere, the prospects for any real progress toward disarmament seemed dark at the opening of 1934.



Adams Service

"And Yet the World Longs for Peace"

If the World Disarmament Conference fails to make substantial reductions it will be a disaster for the entire world. Its failure, if it does fail, will be due to the same reason that other conferences have failed—because the delegates are thinking of disarmament in terms of war, not in terms of peace, because they are viewing the world from a narrow national point of view, trying to find a formula for reduction that will leave their states in a relatively stronger position. In disarmament, as in the League's economic work and in other fields of international activity, the great obstacle is nationalism.

Many believe that true patriotism consists in working for the interests of one's own country regardless of the effect on other countries. Others believe that statesmen who place immediate national advantage above international progress are short-sighted and not really working for the welfare of their country. What is best for the world, internationalists believe, is best for individual nations in the long run.

The League of Nations, the World Court, the Locarno Treaties, the Kellogg Pact, and the various arbitration treaties of the last ten years have done much to establish security. They are important and necessary steps toward international organization. They have provided the machinery necessary for the peaceful settlement of disputes. More important, however, than machinery, more important than institutions, is the creation of an intelligent public opinion, a public opinion that looks upon international questions from an international point of view, a public opinion that demands that international coöperation take the place of international anarchy. On the creation of such a public opinion depends the future of all countries, the future of civilization itself.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Shortly after the war Elihu Root referred to the League as "a new Holy Alliance." What justification was there for this comparison? Why is it less true today than it was in 1919?

2. What are the main arguments for and against the entrance of the United States into the League?

3. Is the rule requiring unanimity in the League Council and Assembly a source of strength or a source of weakness to the League?

4. If the primary purpose of the League is to prevent war, how can the expenditure of a large part of its funds and its energy on such activities as health and financial affairs be justified?

5. It has been argued that a nation sacrifices its sovereignty on entering the League. To what extent is this true? Is any limitation of national sovereignty desirable?

6. Give arguments for or against the statement that armaments offer less security than provisions for methods of peaceful settlement of disputes.

7. "The world today is an economic unit, some political unity is therefore necessary." Explain and discuss this statement.

8. Europeans have frequently said that the United States should set the world an example of disarmament. Give arguments for or against this point of view.

9. Show in what way nationalism is an obstacle to disarmament.

10. What is the significance of the negative nature of the clause of the Kellogg Pact "that the settlement of all disputes shall never be sought, except by peaceful means"?

11. Do you believe that the League should have used armed force to coerce Japan in the Manchurian affair? An economic boycott? Give reasons.

12. In this chapter there are several statements of fact and several statements of the authors' opinion. Select three of each. Do you agree with the opinions expressed? Why?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

NOTE: We are living so near to the events described in this chapter that it is difficult to appraise their relative value and importance. The best references obtainable will be the documents themselves and a wealth of periodical literature. The student is therefore urged to make constant use of the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*. Worthy of special mention are the *Reports and News Bulletins* published by the Foreign Policy Association, New York City; the *International Conciliation* pamphlets, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York City; the publications of the League of Nations Association, New York City. *Foreign Affairs,* a quarterly magazine, published by Council on Foreign Relations; *Current History,* a monthly magazine, published by the New York Times Company, New York; *The Nation* and *The New Republic* are practically indispensable for current information on items of world importance.

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- COLE, pp. 543-577
- MAGRUDER, pp. 530-533, 553-583

Benns, pp. 209-252
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 553-564
Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 797-801
Barnes, *World Politics,* pp. 511-534
Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 693-727
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 485-496
Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. IX, pp. 286-295

World Court

Magruder, pp. 583-594
Moon, pp. 473-513
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 496-499
Barnes, *World Politics,* pp. 516-517
Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 606-647
Hudson, *The Permanent Court of International Justice*
Langsam, *The World Since 1914,* pp. 134-160

Disarmament and Security

Cole, pp. 498-543
Scott and Baltzly, pp. 682-688
Schapiro, pp. 777-783
Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. II, pp. 157-162, 193-201; Vol. V, pp. 158-161
Madariaga, *Disarmament*
Shotwell, *War As an Instrument of National Policy*
Slosson, *Twentieth Century Europe,* pp. 674-676
Barnes, *World Politics,* pp. 534-555
Buell, *International Relations,* pp. 554-582, 647-693
Langsam, *The World Since 1914,* pp. 186-214

THE PACT OF PARIS

(BRIAND-KELLOGG PACT)

PREAMBLE

The President of the German Reich, the President of the United States of America, his Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, his Majesty the King of Italy, his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, the President of the Republic of Poland, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic:

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process; and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

Have decided to conclude a treaty, and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries: (Names follow)

ARTICLE 1

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE 2

The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which, may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WITH AMENDMENTS IN FORCE NOVEMBER 1, 1933

(*Amendments in Italics*)

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,

In order to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and

by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1

Membership and Withdrawal

1. The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

2. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

3. Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.[1]

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[1] Notices of intention to withdraw have been filed by Member states as follows: Brazil, June 12, 1926; Costa Rica, December 24, 1924; Germany, October 21, 1933; Japan, March 27, 1933; Mexico, December 3, 1932; Spain, September 11, 1926.

ARTICLE 2

Executive Organs

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 3

Assembly

1. The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the Members of the League.

2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

4. At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote and may have not more than three Representatives.

ARTICLE 4

Council

1. The Council shall consist of representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers [United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan], together with Representatives of four[1] other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain shall be Members of the Council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League, whose Representatives shall always be Members of the Council;[2] the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

2 bis. The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and par-

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[1] The number of Members of the Council selected by the Assembly, by application of the second clause of Art. 4, par. 2, was increased from four to six on September 25, 1922, from six to nine on September 8, 1926, and from nine to ten on October 9, 1933, for the period until 1936.

[2] By application of this clause Germany was designated as a permanent Member of the Council on September 8, 1926, the appropriate action of the Council having been taken on September 4.

ticularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

3. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

4. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

5. Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

6. At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

ARTICLE 5

Voting and Procedure

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6

Secretariat and Expenses

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

3. The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

5. *The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.*

ARTICLE 7

Seat, Qualifications of Officials, Immunities

1. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8

Reduction of Armaments

1. The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

5. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE 9

Permanent Military, Naval, and Air Commission

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval, and air questions generally.

ARTICLE 10

Guaranties Against Aggression

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11

Action in Case of War or Threat of War

1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

2. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12

Disputes to Be Submitted for Settlement

1. The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration *or judicial settlement* or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators *or the judicial decision,* or the report by the Council.

2. In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators *or the judicial decision* shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13

Arbitration or Judicial Settlement

1. The Members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement*, and which can not be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration *or judicial settlement.*

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement.*

3. *For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.*

4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award *or decision* that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award *or decision*, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14[1]

Permanent Court of International Justice

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

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[1] The first sentence of this article has been fulfilled. The Council on February 13, 1920, appointed an Advisory Committee of Jurists to report a scheme to it. The draft Statute, prepared by the Committee June 16-July 24, 1920, was revised and finally approved by the Council on October 28. It was then submitted to the First Assembly for consideration of representatives of Members of the League. The plan, called a Statute, is attached to a protocol of signature of December 16, 1920, the ratification of which constitutes adoption of the plan by Members of the League and other states.

ARTICLE 15

Disputes Not Submitted to Arbitration or Judicial Settlement

1. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration *or judicial settlement* in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

2. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and, if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

7. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

9. The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

10. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16

Sanctions of Pacific Settlement

1.[1] Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

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[1] The Assembly has voted in favor of the following amendments to Art. 16, to replace paragraph one, and the Members are now deciding upon their ratification:

“Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, *which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations and to prohibit all intercourse at least between persons resident within their territories and persons resident within the territory of the covenant-breaking State and, if they deem it expedient, also between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and to prevent all financial, commercial or personal intercourse at least between persons resident within the territory of that State and persons resident within the territory of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not, and, if they deem it expedient, also between the nationals of that State and the nationals of any other State whether a Member of the League or not.*

“It is for the Council to give an opinion whether or not a breach of the Covenant has taken place. In deliberations on this question in the Council, the votes of Members of the League alleged to have resorted to war and of Members against whom such action was directed shall not be counted.

“The Council will notify to all Members of the League the date which it recommends for the application of the economic pressure under this Article.

“Nevertheless, the Council may, in the case of particular Members, postpone the coming into force of any of these measures for a specified period where it is satisfied that such a postponement will facilitate the attainment of the object of the measures referred to in the preceding paragraph, or that it is necessary in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience which will be caused to such Members.”

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are coöperating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17

Disputes Involving Non-Members

1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

2. Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

3. If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

4. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18

Registration and Publication of Treaties

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19

Review of Treaties

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20

Abrogation of Inconsistent Obligations

1. The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21

Engagements that Remain Valid

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22

Mandatory System

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of

such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

8. The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

9. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23

Social and Other Activities

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

(*a*) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;

(*b*) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(*c*) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(*d*) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(*e*) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;

(*f*) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24

International Bureaus

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

3. The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25

Promotion of Red Cross and Health

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and coöperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26[1]

Amendments

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

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[1] The Assembly voted in favor of the following amendments to replace Art. 26, in 1921, and the Members are now deciding upon its ratification:

"Amendments to the present Covenant the text of which shall have been voted by the Assembly on a three-fourths majority, in which there shall be included the votes of all the Members of the Council represented at the meeting, will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives composed the Council when the vote was taken and by the majority of those whose Representatives form the Assembly.

"If the required number of ratifications shall not have been obtained within twenty-two months after the vote of the Assembly, the proposed amendment shall remain without effect.

"The Secretary-General shall inform the Members of the taking effect of an amendment.

"Any Member of the League which has not at that time ratified the amendment is free to notify the Secretary-General within a year of its refusal to accept it, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League."

THE STATES OF EUROPE

Areas, Populations, and Rulers since 1750

(Areas, 1934, in square miles. Populations, 1934, or most recent available figures or official estimates.)

Albania (Area, 10,630. Pop., 1,003,000)
Part of Turkey, 1478–1913
William of Wied, *Prince,* 1913–1914
Republic, 1918–1928
Zogu I, 1928–

Austria (Area, 32,369. Pop., 6,732,000)
Part of Holy Roman Empire, until 1806
Francis I, 1804–1835 (*Holy Roman Emperor, as Francis II, 1792–1860*)
Ferdinand I, 1835-1848
Francis Joseph, 1848–1916
Charles I, 1916–1918
Republic, 1918–

Belgium (Area, 11,752. Pop., 8,159,000)
Part of Spanish Monarchy, 1516–1713
Part of Austrian Monarchy, 1713–1797
Part of France, 1797–1815
Part of Holland, 1815–1830
Leopold I, 1831–1865
Leopold II, 1865–1909
Albert, 1909–1934
Leopold III, 1934–

Bulgaria (Area, 39,814. Pop., 6,067,000)
Part of Turkey, 1393–1878
Alexander, *Prince,* 1879–1886
Ferdinand I, *Prince,* 1887–1908; *King,* 1908–1918
Boris III, 1918–

Czechoslovakia (Area, 54,207. Pop., 14,726,000)
Part of Austrian Monarchy, 1526–1918
Republic, 1918–

Denmark (Area, 16,570. Pop., 3,550,000)
Frederick V, 1746–1766
Christian VII, 1766–1808
Frederick VI, 1808–1839
Christian VIII, 1839–1848
Frederick VII, 1848–1863
Christian IX, 1863–1906
Frederick VIII, 1906–1912
Christian X, 1912–

Esthonia (Area, 18,355. Pop., 1,119,000)

- *Part of Swedish Monarchy, 1561–1721*
- *Part of Russian Empire, 1721–1918*
- *Republic, 1918–*

Finland (Area, 149,621. Pop., 3,667,000)

- *Part of Swedish Monarchy, 1290–1809*
- *Part of Russian Empire, 1809–1918*
- *Republic, 1918–*

France (Area, 212,659. Pop., 41,928,000)

- Louis XIV, 1643–1715
- Louis XV, 1715–1774
- Louis XVI, 1774–1792
- *First Republic,* 1792–1804
- Napoleon I, *Emperor,* 1804–1814
- Louis XVIII, 1814–1824
- Charles X, 1824–1830
- Louis Philippe, 1830–1848
- *Second Republic,* 1848–1852
- Napoleon III, *Emperor,* 1852–1870

Presidents of the Third Republic

- Adolphe Thiers, 1871–1873
- Marshal MacMahon, 1873–1879
- Jules Grévy, 1879–1887
- F. Sadi Carnot, 1887–1894
- Casimir-Périer, 1894–1895
- Félix Faure, 1895–1899
- Émile Loubet, 1899–1906
- Armand Fallières, 1906–1913
- Raymond Poincaré, 1913–1920
- Paul Deschanel, 1920–1921
- Alexandre Millerand, 1921–1924
- Gaston Doumergue, 1924–1931
- Paul Doumer, 1931–1932
- Albert Lebrun, 1932–

Germany (Area, 185,889. Pop., 65,300,000)

- *Part of Holy Roman Empire, until 1806*
- *Part of Germanic Confederation, 1815–1866*
- *German Empire, 1871–1918*
  - William I, 1871–1888 (*King of Prussia,* 1861–1888)
  - Frederick III, 1888
  - William II, 1888–1918
- *Republic,* 1918
- *Presidents of the Republic*
  - Friedrich Ebert, 1919–1925
  - Paul von Hindenburg, 1925–

Chancellors of the German Empire, 1871–1918

- Prince Bismarck, 1871–1890
- Count von Caprivi, 1890–1894
- Prince Hohenlohe, 1894–1900
- Count von Bülow, 1900–1909
- T. von Bethmann-Hollweg, 1909–1917
- George Michaelis, 1917
- Count von Hertling, 1917–1918
- Prince Maximilian, 1918

Chancellors of the German Republic since 1919

Philipp Scheidemann, 1919
Gustav Bauer, 1919–1920
Herman Mueller, 1920
Constantin Fehrenbach, 1920–1921
Julius Wirth, 1921–1922
Wilhelm Cuno, 1922–1923
Gustav Stresemann, 1923
Wilhelm Marx, 1923–1924
Max Luther, 1925
Wilhelm Marx, 1925–1928
Herman Mueller, 1928–1930
Heinrich Breuning, 1930–1932
Fritz von Papen, 1932
Kurt von Schleicher, 1932–1933
Adolf Hitler, 1933–

Great Britain (Area, 94,284. Pop., 44,790,000)

William I, 1066–1087
William II, 1087–1100
Henry I, 1100–1135
Stephen, 1135–1154
Henry II, 1154–1189
Richard I, 1189–1199
John, 1199–1216
Henry III, 1216–1272
Edward I, 1272–1307
Edward II, 1307–1327
Edward III, 1327–1377
Richard II, 1377–1399
Henry IV, 1399–1413
Henry V, 1413–1422
Henry VI, 1422–1461
Edward IV, 1461–1483
Richard III, 1483–1485

Tudors
Henry VII, 1485–1509
Henry VIII, 1509–1547
Edward VI, 1547–1553
Mary, 1553–1558
Elizabeth, 1558–1603

Stuarts
James I (*VI of Scotland*), 1603–1625
Charles I, 1625–1649
Republic, 1649–1660
Charles II, 1660–1685
James II, 1685–1688

William III and Mary II, 1689–1694
William III, 1694–1702
Anne, 1702–1714

(Until 1707 rulers designated as sovereigns of England; after that as sovereigns of Great Britain)

George I, 1714–1727
George II, 1727–1760
George III, 1760–1820
George IV, 1820–1830
William IV, 1830–1837
Victoria, 1837–1901
Edward VII, 1901–1910
George V, 1910–

Prime Ministers of Great Britain since 1770.

Lord North, 1770–1782
Earl of Shelburne, 1782–1783
William Pitt (the younger), 1783–1801, 1804–1806
Lord Grenville, 1806–1807
Duke of Portland, 1807–1809
Spencer Percival, 1809–1812
Earl of Liverpool, 1812–1827
George Canning, 1827
Duke of Wellington, 1828–1830
Earl Grey, 1830–1834
Viscount Melbourne, 1834

Prime Ministers of Great Britain since 1770—continued.

Sir Robert Peel, 1834–1835
Viscount Melbourne, 1835–1841
Sir Robert Peel, 1841–1846
Lord John Russell, 1846–1852
Earl of Derby, 1852
Earl of Aberdeen, 1852–1855
Viscount Palmerston, 1855–1858
Earl of Derby, 1858–1859
Viscount Palmerston, 1859–1865
Lord John Russell (Earl Russell), 1865–1866
Earl of Derby, 1866–1868
Benjamin Disraeli, 1868
William E. Gladstone, 1868–1874
Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield), 1874–1880
William E. Gladstone, 1880–1885
Marquess of Salisbury, 1885–1886
William E. Gladstone, 1886
Marquess of Salisbury, 1886–1892
William E. Gladstone, 1892–1894
Earl of Rosebery, 1894–1895
Marquess of Salisbury, 1895–1902
Arthur James Balfour, 1902–1905
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, 1905–1908
Herbert Henry Asquith, 1908–1916
David Lloyd George, 1916–1922
Andrew Bonar Law, 1922–1923
Stanley Baldwin, 1923–1924
J. Ramsay MacDonald, 1924
Stanley Baldwin, 1924–1929
J. Ramsay MacDonald, 1929–

Greece (Area, 50,257. Pop., 6,480,000)

Part of Turkey, 1453–1829
Republic, 1829–1832
Otto I, 1832–1862
George I, 1863–1913
Constantine I, 1913–1917
Alexander I, 1917–1920
Constantine I (restored), 1920–1922
George II, 1922–1924
Republic, 1924–

Holy Roman Empire

Francis I, 1745–1765
Joseph II, 1765–1790
Leopold II, 1790–1792
Francis II, 1792–1806

Hungary (Area, 35,911. Pop., 8,688,000)

Part of Austrian Monarchy, 1526–1918
Republic, 1918–1920
Admiral Horthy (Regent), 1920–

Italy (Area, 119,744. Pop., 41,176,000)

Victor Emmanuel II, 1861–1878 (*King of Sardinia, 1849–1861*)
Humbert, 1878–1900
Victor Emmanuel III, 1900–

Latvia (Area, 25,402. Pop., 1,900,000)

Part of Swedish Monarchy, 1629–1721
Part of Russian Empire, 1721–1918
Republic, 1918–

Lithuania (Area, inc. Memel, 21,493. Pop., 2,340,000)
Part of Polish Monarchy, 1501–1793
Part of Russian Empire, 1793–1918
Republic, 1918–

Montenegro (Area, 1914, 3,255. Pop., 282,000)
Peter I, 1782–1830
Peter II, 1830–1851
Danilo I, *Prince,* 1851–1860
Nicholas I, *Prince,* 1860–1910; *King,* 1910–1918
Part of Yugoslavia, 1918–

Netherlands (Holland) (Area, 12,582. Pop., 8,061,000)
William V, *Hereditary Stadholder,* 1751–1795
Republic, 1795–1806
Louis Bonaparte, *King,* 1806–1810
Part of France, 1810–1813
William I, *King,* 1813–1840
William II, 1840–1849
William III, 1849–1890
Wilhelmina, 1890–

Norway (Area, 124,964. Pop., 2,817,000)
Part of Denmark, 1397–1814
Part of Sweden, 1814–1905
Haakon VII, 1905–

Poland (Area, inc. Vilna, 155,157 [approximate]. Pop., 32,132,000)
Augustus III, 1734–1763
Stanislaus II Poniatowski, 1764–1795
Partitioned among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, 1795–1918
Republic, 1918–

Portugal (Area, 35,490. Pop., 6,234,000)
Joseph, 1750–1777
Maria I and Pedro III, 1777–1786
Maria I, 1786–1816
John VI, 1816–1826
Pedro IV, 1826
Maria II, 1826–1828
Miguel, 1828–1834
Maria II, 1834–1853
Pedro V, 1853–1861
Louis I, 1861–1889
Charles I, 1889–1908
Manoel II, 1908–1910
Republic, 1910–

Prussia (Area, 113,033. Pop., 38,175,000)
Frederick II, 1740–1786
Frederick William II, 1786–1797
Frederick William III, 1797–1840
Frederick William IV, 1840–1861
William I, 1861–1888 (*German Emperor, 1871–1888*)
After 1871 part of German Empire

Rumania (Area, 113,886. Pop., 18,025,000)

Part of Turkey, 1500–1856
Alexander John Cuza, *Prince,* 1861–1866
Charles I, *Prince,* 1866–1881; *King,* 1881–1914
Ferdinand I, 1914–1927
Michael I, 1927–1930
Carol II, 1930–

Russia (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics) (Area, 8,144,228. Pop., 165,700,000)

Elizabeth, 1741–1762
Peter III, 1762
Catherine II, 1762–1796
Paul, 1796–1801
Alexander I, 1801–1825
Nicholas I, 1825–1855
Alexander II, 1855–1881
Alexander III, 1881–1894
Nicholas II, 1894–1917
Republic, 1917–

Serbia (Area, 1914, 18,650. Pop., 1914, 2,911,000)

Part of Turkey, 1459–1878
Milan, *Prince,* 1868–1882; *King,* 1882–1889
Alexander, 1889–1903
Peter, 1903–1921
Part of Yugoslavia, 1918–

Spain (Area, 190,050. Pop., 28,719,000)

Ferdinand VI, 1746–1759
Charles III, 1759–1788
Charles IV, 1788–1808
Joseph Bonaparte, 1808–1813
Ferdinand VII, 1813–1833
Isabella II, 1833–1868
Amadeo of Savoy, 1870–1873
Republic, 1873–1875
Alphonso XII, 1875–1885
Alphonso XIII, 1886–1931
Republic, 1931–

Sweden (Area, 173,157. Pop., 6,190,000)

Adolphus Frederick, 1751–1771
Gustavus III, 1771–1792
Gustavus IV, 1792–1809
Charles XIII, 1809–1818
Charles XIV, 1818–1844
Oscar I, 1844–1859
Charles XV, 1859–1872
Oscar II, 1872–1907
Gustavus V, 1907–

Turkey (Area 294,492 [approximate]. Pop., 13,660,000)

Othman III, 1754–1757
Mustapha III, 1757–1773
Abdul Hamid I, 1773–1789
Selim III, 1789–1807
Mustapha IV, 1807–1808
Mahmud II, 1808–1839
Abdul Medjid, 1839–1861
Abdul Aziz, 1861–1876
Murad V, 1876
Abdul Hamid II, 1876–1909
Mohammed V, 1909–1918
Mohammed VI, 1918–1922
Republic, 1922–

Yugoslavia (Area, 96,018. Pop., 13,930,000)
Peter I, 1918–1921 (*King of Serbia, 1903–1918*)
Alexander I, 1921–

The Popes

Benedict XIV, 1740–1758
Clement XIII, 1758–1769
Clement XIV, 1769–1774
Pius VI, 1775–1799
Pius VII, 1800–1823
Leo XII, 1823–1829
Pius VIII, 1829–1830
Gregory XVI, 1831–1846
Pius IX, 1846–1878
Leo XIII, 1878–1903
Pius X, 1903–1914
Benedict XV, 1914–1922
Pius XI, 1922–

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INDEX

Abdul Hamid II, Sultan, 677, 678
Absolutism, as a form of government, 83, 92; in France, 92-94; abolished during French Revolution, 149; in Russia, 494
Abyssinia, 564
Accident Insurance Bill (Germany), 283
Addison, Joseph, 78
Advisory opinions (World Court), 766, 767
Afghanistan, 626
Africa, Imperialism in, 561, 564, 576-578, 637-638
Agadir, 674, 675
Agriculture, 38-46; conditions of, in eighteenth century, 44 ff.; *illus.* of, in Middle Ages, 38; in modern times, 236-243; in Russia, 492-493, 513-519. *See also* Farming
Agricultural Revolution, 45
Aida (Verdi), 359
Airplane, 222, 708
Albania, 400, 541, 542, 680, 681, 760
Alchemists, 104
Alexander the Great, 8
Alexander I (Russia), in alliance with Napoleon, 160; at Congress of Vienna, 176; after the Congress, 183, 184; and Holy Alliance, 184, 185; and grant of home rule to Poles, 194
Alexander II (Russia), 492, 497
Alexander III (Russia), 497
Alexandria, 34
Alfonso, King (Spain), 556
Algeciras, 673, 674
Algeria, 576, 637
Algiers, 368
All Quiet on the Western Front (Remarque), 346
Allen, T. P., 210
Alliances, Holy, 184, 185; Quadruple, 184, 185; Anglo-Japanese, 587; Triple, 663-665; Triple Entente, 665-671; Entente Cordiale, 669-671; Anglo-Russian entente, 670, 671; Little Entente, 740, 743
Alsace-Lorraine, 391, 735
Allenby, General, 717
America, discovery of, 36
American Federation of Labor, [illegible] 286
Amiens, Peace of, 160
Ampère, 314
Anarchism, 274
Anatomy, 108
Andrews, Roy Chapman, 7
Androcles and the Lion (Shaw), 342
Anesthesia, 298
Angell, Norman, 565
Angevins, 20
Anglicanism, 62, 63, 320
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 669
Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 587
Anglo-Russian Entente, 670, 671
Angola, 638
Angora, 405
Anjou, 19
Anna Karenina (Tolstoi), 350
Annam, 368, 581
Anne, Queen of England, 91
Anschluss, 393
Anthropology, 304
Anti-Corn Law League, 246
Anticlericalism, 312, 315-322
Anti-Semitism, in France, 315; in Germany, 484, 485; in Russia, 497
Antiseptics, 297, 298
Antitoxin, 297
Antwerp, 32, 38
Anzacs, 712
Aquinas, Thomas, 314
Arabi, 573
Arabia, 30, 401
Arabic numerals, 108
Arbitration, defined, 695; Hague Court of, 695, 696; may be used by League, 758; Treaties of, 771
Archangel, 507
Archduke of Austria, assassination of, 698
Archeology, 303, 304
Archipenko, Alexander, 354
Architecture, 74; Romanesque, 75; Gothic, 75; modern, 355, 356; influence of Industrial Revolution on, 355
Argentina, 189, 281
Argonne, Battles of the, 716
Aristotle, 34; influence of, in Middle Ages, 71, 105
Arkwright, Richard, 208, 209

Armada, Spanish, 36
Armenia, 663
Armenians, 678
Armistice, World War, 726-729
Arms and the Man (Shaw), 341
Arndt, Ernst, 383
Arnold, Matthew, 338
Art, in Middle Ages, 71; during Renaissance, 71-77; classicism in, 78; in modern times, 334-359
Artois, Count of, 183
Asia Minor, invaded by Seljuk Turks, 28; trade with, 30
Asquith, Herbert H., 431, 718, 719
Assembly, League of Nations, 757
Assignats, 137, 138
"Associations of Worship," 317
Astrolabe, 34
Astrology, 104
Astronomy, 104-107
Augsburg, Peace of (1555), 61
Ausgleich, 397
Atomic Theory, 225, 301, 302
Austerlitz, Battle of, 161
Australia, 242, 561, 615, 627
Australian ballot, 423
Austria, *in the Holy Roman Empire to 1806:* and partitions of Poland, 23; as member of Holy Roman Empire, 26; in the wars against Napoleon, 156, 160, 161; and end of Holy Roman Empire, 161
From 1806 to 1867: gains and losses at Congress of Vienna, 180; reaction in, 183; and German Confederation, 184; and Quadruple Alliance, 185; revolution of 1848 in, 198, 199; war with Piedmont, 375, 397; industrial revolution in, 216
1867 to 1919: union with Hungary, 397-398; non-German peoples ruled by, 396-398; war with Prussia, 376, 377; break-up of empire, 396-401; foreign relations of, 659 ff.; annexes Bosnia, 679; adopts conscription, 686; ultimatum to Serbia, 699
As a republic: proposal for tariff union with Germany, 253; proposed union with Germany, 393; attitude of Fascist Italy toward, 543; Treaty of St. Germain, 739; and League of Nations, 764
Austria-Hungary, *see* Austria
Austro-Prussian War, 376, 377
Austro-Sardinian War, 375, **397**
Automobile, 221 ff.
Avenol, Joseph, 758

Bach, John Sebastian, 79, 359
Bacon, Francis, 73; and scientific method, 110
Bacon, Roger, 105, 308
Bacteria, 296
Bacteriology, 242; work of Pasteur in, 296-298; cell theory, 295, 296
Baden, 161, 382, 389, 392
Balance of power, 656 ff.; 671-682
Baldwin, Stanley, 442
Balfour Note (debts and reparations), 752
Balkans, under control of Ottoman Turks, 401; industrial development in, 216; interest of Great Powers in, 190, 191, 659 ff.; international crises in, 675-682; First Balkan War, 680-682; Balkan League, 680; Second Balkan War (1913), 682
Balzac, Honoré, 347
Bakunin, Mikhail, 267
Bank for International Settlements, 750
Bank of France, 169, 182
Balbo, General, 223
Barbizon group, 352
Barnard, Henry, 329
Baros, 378
Barrack Room Ballads (Kipling), 337
Bastille, 114; fall of, 133
Bateson, William, 306
Bavaria, 159, 382, 389, 392
Beauharnais, Josephine, 156, 162; Eugene, 162
Beaumont, Francis, 73
Beethoven, Ludwig von, 335, 356, 359
Belgium, part of Empire of Charlemagne, 23; united with Holland at Congress of Vienna, 180; separated from Holland, 1830, 194; neutrality of, guaranteed, 194; industrial revolution in, 216; invaded by Germany, 701, 702; colonies of, 638
Bell, Alexander Graham, 220
Benes, Edward, 765
Benevolent Despotism, 121, 122
Bennett, James Gordon, 577
Berchtold, Count, 698
Berlin-Bagdad Railway, 677, 697
Bèrlin, Congress of (1878), 404, 662, 663
Berlin decree (Napoleon), 163
Bessarabia, 180, 663, 740
Bessemer, Henry, 225
"Big Four," *illus.*, 734
Bill of Rights (England, 1689), 88, 89, 437
Bills of Exchange, 746, 747
Biology, 108, 109
Bismarck, Prince Otto von, 247, 385-390, 465, 466, 470, 471; as chancellor of empire, 465; represses Socialists, 470; and the Kulturkampf, 319, 320; and social insurance, 470,

471; attitude toward imperialism, 563; and foreign relations, 661-665; and conscription, 686
Black Death, 43
Black List, 262
"Black Hand" (Serbia), 698
Blanc, Louis, 266, 267, 365
Bleak House (Dickens), 340
Bloc, French, 452
Blockade, defined, 163; paper, 163; as part of Continental system of Napoleon, 163, 164; and World War, 720 ff.
"Bloodless" Revolution (England), 87, 415
Blücher, General, 168
Boer War, 612-614
Bohême, La (Puccini), 359
Bohemia, 183, 198, 396
Bolsheviki, 272, 504 ff.
Bolshevism, 142, 149, 272, 504 ff. *See* Russia
Bonaparte, Jerome, 161; Joseph, 162, 185, 188; Louis, 198; Napoleon, *see* Napoleon I; Louis Napoleon, *see* Napoleon III
Bosnia, 400, 661 ff.
Botha, Louis, 614
Boxer Rebellion, 588 ff.
Bourbon dynasty, 180
Bourgeoisie, rise of, 65; without privileges, 66; as opponents of Old Régime, 98, 125; as factor influencing the National Assembly, 132; and the workers, 187; ideals of, in literature, 360
Boycott, 261
Boyle, Robert, 109
Bradlaugh, Charles, 323
Brahms, Johannes, 357
Brazil, 188, 281, 756
Bremen, 32
Bremen, S.S., 213, *illus.,* 212
Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of, 506, 728, 738
Briand, Aristide, 253, 456, 771, *illus.,* 456
Bright, John, 246
British Empire, 610-637; Dominions, 613-618; Crown Colonies, 626; Protectorates, 148, 626; Mandates, 626, 627
Brittany, Duchy of, 19
British Commonwealth of Nations, 616-618
Brothers Karamazov (Dostoevski), 349
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 337; Robert, 337
Brunswick, Duke of, 142
Bucharest, Treaty of, 682, 738
Buchlau bargain, 678, 679
Buddenbrooks (Mann), 346
Buddhism, 620
Buffon, Comte de, 108
Bulgaria, 401, 404, 661, 705, 717, 760, 764
Bundesrat, German, 463 ff.
Burgundians, 20
Burma, 581, 620
Burschenschaft, 383
Byron, Lord, 336

Cabinet, English, development of, 89-92; working of, 433-438; French, 451-452; of German Empire, 462-463; of German Republic, 477; English and French compared, 451, 452
Cadets (Russia), 498, 499, 502
Cahiers, 130
Calculus, differential, 108
Calendar, Revolutionary (France), 148
Caliphs, 28
Calvin, John, 62
Cambodia, 563, 582
Camouflage, 708, *illus.,* 721
Canada, 36, 37, 614-615
Canning, George, 190
Cape Colony, 561, 577, 612-614
Cape of Good Hope, 36, 577
Capetian dynasty, 21
Capitalist system, 50, 51, 66; and industrial revolution, 256 ff.; and socialism, 265 ff.
Carbonari, 186, 372 ff.
Carlsbad Decrees, 184
Carlyle, Thomas, 338
Carnegie, Andrew, 696
Carnot, 145
Carson, Sir Edward, 631
Cartwright, Edward, 209
Catherine (Russia), 121
Catholic Action, 319
Catholic Emancipation Act, 323, 628
Catholic Church, The, organization of, 55; influence on education, 56; and Protestant Revolt, 58-64; influence on art, 71; and French Revolution, 138, 139; and Napoleon, 170; and the labor problem, 276, 277; and science, 110, 111, 313, 314; and anticlericalism in France, 315; and Mussolini, 317-319
Catholic Center Party (Germany), 319, 320, 474
Cavaliera Rusticana (Mascagni), 359
Cavendish, Henry, 109
Cavour, Count di, 374-377, 660
Cell Theory, 295, 296
Censorship, 80, 114, 184, 187
"Center," The, 270
Center Party (Germany), 469, 472, 474
Cervantes, Miguel de, 73

Ceylon, 180, 561
Cézanne, Paul, 353, 354
Chamber of Deputies (France), 192, 450, 453
Chamberlain, Joseph, 667, 669
Chambord, Count of, 448
Champollion, 9
Charlemagne, 23
Charles Albert (Piedmont), 199, 373
Charles I (England), 87
Charles X (France), 183, 191, 192, 193, 448
Chartist Movement (England), 421, 422
Chase, Stuart, 225
Chauvinists, 363
Cheka, 526
Chemical warfare, 708
Chemistry, 223, 225, 708
Chiang Kai-shek, 606
Child Labor, 260; in England, 278 ff.; in United States, 282
Chile, 189
China, trade with, in Middle Ages, 30; field for imperialism, 579; Opium War, 582; Chino-Japanese War, 585, 586; open door policy, 588, 589; Boxer Rebellion, 588-590; Young China, 592-594; becomes republic, 592 ff.; nationalism, 602, 603, 606, 607; in World War, 594; Twenty-one demands of Japan, 591, 594; Civil War, 595; Manchurian conflict, 598-601
Chivalry, 19-20
Chopin, Frédéric, 357
Christianity, origin of, 54; and science, 313, 314, 315; *see* Church
Church, The, in Middle Ages, 54; as a state, 55; control of education by, 64, 78; officials of, as civil rulers, 56; abuses in, 60; formation of national churches, 61, 63; influence of, on art, 71; influence of, on music, 77; and French Revolution, 137-139; attitude of, toward revolutionary ideas, 312; separation of, and state, 311; attitude of, toward science, 110, 111, 313-315
Church of England, 62, 87
Cicero, 73
Cities, 234, 235
City-States, 20, 31, 32
City of the Vatican, 56
Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 138, 139
Civil Service, English, 436, 437; Indian, 619
Civilization, as product of the past, 2; of primitive man, 6, 7; of Egypt and Mesopotamia, 7, 11; of the Greeks, 8, 11; of the Romans, 8, 9, 11; of Middle Ages, 11, 12
Classes, of society, *see* Social Classes
Classicism, in art and literature, 78; and romanticism, 335
Clemenceau, Georges, 455, 733, 735
Clericalism, 315-322
Clermont, 213, *illus.*, 211
Cleveland, Grover, 247
Closed shop, 261
Cnossus, 303
Coal, 210, 212
Coal Mines Act of 1912, 281
Coalitions against Napoleon, 158, 161, 165-166, 167, 168
Coalition, English wartime, 440; English national, 443; French wartime, 455
Cochin China, 368, 563
Cobden, Richard, 246, 563
Code, Napoleonic, 171, 182
Collective bargaining, 261
Collective farms (Russia), 513-519
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 336, 337
Colonies, *see* Imperialism
Columbia, 189
Columbus, Christopher, 34, 36
Combinations, industrial, 227; "vertical" and "horizontal," 228
Commercial Revolution, 34-38
Committee of General Security, 145
Committee of Public Safety, 145
Common Law, 83, 84
Commons, House of (England), 86, 87, 90
Commonwealth, The (England), 87
Commune, The Paris (1789), 134, 446 ff.
Communards, France, 446-447
Communist Manifesto (Marx and Engels), 267, 268
Communism, 244, 268, 269, 272, 273; and religion, 321, 322; in China, 606; *see also* Russia
Communist Party (Germany), 480-486; (Russia), 508, 523, 524
Company unions, 262
Compass, 34, 104, 105
Compensation, principle of, 177, 179, 180
Compulsory military service, 381, 686-687
Concert of Europe, 657 ff.
Conciliation, 695
Concordat, of Napoleon with the church (1801), 170, 182; of Italy with the church (1929), 318, 319, 540
Confederation of the Rhine, 161, 380; abolished, 180, 381

Confiscation of church property, during French Revolution, 138
Congress of Berlin (1878), 404, 662, 663
Congo, 577
Congress of Vienna, 176-181; personalities of, 176, 177; principles used, 178, 179; decisions of, 179-181; reactionaries in power after, 181 ff.
Conservative Party (England), 250, 429, 439, 441, 443
Constable, John, 351
Conscription, 686-688
Constant, Baron D'Estournelles de, 696
Constantine, King (Greece), 719
Constantinople, 28, 404
Constitution, nature of, 83; as written and unwritten, 83, 84; drafted by National Assembly (France), 139, 140; of the Year III, (France), 148; of England, 83-92, 432-438; of France (Third Republic), 449-452; of Germany (Empire), 461-465 (Republic), 475-477; of Russia (Soviet), 519-522; of Italy, 533-534, 544, 545
Constitutional Democratic Party (Russia), 118
Consulate (Napoleon), 160
Consumer's coöperative movement, 275, 276
Continental System, 162-164
Contraband, 720
Convention, The (French Revolution), 140-148
Coolidge, Calvin, 767, 771
Coöperative societies among farmers, 243; Rochdale experiment, 274, 275
Copernicus, 105, 106, 108, 111
Cordon Sanitaire, 508
Corfu, 542
Corn Laws, 246, 247
Corneille, 78
Corot, Jean, 352
Corporate State (Italy), 544
Corporation Act (England), 418
Corsica, 155, 167
Corvée, 68, 140
Cosgrave, William, 635
Costa Rica, 756
Costumes, *illus.*, in Middle Ages, lord, 27; peasant, 44; French soldier, *1630*, 96; of the Sans-culottes, *1800*, 147; French, *1801*, 170; French, *1830*, 182; English, *1871*, 334; Turkish, *1898*, 406, 449
Council of Ambassadors, 542
Council of League of Nations, 393, 757
Count of Monte Cristo (Dumas), 347
Counter-Reformation, 63
Country House (Galsworthy), 342
Coup d'état, of 1799, 158, 160; of December 1851, 367
Covenant of League of Nations, text of, 782-794; *see* League of Nations
Craft guilds, 47-49
Crime and Punishment (Dostoevski), 349
Crimean War, 369, 660, 686
Crises, international, 671-682
Croats, 396 ff.
Crompton, Samuel, 209
Cromwell, Oliver, 87
Crusades, The, 57-58; as an economic movement, 80
Cry of the Children (Browning, E.), 337
Cuba, 188, 299, 300, 638, 639
Cubists, 354
Culture, Preserved Smith quoted on, 69; medieval, 69; in the eighteenth century, 77-79
Curie, Madame, 301
Cyprus, island of, 663
Cyrenaica, 679
Czechoslovakia, 400, 740
Czechs, 396 ff.

Dail Eireann, 637
Daimler, Gottlieb, 221
D'Alembert, 116
Dalton, John, 225
Damascus, 650, 651, 717
Danish War, 387, 388
d'Annunzio, Gabriele, 378
Danton, 141, 145
Danzig, 735, 743, 764
Dardanelles, 28, 403; campaign in World War, 712, 713
Dark Ages, 11, 17, 31, 54; decline of trade in, 30, 52
Darwin, Charles, 304-307
Darwin, Erasmus, 304
Das Kapital (Marx), 267
David, Jacques, 352
David Copperfield (Dickens), 340
da Vinci, Leonardo, 76
Dawes, Charles G., 749
Dawes Plan (Reparations), 478, 479, 748, 749
Deák, Francis, 397
Débâcle, La (Zola), 347
Debussy, Claude, 357
Debts, international, methods of payment, 744-747; and gold currencies, 745; use of bills of exchange to pay, 746, 747; of Allies, 751-753; and economic depression, 752

Declaration of Independence, 135, 416
Declaration of the Rights of Man, 135, 140, 323; compared with Declaration of Independence, 135, 136; influence of, 136
De Forest, Lee, 220
Deism, 113
Delacroix, Ferdinand, 351
Delcassé, Théophile, 669, 673, 700
de Lisle, Rouget, 143
Democracy, as a force in revolution of 1848, 195, 196, 200; lack of, in England in eighteenth century, 91, 92; essentials of democratic government, 414; origins of, 415-417; growth in England, 417-432; reason for lack of in German Empire, 465-466; lack of in Russia, 492-497; spread of, 548-549; shortcomings of, 549-550; cure for evils of, 550-553; effect of World War on, 553-557; challenged by dictatorships, 557; future of, 557; not effective in Italy, 534 ff.; lack of in Fascist Italy, 543; carried to backward peoples, 648, 649
Denmark, as national state in 1763, 22; loses Norway at Congress of Vienna, 180; coöperative farm associations, 243; and war with Prussia and Austria, 387, 388; as ally of Napoleon, 162; and Schleswig plebiscite, 738
Departmental Ditties (Kipling), 337
Depression, economic, in Middle Ages, 52; intensifies economic nationalism, 408; as a factor in forcing new adjustments, 149; and Industrial Revolution, 232, 245; and tariff policies, 249 ff.; and paternalism and *laissez faire,* 254; and war debts, 752, 753
Deputies on mission, 146
Descartes, René, 110, 111
Despotism, enlightened or benevolent, 121-123
Deutschland über alles, 409
Devastated areas (France), 457, 458
De Vries, Hugo, 306
Dickens, Charles, 340
Dictatorship, Fascist (Italy), 536-540, 544; of Proletariat (Russia), 522-525; Nazi (Germany), 482-488; spread of, in post-war Europe, 557
Diderot, Denis, 79, 116, 117
Diesel, Rudolph, 221
Diplomacy, secret, as a cause of war, 692; during World War, 717-729
Directory, The, (France), 148, 157, 158
Disarmament, 774-777; Italy's relation to, 542; and Hitler, 487
Disestablishment Act, Ireland, 628, 629
Disraeli, 422, 563, *illus.,* 436
Distribution of wealth, 230
Divine Comedy (Dante), 343
"Divine Right," 87, 93
Division of Labor, 46, 218
Dmitryevitch, Dragutin, 698
Dobrudja, 662, 740
Dodecanese, 638, 679
Dole (England), 442
Domestic system, 50-51, 206, 207, 235, 256
Domestication of plants and animals, 6, 236
Dolfuss, Engelbert, 486
Don Quixote (Cervantes), 73
Dostoevski, Feodor, 349
Doumergue, Gaston, 452
Dreyfus, Alfred, 316, 348
Dreikaiserbund, 661, 662
Drummond, Sir Eric, 758
Dual Alliance (France and Russia), 665 ff.
Dual Control (Egypt), 573
Dual Monarchy, 397; *see* Austria
Duma (Russia), 500
Dumas, Alexandre, 347
Dumouriez, 143
Durham, Lord, 615
Dürer, Albrecht, 76
Dutch Reformed Church, 62
Dvorák, Antonin, 357
Dynamo, 219 ff.

Earth, age of, 6, 8, 302
East India Company, 618
Easter Rebellion, Ireland, 632, 633
Ebert, Friedrich, 474, 728
Ecclesiastical courts, 55, 59
Economic conditions, 2; in Middle Ages, 30-50; summary of in eighteenth century, 51-52; in modern times, 225-287; in England, 442, 443; in France, 457-459; in Germany, 478-480, 485-486; in Russia, 492, 510-519; in Italy, 531-533, 544, 545; and imperialism, 564, 567; and world economic conference, 751-753; *see* Industrial Revolution
Economic Nationalism, *see* Nationalism
Economic Internationalism, 251-254, 408
Economic Theory, 244
Edict of Nantes, 322
Edison, Thomas, 220, *illus.,* 220
Education, purpose of, 3; in Middle

Ages, 69-71; in eighteenth century, 77, 78; theories of Rousseau on, 119, 120; and French Revolution, 146, 147; reforms in, by Napoleon, 171; workers demand free, 187; influenced by science, 294; development of public, 326, 327; public, in Prussia, 327; in England, 328; public, in France, 327, 328; public, in England, 328; public, in the United States, 328, 329; modern tendencies in, 329, 330; importance of, 330, 331; in communist Russia, 526-528; in colonies, 643

Edward VII (England), 670

Egypt, civilization of early, 7; under Mohammedans, 28; trade with, 30; Napoleon's invasion of, 157, 158; England secures control of, 573, 574; Nationalism in, 408; and Entente Cordiale, 670

Eight-hour day, 282

Einstein, Albert, 293

Elba, 167

Elections, control of, by landed aristocracy (England), 419

Electricity, 219 ff.

Elgin, Lord, 615

Eliot, George, 340, 341

Émigrés, The, 131, 142

Émile, Rousseau, 119, 120

Employers, methods of, in struggle with workers, 262-263

Ems Dispatch, 390

Enclosures, 45, 237, 238

Encyclopédie, L', 116

Encyclopedists, 116, 117, 324

Engels, Frederick, 267

England, *to 1815:* as national state in 1763, 22; defeats Spanish Armada, 36; trade in, in eighteenth century, 37; as mistress of the seas, 36, 37; Agricultural Revolution in, 45; Protestant Revolt in, 62; social classes in, in eighteenth century, 68; development of limited monarchy in, 83-85; development of Parliament in, 85-89; Tudor kings in, 87; Parliamentary struggle with Stuart kings in, 87-88; the Glorious Revolution in, 87 ff.; the development of the Cabinet in, 89-92; opinion in, concerning French Revolution, 149, 150; and Napoleon, 156, 157, 162; and Continental System, 162-164

Since 1815: reaction in, 181; and reform bill of 1832, 195; Industrial Revolution in, 207 ff.; enclosures in, 237, 238; tariff policies in, 246-250; Imperial Conferences and, 250; Labor legislation in, 278-281; the religious problem in, 320; public education in, 328; trade unions in, 263, 264; and the "dole" system, 285; literature in, 336-342; growth of democracy in, 415-432; undemocratic features in 1800 in, 417-421; religious restrictions in, 418; suffrage in, 419, 421-429; rotten boroughs in, 419; corruption in government in, 419, 420; Tory Party in, 420 ff.; reform bills in, *1832,* 420, 421; *1867,* 422; *1884,* 423; *1918,* 425, 428; *1928,* 428, 429; reform in criminal law in, 421; Factory Act, *1833,* 421; Chartist Movement, 421, 422; Parliament Act, *1911,* 431, 432

Government: 432-438; Constitution of, 432; King, 432, 433; Ministry and Cabinet, 433-436; Civil Service, 436, 437; Parliament, 437, 438; Political parties, 438-443

Foreign Relations: gains at Congress of Vienna, 180; member of Quadruple Alliance, 185, 190, 191; supports Monroe Doctrine, 190; in Crimean War, 369, 374; secures protectorate in Egypt, 573, 574; interest in Near East, 659 ff.; abandons isolation, 667; and Entente Cordiale, 669; and entente with Russia, 670, 671; in World War, 702 ff.; controls seas, 710, 711

British Empire, 610-637. *See also* British Empire

Enlightened Despotism, 121, 122

Enlightenment, 112, 113

Equality, ideal of, in law, 64, 85; meaning of, 151; importance of economic, 187

Entente Cordiale, 669-671

Erasmus, 73, *illus.,* 72

Eritrea, 638

"Escalator Clause," 773

Essay on Population (Malthus), 304

Established churches, nature and privileges of, 64

Estates-General, 92, 93, 128-130

Esterházy, Major, 316

Esthonia, 407, 740, 764

Eupen, 735

Evolution, 304-307

Excavations, as a source of knowledge, 5; places of, *map,* 7; *illus.,* 5; recent, 303

Exchange, Bills of, 746, 747

Extraterritoriality, 582, 593, 597

Factory Consolidation Act of 1878 (England), 280

"Fall" of Rome, 13

Far East, 579-607; *see also* China; Japan
Faraday, Michael, 219-220, 292
Farmers' Coöperative Societies, 243
Farming, methods of in Middle Ages, 39-42; soil exhaustion, 44; crop rotation, 39; use of artificial fertilizer, 241; and Industrial Revolution, 236-237; Enclosures, 237; increased use of machinery in, 238-240; aided by science, 241-242; old and new methods of, 239-240
Fasces, 537, 538
Fascism, 149, 244, 318-319, 378, 536 ff.
Fashoda, 669
Fathers and Sons (Turgenev), 348
Faust (Goethe), 343
February Revolution, 197-200
Federal Government (Germany), 461, 462, 475, 476
Feisal, King (Iraq), 402
Feminism, 350, 424
Ferdinand VII (Spain), 187
Feudalism, defined, 15; origin of, 17-18; complicated nature of, 18-19; relation of lord and vassal in, 15-16, 40-41
Fez, 675
Fief, 15, 17, 40
Finland, 180, 184, 740
First International, 269
Fisher Act, 1918 (England), 328
Fiume, 378, 739
Five Nations, The (Kipling), 337
Five-Year Plan (Russia), 514-518
Flaubert, Gustave, 347
Fletcher, John, 73
Foch, General, 714, 728
Folk Songs, 77
Ford, Henry, 222; on use of automatic machines, 226, 227
Ford Motor Company, 226, 228
Foreign Affairs, 765
Formosa, 586
Forster Act, 1870 (England), 328
Forsyte Saga (Galsworthy), 342
Fossils, 303
Four-Power Pact, 776
Four-Power Treaty, 596
Fourier, François, 266
Fourteen Points, 726, 727, 735
Fox, Charles James, 149
Francs, revaluation of, 457
France, *To 1789:* Capetian dynasty, 21; as national state in 1763, 22; trade in, in eighteenth century, 37; agricultural revolution in, 45, 46; Protestant Revolt in, 62; taxation in, in eighteenth century, 68; privileged classes in, 67, 68; absolute monarchy in, 6, 92; Estates General in, 92, 93; government of in Old Régime, 92-98
  French Revolution: 125-153; causes, 125-127; the National Assembly, 132-140; influence of Parisian populace, 133; establishment of Paris commune, 134; removal of government to Paris, 134; and the Catholic Church, 138-139; and the growth of national feeling, 142, 143; and foreign invasion, 142; and the Reign of Terror, 144-146; reforms of the Convention, 146-148; and the Directory, 148, significance of, 148, 149; contemporary opinion of, 149, 150; as a bourgeois revolution, 125, 151; and the rise of Napoleon, 155-156; Napoleon in power, 155-174; *see* Napoleon; and the Congress of Vienna, 179
  1815-1871: under Louis XVIII and Charles X, 182, 183; intervenes in Greece, 191; revolution of 1830 in, 191-192; and Crimean War, 369, 374, 375; reaction in, 182, 183; Second Republic, 196-197, 365-367; President Louis Napoleon, 366; coup d'état of 1851, 366; Second Empire, 366-370
  Third Republic: Third Republic established, 446-448; government, 448-452; Constitution, 449-452; Parliament, 449, 450; President, 450, 451; *bloc* system, 452, 456; differences from English Cabinet system, 451, 452; cabinet, 451, 452; interpellations, 452; political parties, 453, 459; debt, 457, 458; dominance as result of World War, 458; clericalism in, 315-317; colonies, 637; defaults on debts to United States, 753; art, literature in, 346-348, 351
  Foreign Relations, 660 ff.; Dual Alliance, 665 ff.; Entente Cordiale, 669 ff.; Triple Entente, 670, 671; interests in Morocco, 672-675; conscription in, 686; fails to restrain Russia, 700, 701; after World War, 743; and Locarno Treaties, 770, 771
France, Anatole, 348, 350
Francis Ferdinand, Archduke, 698
Francis Joseph (Austria), 199, 397
Francis II, Emperor of Holy Roman Empire, 381
Franck, César, 357
Franco-Prussian War, 377, 389 ff., 686
Frankenstein (Shelley), 309
Frankfort Assembly, 198, 199, 384
Frankfort, Treaty of, 391
Franklin, Benjamin, 219

Fraternity, meaning of, 151, 152, 364
Fraternity (Galsworthy), 342
Frederick William I (Prussia), 686
Frederick William IV (Prussia), 198, 384
Frederick the Great (Prussia), 26, 114, 121, *illus.*, 122; proclaims religious toleration, 323; and compulsory military service, 686
Free Trade, *see* Tariff
French Congo, 675
French Indo-China, 368
French Revolution, 125-153; influence on democracy, 414-417; delays reform in England, 420; *see* France
French Revolution (Carlyle), 338
Friedland, Battle of, 161
Fukien, 594
Fulton, Robert, 213
Funeral March (Chopin), 357
Fusion of Roman and barbarian, 9
Futurists, 354

Galen, 108
Galicia, 401
Galileo, 106, 107, 111
Galsworthy, John, 341, 342
Gallipoli campaign, 712, 713
Galvani, 219
Gama, Vasco da, 36
Gandhi, Mahatma, 622-626
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 376, 531
Gauguin, Paul, 354
General Act (League Assembly), 772, 773
General strike, the, 274
Genoa, Republic of, 26, 31
Geneva Naval Conference, 771
Geography, increased knowledge of, 34
Geometry, 108
George I (England), 91
George III (England), 91
George V (England), 635, 637
German Confederation, constitution of, 184
German Emperor, powers, 462, 463; supports Austria, 698, 699; appeals to czar, 700; declares war on France, 701; invades Belgium, 701; to be tried by Allies, 738
Germany, *Before 1870:* did not become national state till modern times, 21; part of empire of Charlemagne, 22; opinion in concerning French Rev., 150; reorganization of, by Napoleon, 161, 162; at the Congress of Vienna, 180; revolution of 1830 in, 192, 193; and Belgian neutrality, 194; revolution of 1848 in, 384; industrial revolution in, 215, 216; tariff policy in, 241; unification of, 379-394; obstacles to unification, 382; growth of nationalism after 1815, 383; cultural development after 1815, 383; the Zollverein, 384, 385; the industrial revolution and unity, 385; Bismarck's policy of blood and iron, 387; and Danish War, 387-388; and war with Austria, 388-389; and Franco-Prussian War, 389-390
  The German Empire: 461-468, nationalism in, after 1870, 392, 393; social insurance in, 282-284; anticlericalism in, 319, 320; government of, 461-465; emperor, 462, 463; chancellor, 462, 463; legislature, 463-465; why undemocratic, 465, 466; economic progress, 466-469; political parties in, 468-473; in World War, 471-473; Revolution, 473, 474
  Republic: 475-477; formation, 474, 475; constitution, 475-477; federal system, 475, 476; economic problems, 478, 479; political parties, 480-488; rise of Fascism, 480-488; Nazi dictatorship, 482-488
  Foreign relations: 660 ff.; adopts conscription, 686; supports Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, 698, 699; in World War, 700-730; declares war on Russia, 700; defense of Belgian invasion, 702, 703; loses colonies, 711, 712; defeats Russians, 712, 713; armistice negotiations, 727, 728; union with Austria forbidden by Versailles treaty, 393; and reparations, 743-753; leaves League, 756, 763; and Locarno Treaties, 770, 771; and Disarmament Conference, 774-776
  Literature in: 343-346
Gershwin, George, 359
Gilbert, S. Parker, 749
Gladstone, William Ewart, 429, 430, 563, 612, 628, 630, *illus.*, 440
Glorious Revolution, The (England), 87, 415
Glück, Christoph W. von, 79
Gobi desert, 7
God, the Invisible King (Wells), 342
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 335, 343, 344
Gold standard (England), 443, 745
Gooch, G. P., 705, 706
Gompers, Samuel, 286
Gorgas, Surgeon-General, 299
Gosplan (Russia), 513
Götterdämmerung, Die (Wagner), 358
Government, local, in Middle Ages, 20-

22; ideas of eighteenth-century philosophers on, 113-120; reorganization of local, during French Revolution, 136; centralization of, by Napoleon, 169; complexity of modern, 243, 244; influence of custom and precedent on, 82; absolute monarchy as a form of, 83; of states of Europe in eighteenth century, 82-99; development of limited monarchy in England, 83-92; and the divine right theory, 93; and the development of the English cabinet, 89-92; French, in the eighteenth century, 93-96; essentials of democratic, 414; of England, 432-438; of France (III Republic), 447-452; of Germany (Empire), 461-466; of Germany (Republic), 475-477, 482-488; of Russia (Czarist), 494-497; of Russia (Communist), 519-529; of Italy, 533-536, 543-545; plans to improve democratic, 550-553
Gainsborough, Thomas, 78
Gothic architecture, 75
Goya, Francisco, 78
G. P. U. (Russia), 526
Graf Zeppelin, 222
"Grand Monarch," The, Louis XIV (France), 93
Gravity, Law of, 107
Gray, Asa, 307
Great Britain, *see* England
Great Council (England), 85
Great Illusion (Angell), 565
Great Western, S.S., 213
Greece, city-states in early, 20; struggle for independence, 190-191; intervention of powers in, 190-191; and interests of powers in Balkans, 401, 404 ff., 661 ff.; and dispute with Bulgaria, 760
Greeks, contributions of, 8
Grey, Sir Edward, 166, 675
Grieg, Edvard, 357
Guiana, 180, 561, 576
Guilds, 46-50
Guizot, François, 196, 197, 327
Gunpowder, 22, 104, 105
Gustavus Adolphus, 687
Gutenberg, Johann, 74

Habeas Corpus Act, 85
Haeckel, Ernst, 307
Hague Conferences, 695, 696
Hague Court of Arbitration, 695, 696
Haiti, 162
Hamburg, 32, 38
Hamilton, Alexander, 150
Hamlet (Shakespeare), 343
Handel, George Frederick, 79
Hanover, 193, 388
Hanoverian kings (England), 90
Hapsburg dynasty, 180, 401, 679
Hare system of proportional representation, 550, 551
Hargreaves, James, 208, 209
Harvesting, old and new methods, 240, 241
Harvey, William, 108
Hauptmann, Gerhart, 345, 346
Hay, John, 587, 588
Haydn, Joseph, 79
Health, improvements in, 295 ff.; activities of League, 763
Healy, Timothy, 635
Hedjaz, 626
Hegel, Georg, 344, 345
Heimwehr, 486-487
Heine, Heinrich, 344, 383
Heligoland, 180, 667, 735
Henry II (England), 83, 84, 628
Henry IV (France), 322
Henry VIII (England), 62
Heresy, suppression of, 60, 111
Heroes and Hero Worship (Carlyle), 338
Hertling, Georg, 472
Herriot, Edouard, 456
Herzegovina, 662 ff.; *see also* Bosnia
Hesse-Cassel, 388
Hesse-Darmstadt, 389
Hieroglyphics, 8
Hill, Richard, 421
Hindenburg, Paul von, 472, 480, 481
Hindenburg line, 714
Hindus, 619 ff.
History, defined, 3; why we study history, 3; how we should study, 4; difficulty in knowing facts of, and their meaning, 4; opinion in, 4, 5; in the service of patriotism, 383
History of England (Macaulay), 338
Hitler, Adolf, 394, 481-488, 751; demands arms equality for Germany, 775, 776; announces Germany's withdrawal from League, 776
Hitlerites, 324, 481-488
Holbein, 76
Holland, as national state in 1763, 22; trade in, in eighteenth century, 44; Protestant Revolt in, 62; defeated by England, 36; united with Belgium, 180; revolution of 1830 in, 193, 194; Industrial Revolution in, 216; colonies, 638
Holstein, 387
Holy Alliance, 184 ff.
Holy Land, 58
Holy Roman Empire, origin of, 23; states of, in 1763, 23-26; Voltaire on, 26; and Napoleon, 161, 162;

not restored at Congress of Vienna, 180; as hindrance to unification of Italy and Germany, 379
Home Rule (Irish), 429, 630 ff.
Home life, improvements in, in modern times, 294, 295
Honduras, 180, 576
Hong Kong, 563, 581, 582
Hoover, Herbert, 230, 245, 479, 750
House of Commons, 86, 87, 418 ff.; *illus.* (1742), 90
House of Lords, 92, 418 ff.; limitation of power of, 429-432
Hughes, Charles Evans, 770
Huygens, 210
Hugo, Victor, 346
Huguenots, 62, 322
Human Comedy (Balzac), 347
Humanism, 75, 110; in conflict with science, 123
Humanité, L', 456
Hunchback of Notre Dame (Hugo), 346
"Hundred Days" (Napoleon), 167
Hungarian Rhapsodies (Liszt), 357
Hungary, 183, 198; child labor in, 281; union with Austria, 397-398; and Fascist Italy, 543; *see* Austria
Huxley, Thomas, 307, 313

Ibsen, Henrik, 350
Iliad (Homer), 343
Imperial Conference (British), 250, 616-618
Imperialism, 560-574; defined, 560; old, 561-563; accomplishments of, 561; reasons for decline, 562; relation of Industrial Revolution to new, 562 ff.; accomplishments of new, 563, 564; causes of, 564-567; advocates of, 567-568; relation to nationalism, 568 ff.; and national defense, 569 ff.; methods of, 571-574; fields of, 576-607; British, 573-574, 610-637; French, 637-638; Italian, 638; United States, 638, 639; results of, 642-653; on colonies, 642-643; on mother country, 646-647; dilemma of, 647-649; mandatory system as solution, 649-653; as fundamental cause of World War, 685
Impressionism, 353
Incentives, in mass production, 245
Independent Socialist Party (Germany), 472, 473
India, 618-626; England acquires foothold in, 36; Sepoy mutiny, 618; native states, 619; economic conditions, 619, 620; religions, 619, 620; nationalism in, 621; Gandhi, 622 ff.; Government Act of 1919, 621; Simon Commission, 622; Round Table Conference, 623, 624; caste system, 624, 625; difficulties of governing, 619, 625, 626
Indo-China, 582, 587, 638
Individualism, *laissez faire* and, 244; attitude of business men toward, 244, 245
Industrial Revolution, 37, 204-231; influence of, on struggle between liberalism and reaction, 187; ignores national boundaries, 204; definition of, 205; causes of, 206-207; spread of, 214-216; direct results of, 216-218; continuity of, 219-228; and mass production, 225-227; and industrial combinations, 227-228; and technological unemployment, 229; and population increase, 234; and growth in number and size of cities, 234, 235; and loss of old skills and gain of new ones, 235, 236; and changes in agricultural methods, 236-243; political changes resulting from, 243-254; problems created by, 229, 230; effect of, on growth of tolerance, 323; influence of, on the arts, 333 ff.; and tariff policies, 246 ff.; and Imperialism, 562, 647; in Russia, 493, 494; *see also* Five-Year Plan
Infallibility, papal, 315
Inflation, during French Revolution, 137, 138; in Germany, 478-480; in Russia, 510-511
Ingres, Jean, 352
Injunction, 262
Inquisition, 111
In Memoriam (Tennyson), 360
Insecurity, 260
Institute of France, 146
Institutions, 3, 7; defined, 3; affected by Industrial Revolution, 217
Intellectual Revolution, The, 103-123
Intendancies (France), *map*, 126
Inter-Allied debts, 751-753
Interior customs lines, 37; abolished, 135, 140, 149
Internal combustion engine, 221
International anarchy, as fundamental cause of World War, 692, 693
International, First, 269; Second, 269; Third or Communist, 269
International coöperation before 1914, 693-696
International crises, 671-682
International debts, *see* Debts, International
International Federation of Trade Unions, 263

International Labor Office, 287
International Labor Organization, 287
International law, disregarded by England, 720-721; disregarded by Germany, 721-723; in process of development, 766
International organization, 756-777
International relations, 656-682, 733-777; effect of tariff policies on, 251 ff.
International Workingman's Association, 269
Internationalism, promoted by industrial revolution, 214; economic, 252, 253; world as economic unit, 253; and tariff policies, 252
Interpellation, in French government, 452
Inventions, how one led to another, 209-210; *see* Industrial Revolution
Investments and imperialism, 566
Iraq, 626, 650
Ireland, 627-637; potato famine in, 247; disestablishment of Anglican Church in, 320; religious problem in, 628; land problem in, 629; Home Rule movement, 630, 631; opposition of Ulster, 631; Sinn Fein, 632 ff.; Irish Free State, 408, 634-636; Northern Ireland established, 634, 635; dispute over oath of allegiance, 637
Irish Free State, 408, 634-636; *see* Ireland
Iron, 209
Irwin, Lord, 624
Ismail, Pasha, 573
Isolation (United States), 741, 742
Istanboul, 405
Istria, 378
Italia Irredenta, 378, 401, 535
Italy, *Before 1870:* late in becoming a national state, 21; as a collection of small states in 1763, 26; struggle of kings of France, Spain, and Austria for, 26; trade of city-states of, 31, 32; a geographic expression, 181; Industrial Revolution in, 216; obstacles to unity of, 372; intervention of powers in, 186; Napoleon's conquest of, 156, 157; revolution of 1830 in, 191, 192; revolution of 1848 in, 198-199; basis of Italian nationalism, 370; *map of,* in 1815, 371; obstacles to unity of, 372; steps in unification of, *map,* 371; becomes a kingdom, March, 1861, 376-377; unity of, completed, 377; in Austro-Prussian War, 1866, 377, 388; in Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871, 377, 389
Kingdom of Italy 1870-1914: 531-546; nationalism and imperialism, 378, 379; the Roman Question in, 317-319; economic conditions, 531-533; natural resources, 531, 532; emigration, 532, 533; government, 533-536; constitution, 533, 534; political parties, 535, 536
Fascism: 536-546; origin, 536, 537; methods, 537, 538; march on Rome, 538; foreign relations, 541, 543; lack of democracy in, 543; and relations with Great Powers, 664 ff.; and war with Turkey, 679-680
Foreign relations: 664 ff.; joins Triple Alliance, 664, 665; in World War, 377-378; breaks with Triple Alliance, 718, 719; adopts conscription, 687; bargains about entering World War, 718, 719; makes partial payment on debts to United States, 753; and dispute over Fiume, 378; and colonies, 638
Ivanhoe (Scott), 18
Izvolski, 677, 678, 679

Jacobin Club, 141, 142
James I (England), 87
James II (England), 87
Jameson Raid, 613
Japan, 582 ff.; Mikado, 582-583; Shogun, 583; industrial revolution in, 584; constitution, 584; becomes imperialistic, 585; Chino-Japanese War, 585-587; Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 587; Russo-Japanese War, 590, 592; in World War, 591, 594-596, 704, 711; twenty-one demands on China, 594; in Manchuria, 598-601; adopts conscription, 687; leaves League, 601, 756, 763
Jaurès, Jean, 456
Jean Christophe (Rolland), 348
Jefferson, Thomas, 150, 190
Jehol, 601, 607
Jena, Battle of, 161, 381
Jenner, Dr. Edward, 297
Jerusalem, 57
Jews, admitted to English Parliament, 422; persecuted in Germany, 483-485; persecuted in Russia, 497; movement of, for national homeland, 408, 651, 652
Jingoes, 363, 675
John Bull's Other Island (Shaw), 342
John, King (England), 86
Johnson, Samuel, 78; quoted, 411
Jonson, Ben, 73
Joseph II (Austria), 121, 122
Josephine Beauharnais. *See* Beauharnais

Jousts, 19
July Monarchy (France), 196
July Ordinances, 191-192
July Revolution, of 1830, in France, 191-192; in Italy and Germany, 192-193; in Belgium, 193-194; in Poland, 194-195; net results of, 195
Jury system, 84, 85
Jutland, Battle of, 711

Kamerun, 626
Kant, Immanuel, 150, 344
Kaiser. *See* German Emperor
Kaiser Wilhelm Ship Canal, 388
Kay, John, 208
Keats, John, 336
Kellogg Pact, formation of, 771, 772; text of, 781; and Manchuria, 599, 760
Kemal, Mustapha, 321, 402, 404, 406, 740
Kepler, Johannes, 105, 106
Kerensky, Alexander, 502, 503
Khartoum, Battle of, 669
Kiaochow, 587, 594, 711
Kiel Canal, 738
Kipling, Rudyard, 337-338, 571, 610
Kissinger, John R., 300
Kitchener, General, 613, 669
Knighthood, 19-20
Koch, Robert, 297
Königgrätz, Battle of, 388
Korea, 581, 586
Kotzebue, August, 184
Kruger, Paul, 613
Krupp works, 226
Kulaks, 514, 516, 517
Kulturkampf (Germany), 319, 320
Kuomintang, 603, 606
Kwangchowan, 587

Labor legislation, in England, 278-281; on the Continent, 281-282
Labor party (England), 250, 264, 439-440, 442-443
Labor problems, 256-287; how the industrial revolution affected, 255-260; the problem of labor and capital, 258, 259; and the Catholic Church, 276, 277; factory legislation, 278-282; and social insurance, 282-285; and unemployment insurance, 285; trade unions and, 260 ff.; international action on, 285-297
Laborer. *See* Worker
Lafayette, Marquis de, 134, 144
Laissez-faire, 120, 121, 244, 245, 562
Lamartine, Alphonse de, 312
Landlords, as old ruling class, 257
Land ownership, in France, 137; problem of, 242, 243; in Russia, 492, 493, 516, 517; in Ireland, 629, 630
Langley, Samuel P., 222
Language, development of a written language, 8; Latin as chief, in early Middle Ages, 22, 69, 73; development of vernacular, 73
Last Judgment (Michelangelo), 76
Last Supper, The (da Vinci), 76
Lateran Accord (1929), 319
Latin, 22, 69, 73
Latin America, 576, 638, 639
Latvia, 407, 740
Lausanne Agreement (Reparations), 750, 751
Lausanne, treaty of, 405, 740
La Vendée, 143
Lavoisier, Antoine, 109, 110
Law, common, 83, 84; statute, 84; jury system, 84, 85; equality before the, 85
Law of Associations (France), 317, 327
Lays of Ancient Rome (Macaulay), 338
Lazear, Dr. Jesse, 300
League of Nations, German relations with, 480, 486, 487; Russian relations with, 510; Italian relations with, 541-543; and Manchurian affair, 598-601; and mandatory system, 649 ff.; organized, 735; organization of, 756-758; how it settles disputes, 758-760; disputes settled, 760-763; health activities, 763; economic activities, 764; other activities, 764, 765; an appraisal of, 765; does not outlaw war, 769
League of the Godless, 322
Lebanon, 649
"Left" Wing, 269, 270
Legion of Honor, 173, 174
Legislative Assembly (France), 140
Legitimacy, principle of, 177, 179, 192
Legitimists (France), 448
Leipzig, Battle of, 167
Leitmotiv, 358
Lenin, Nicolai, 504, 505, 525
Leningrad, 23
Leo XIII, Pope, 277, 315
Leopold II (Belgium), 194, 577, 638
Leopold of Hohenzollern, 390
"L'état, c'est moi," 98
Letters on Toleration (Locke), 113
Letters on the English (Voltaire), 115
Leyden, University of, library of, *illus.,* 70
Li Yuan Hung, 595
Liaotung Peninsula, 586, 590, 592

Liberal Party (England), 250, 264, 429, 431, 439 ff.
Liberalism, 181; challenges reaction, 186 ff.; and Fascist Italy, 545, 546
Liberia, 564, 762
Liberty, meaning of, 151
"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," 102, 150, 187, 416-417; meaning of, 150-152; meaning attached to, by workers, 187; in Fascist Italy, 543
Libya, 638
Liebig, Justus von, 241
Life of Jesus (Renan), 348
Limitation of navies, *see* Naval Limitation
Lindbergh, Charles A., 222
Linnaeus, Carl von, 108
List system of proportional representation, 550, 551
Lister, Joseph, 298
Liszt, Franz, 357
Literature, of Middle Ages, 20, 22, 73; development of, in vernacular, 22, 73; of the Renaissance, 71-73; and classicism, 78; in the eighteenth century, 112-120; affected by French and Industrial Revolutions, 333; classicism in, 335; romanticism, 334-335; realism in, 335-336; naturalism in, 335; modernism in, 335-336; Victorian Age in, 336-341; in England, 336-342; in Germany, 343-346; in France, 346-348; in Russia, 348-350; in Scandinavian countries, 350
Lithuania, 407, 735, 740, 743
Lithuanians, 23
Little Entente, 740, 743
Liukiu Islands, 585
Livingstone, David, 577
Lloyd George, David, 431, 441, 633, 634, 675, 733, 735; *illus.*, 440
Local government, France, 448; inequalities in, 95, 96
Localization of industry, 218
Locarno Treaties, 770-771
Locke, John, 79; influence of, 113, 415
Lock-out, 262
Lodge, Sir Oliver, 294
Logarithms, 108
Lombardy, 370; given to Austria at Congress of Vienna, 180
London Naval Conference, 773-774
London, Treaty of, 718
Lord, relations of, and vassal, 15 ff.; church officials as feudal, 55-56
Lords, House of (England), 92, 429-432
Lorraine. *See* Alsace-Lorraine
Loubet, President (France), 316
Louisiana, 84; sold by Napoleon to United States, 162
Louis XIV (France), 78, 79, 93-94, 127, 214; *illus.*, 93
Louis XV (France), 94, 123, 127
Louis XVI (France), 68, 94, 127, 128, 139, 142, 167
Louis XVII (France), 167
Louis XVIII (France), 167, 177, 182, 183, 191
Louis Philippe (France), 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 266, 365
Louis Napoleon. *See* Napoleon III
Louvain library, 729
Louvre, The, 75, 172
Loyalty, ideal of personal, in feudal times, 20, 364; ideal of, to nation, 20, 21; and nationalism, 364. *See* Nationalism
Ludendorff, General, 472
Lusitania, S.S., 722, 723
Luther, Martin, 60-61, 73
Lutheranism, 61, 63, 382
Luxemburg, 702
Lvov, Prince, 502, 503
Lyell, Sir Charles, 302, 313
Lytton, Lord, 599 ff., 760

Macaulay, Thomas B., 338
MacDonald, Ramsay, 442-443
Macedonia, 663, 680, 740
Machiavelli, 73
Machinery, revolutionizes weaving and spinning, 207 ff.; agricultural, 238, 241
MacMahon, Marshal, 448-449
Madame Bovary (Flaubert), 347
Madame Butterfly (Puccini), 359
Magna Carta, 86
Magyarization, 398
Magyars, 396 ff.
Maisons du peuple, 275
Majuba Hill, Battle of, 612
Malay States, 626
Malmedy, 735
Malta, 180
Malthus, Thomas, 305
Manchuria, 581, 598-601, 760-763
Manchukuo. *See* Manchuria
Mandates, British, 626, 627
Mandatory system, 649-653
Manet, Edouard, 352-353
Mann, Horace, 329
Mann, Thomas, 345-346
Manning, Cardinal, 320
Manor, 258; description of, 16, 39, 40; conventional plan of, 40; monotony of life on, 41-42, 54
Manufactures, in Middle Ages, 46-50; domestic system of, 50-51; in eight-

eenth century, 51. *See also* Industrial Revolution
Marat, 141
March on Rome, 538
Marchand, Colonel, 669
Marches, The, 370 ff.
Marconi, Guglielmo, 220
Maria Louisa, 162
Maria Theresa, of Austria, 128
Marie Antoinette, 128, 142; *illus.*, 128
Marlowe, Christopher, 73
Marne, battles of, 716
Marseillaise (de Lisle), 143
Marx, Karl, 267-269, 344
Mascagni, Pietro, 359
Mass production, 225 ff.
Matisse, Henri, 354
Maupassant, Guy de, 347
Max, Prince, 473
Maximilian, of Austria, 389
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 372-373, 531
McCormack, Cyrus, 239
Mediation, 695, 758
Medicine, preventive, 299-304
Medieval civilization, defined, 12; characteristics of, 15-20, 30, 39-42, 46-50, 54-57, 64-65; culture, 69-79
Memel, 735
Memoirs of a Sportsman (Turgenev), 348
Men and Machines (Chase), 225
Mendel, Gregor, 306, 314
Mendelssohn, Felix, 357
Mensheviki, 272, 503
Mercantilism, 120, 188, 246, 562
Merchant guilds, 46-47
Mesopotamia, 7, 401, 627
Metchnikoff, Élie, 297
Method, the inductive, 110; the deductive, 110; scientific, 110, 308
Metternich, Prince, 176, 177 ff., 191, 192, 198
Mexico, part of Spanish empire, 188; declares independence, 188; separation of church and state in, 321; attempt of Maximilian to secure control of, 389
Michelangelo, 76
Middle Ages, defined, 11, 12; characteristics of, 15-20, 30, 39-42, 46-50, 54-57, 64-65; culture of, 69-79
Middle Class, 80. *See also* Bourgeoisie
Midsummer Night's Dream (Mendelssohn), 357
Militarism, 381, 387; and imperialism, 567; as fundamental cause of World War, 685 ff.; origin of compulsory military service, 686-687; cost of, 687-688; influence of military class, 688, 689
Milan decree, 164
Mill, John Stuart, 424
Millet, Jean François, 352
Milyukov, Paul, 502
Mines Act of 1842 (England), 280
Ministerial responsibility, development of in England, 89-91; working of in England, 434-438; absence of in German Empire, 462-463; in France, 450-451
Ministry. *See* Cabinet
Minnesingers, 77
Minorities, racial, 363, 398, 407-408, 490, 491
Minstrels, 77
Mir, 492, 493
Misérables, Les (Hugo), 346
Model Parliament, 87
Modena, 370 ff.
Modern Comedy (Galsworthy), 342
Modern Utopia (Wells), 342
Modernism in art, 336, 354
Mohammed, 26-28
Mohammed V, Sultan, 678
Moldavia, 403
Molière, 78, *illus.*, 79
Mommsen, Theodor, 345
Mona Lisa (da Vinci), 76
Monarchism (France), 315 ff., 445, 448, 454
Monasteries, 56-57, 69
Monet, Claude, 352-353
Money, 32, 42, 43, 745
Mongolia, 581, 607
Mongols, 22
Monroe, James, 189
Monroe Doctrine, 188-190, 191, 576, 639
Montenegro, 400, 403, 404, 661 ff., 704
Montesquieu, 117, 118, 415, 434
Moratorium of 1931, 750
Moravia, 396
Morocco, 576, 637, 670, 672-675
Morse, Samuel F. B., 220
Moslems, 26-28, 621 ff.
Mozart, Wolfgang, 79
Mr. Britling Sees it Through (Wells), 342
Municipal Reform Act (England), 421
Murat (king of Naples), 162
Murillo, Bartolomé, 76
Music, development of melody, 76, 77; opera and oratorio, 77; in the eighteenth century, 78, 79; in modern times, 356-359; symphonic, 359
Mussolini, Benito, 318, 319, 320, 378, 537 ff.
Mutsuhito, Emperor (Japan), 584
Mutual Guarantee, Treaty of, 770
Mycenae, 303

N.R.A. *See* National Industrial Recovery Act

Nantes, Edict of, 322

Naples. *See* Two Sicilies

Napoleon I, 155-174; early life, 155; rise to power, 156; military methods of, 158; wars of, 156-158, 165-168; reorganization of the Germanies, 161; and the Continental System, 162-164; downfall of, 165-168; permanent reforms of, 169-172; place of, in history, 173-174; influence of, on nationalism, 364; on unification of Germany, 379-380; on democracy, 416

Napoleon II, 367

Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon), 366-369, 389-390; president of second republic, 197, 198; coup d'état of December, 1851, 366-367; converts second republic into second empire, 366; and the support of the church, 369; and working class, 369; foreign policy of, 369-370, 389-390

Napoleonic Code, 84, 171, 172, 381

Napoleonic Ideas (Louis Napoleon), 366

Napoleon, the Man of Destiny (Shaw), 341

Natal, 563, 577, 612-614

National Assembly (France), *1789-1792,* 131-140; *1871,* 447-448

National Industrial Recovery Act (United States), 245, 251, 282

National Insurance Act (England), 440

National Socialist Party (Germany), 481-488; *see* Nazis

National State, 20-26, 61, 64

National Trade Union Congress, 263

National workshops, 266-267

Nationalism, 363-394; outgrowth of feudalism, 21; influenced by French Revolution, 21; fostered by formation of national churches, 64; and mercantilism, 120; and Napoleon, 165, 166; and Congress of Vienna, 193, 198, 200; as a force in Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, 193-195, 198-200; promoted by Industrial Revolution, 214; and tariff policies, 248; economic, 249, 252; and socialism, 272; in music, 357; as a unifying force, 362; defined, 363; and patriotism, 364; development of, 364 ff.; as a disruptive force, 396-404; in Prussia after 1815, 383; as a cause of World War, 393, 689-692; Hitlerism as, 394; triumph of, in World War, 400, 401; influence of World War on, 407-409; increased by depression, 408; and international peace, 409, 410; praiseworthy and dangerous aspects of, 409, 410; and imperialism, 508, 569, 645, 646; as an aid to militarism, 689, 692; influenced by secret diplomacy, 692; checks disarmament, 776, 777; in Italy, 370-379; in Germany, 379-394; in Austria, 396-401; in Turkey, 401-408; in Japan, 583-585; in United States, 406; in China, 592-594, 602-607; in India, 621 ff.; in Ireland, 630-637; in Serbia, 682, 698

Nationalist party (Irish), 440, 630 ff.; (German), 474, 480; (Italian), 535

Nationality, 363; submerged or subject, 363, 398, 407-408, 490, 491

Naturalism, 335

Naval Limitation, 770-771, 773-774

Nazis (Germany), 481-488; relation to Italian Facists, 394, 542, 543; and disarmament, 775, 776

Near East, revival of trade with, 30; controlled by Mohammedan Arabs, 31; as a field of imperialism, 579; interest of Great Powers in, 659, 660, 662, 663

Nelson, Admiral, 158, 163

NEP. *See* New Economic Policy

Netherlands, Austrian. *See* Belgium

Netherlands, United Kingdom of, 180, 193

Neuilly, Treaty of, 740

Neutrals, rights of, 660, 694, 720

New Economic Policy, Russia, 511-514

New Worlds for Old (Wells), 342

New York Herald, 577

New Zealand, 563, 615-616

Newcomen, Thomas, 210, 211

Newman, John Henry, 320

Newton, Sir Isaac, 106-108, 334

Ney, Marshal, 167

Nice, 375

Nicholas I (Russia), 194

Nicholas II (Russia), 496, 501, 502

Nicholas Nickleby (Dickens), 340

Nietzsche, Friedrich, 345, 358

Nigeria, 626

Nihilism (Russia), 349, 497

Nile, Battle of the, 158, 163

Nile Valley, 7

Nine-Power Treaty, 596, 597

Ninth Symphony (Beethoven), 356

Nippon. *See* Japan

Nobel, Alfred, 696

Non-Juring Clergy, 139

North German Confederation, 388, 389, 463

Norway, 22, 162, 180; acquired by

Sweden, 180; ruled by king of Denmark, 162

O'Connell, Daniel, 320
Old age pensions, 283, 285
Old Curiosity Shop (Dickens), 340
Old Régime, 12, 79, 95-98, 114-120, 135
Oliver Twist (Dickens), 340
Open-door policy, 587 ff.
Open-hearth process, 225
Open shop, 261
Opera, 77
Opium War, 582
Orange Free State, 613, 614
Orange, House of (Netherlands), 180
Oratorio, 77
Origin of Species (Darwin), 305
Orlando, Vittorio, 734
Orleanists (France), 448
Orthodox Russian Church, 321
Othello (Verdi), 359
Ottawa Conference, 250
Otto, N. A., 221
Otto of Bavaria, king of Greece, 403
Otto the Great, 26
Ottoman Turks, 26, 401
Outlawry of war, 769, 771-773
Outline of History (Wells), 342
Outline of Science (Wells), 342
Owen, Robert, 265, 266, 274
Oxford Movement, 320
Oxford University, 71
Oxygen, 110

Pact of Paris. *See* Kellogg Peace Pact
Painting, 75, 76, 350-354
Palestine, 28, 408, 626, 650, 651
Panama Canal Zone, 299
Pankhurst, Emmeline, 425
Panslavism, 494, 496, 676, 698
Panther, The, 675
Papal Guarantees, Law of, 317
Papal States, 26, 180, 193, 198, 370 ff., *map,* 55
Paper, introduction of, 32
Papin, Denis, 210
Paris Commune, *1789,* 134; *1871,* 446
Paris, Count of, 448
Parlements (France), 95, 128
Parliament (England), 85-89, 437-438
Parliament Act of 1911, 431-432
Parma, 370 ff.
Parnell, Charles Stewart, 630
Parsifal (Wagner), 358
Pashitch, M., 682
Pasteur, Louis, 242, 296-298, 314
Pasteur Institute, 296-297
Paternalism, 244
Patmos, 679
Patrician, The (Galsworthy), 342
Patriotism. *See* Nationalism
Paul III, Pope, 111
Peace movement, 696, 756-777
Peace of Augsburg, 61
Peking (Peiping), 589, 606, 607
Pelléas and Mélisande (Debussy), 357
Pendennis (Thackeray), 340
Penguin Island (France), 348
Permanent Court of Arbitration. *See* Hague Court
Permanent Court of International Justice. *See* World Court
Perry, Commodore, 583
Persia, 28, 408, 670, 671
Persian Letters (Montesquieu), 348
Pétain, General, 713
Peter, King (Serbia), 679
Peter the Great (Russia), 22, 492
Petrarch, 370
Petrograd, 501
Philanderer, The (Shaw), 341
Physics, 105, 108
Piave, Battles along the, 716
Picasso, Pablo, 354
Picketing, 261
Picquart, Colonel, 316
Piedmont, 26, 156; revolution in, suppressed, 186; revolution of 1848 in, 198, 199; enters Crimean War, 374; reforms of Cavour in, 374-376; becomes kingdom of Italy, 376-377
Pissarro, Camille, 353
Pius IX, Pope, 312, 314, 317
Pius XI, Pope, 277
Plebiscite, 375, 388, 735
Pogroms, Russia, 497
Poincaré, Raymond, 456, 700
Poison gas, 708
Poland, in 1763, 23; partitions of, 23; *map,* 195; and Napoleon, 160; and Congress of Vienna, 180; secures a constitution, 184; revolution of 1830 in, 194-195; and Silesian plebiscite, 735, 743; and independence recognized, 740
Poles, 396 ff.
Political Parties, English, 438-443; French, 453-458; German Empire, 469-471; German Republic, 480-488; Italy, 535-536, 538, 543-544; Russia, 497-500, 523-526
Pomerania, 180
Pope, The, 55-56
Pope, Alexander, 78, 108
Popular sovereignty, 113, 119, 149, 415
Popolari (Italy), 536, 538
Population, increase of, 234
Port Arthur, 586, 592
Portsmouth, Treaty of, 592

Portugal, *22*, *36*, 166, 320, 548, 638
Posen, 393, *735*
Post, Wiley, *222*
"Powder Magazine," 697
Power, for machinery, 205; use of, in United States, England, France, and Germany, 218; new sources of, 220 ff.; water or hydroelectric, 221
Pragmatists, 307
Prague, Treaty of, 388
Prehistoric period, 13
Preparatory Commission, 774-775
Priestley, Joseph, 109
Primitive man, 6, 7
Primogeniture, 68, 99
Prince Henry the Navigator, 36
Prince, The (Machiavelli), 73
Principles of Geology (Lyell), 302, 304
Printing, invention of, 74
"Prisoner of the Vatican," 317
Privileged Classes, 67, 98, 129, 149, 181; *illus.*, 94
Production, increase in, as result of industrial revolution, 217; carried on in anticipation of demand, 259; overproduction, 259; mass, 225-227
Profit sharing, 262
Proletariat, dictatorship of, 268, 269, 271, 525 ff.
Propaganda, 709, 723, 724
Proportional Representation, 550-552
Protective Tariff. *See* Tariff
Protectorate, The (England), 87
Protectorates, 572, 573, 626, 638, 639
Protestant Revolt, 58-64, 80, 96
Proudhon, Pierre, 267
Prussia, and partitions of Poland, 23; as member of Holy Roman Empire, 26; reforms of Frederick the Great in, 121; gains of, at Congress of Vienna, 180; member of Quadruple Alliance, 185; revolution of 1848 in, 198-200; public education in, 327; and Napoleon, 381-382; reforms in, after Jena, 383; conscription in, 686, 687. *See also* Germany
Ptolemy, 34, 105, 108
Public opinion, 777
Puccini, Giacomo, 359
Puritans, 62
Pyramids, Battle of the, 158

Quadragesimo Anno, 277
Quadruple Alliance, 184, 185, 186, 188-191, 657, 660
Quanta Cura, 314

Rabelais, 74
Racine, 78
R.S.F.S.R., 519
Radical Socialist party (France), 453 ff.
Radium, 301, 302
Railroads, 213, 214
Ranke, Leopold von, 345
Rapallo, Treaty of, 378
Raphael, 76
Rationalism, 112, 113
"Rationalization," 227
Reaction, period of, 176-200
Realism, 335-336
Reaper, 239
Recessional, The (Kipling), 331
Reconstruction Finance Corporation, (United States), 245
Red Army (Russia), 505
Red Cross, 694
"Red Shirts," 376
Reed, Dr. Walter, 299, 300
Referendum, 475, 476, 552, 553, 665
Reform bills (England), *1832*, 195, 420-421; *1867*, 422; *1884*, 423; *1911*, 431-432; *1918*, 425, 428; *1928*, 428-429
Reformation, Protestant, 58-64
Reich (German), 476, 485
Reichsrat (German), 476, 477
Reichstag (German), 464, 469, 476, 477
Reign of Terror. *See* French Revolution
Reinsurance Treaty, 664
Religious Wars, 63
Remarque, Erich, 345-346, 485
Rembrandt, 76
Renaissance, The, 71-79, 96; general characteristics of, 71-72; literature during, 73; art during the, 76; architecture of, 74-75; and music, 76-77
Renan, Ernest, 348
Renoir, Pierre, 353
Reparations, 478, 479, 739, 743-753
Repression, 80, 102, 187, 200, 326
Republicanism, 555, 556
Rerum Novarum, 277
Research laboratories, 223, 306
Responsibility for World War, 696, 697
Restoration, The (England), 87
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 78
Revolution, the commercial, 34-38; the agricultural, 45, 46; the Glorious Revolution in England, 87; the intellectual, 103-123; the scientific, 104-112, 291 ff.; the French, 125-153; of Spanish colonies, 188-190; of *1830*, 191-195; of *1848*, 195-200, 384; the Industrial, 204-231: socialism and, 269; Turkish, *1908*, 404, 677, 678; German, *1918*, 473; Rus-

sian, *1905,* 499-500; *1917,* 500-505; in China, 591 ff.
Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies (Copernicus), 105, 111
Revolutionary Tribunal, 145
Rex, S.S., 213
Rhapsody in Blue (Gershwin), 359
Rheims Cathedral, 729
Rheingold, Das (Wagner), 358
Rhodes, Cecil, 612-613, 649
Rhodes, island of, 638, 679
Rhodesia, 613
"Right" wing, 269, 270
Rigoletto (Verdi), 359
Rimsky-Korsakov, Nicholas, 357
Risorgimento, 373
Rivera, Primo de, 556
Road Back, The (Remarque), 346
Robespierre, 141, 145, 146
Robinson, James Harvey, 309
Rodin, Auguste, 354
Rolland, Romain, 348
Romagna, 370 ff.
Roman Question, 318, 319
Romanesque architecture, 75
Romans, 8-10, 54
Romanticism, 334-335, 350, 352
Rome, 13, 20; "fall" of, 13; as a city-state, 20
Röntgen, Wilhelm, 298, 299
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 245, 251, 639, 774
Roosevelt, Theodore, 601, 638, 695
Root Protocol, 766, 767
Rosetta Stone, *illus.,* 9
Rotation of crops, 237
Rotten boroughs (England), 419
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 79, 118-120
Rousseau, Theodore, 351
Rubens, 76
Ruhr, occupation of, 747, 748
Rumania, 398 ff., 400, 401, 661 ff., 704, 719, 740, 743
Rumanians, 398 ff.
Rumelia, Eastern, 663
Ruskin, John, 338-339
Russia, *Czarist, to 1918:* in 1763, 22-23; and partitions of Poland, 23; and Napoleon, 162, 166; gains of, at Congress of Vienna, 180; member of Quadruple Alliance, 185; intervenes in Greece, 191; suppresses revolt in Poland, 194, 195; industrial revolution in, 216; separation of church and state in, 320-321; literature, 348-350; defeated in Crimean War, 369; races in, 490, 491; religion in, 490, 492, 497; economic developments in, 492-494; government of, 494-497; Russifications, 497; Nihilism, 497; beginnings of political parties, 498, 499; penetration of China, 586; war with Japan, 499, 590, 592; Revolution of *1905,* 499, 500; Revolution of *1917,* 500, 505; interest in Near East, 659 ff.; mobilizes for World War, 699, 700; defeated by Germans, 501
    Communist Russia, 1918-1934: rise of Soviets, 502; peace proposals, 502; Kerensky government, 503-504; Bolshevik revolution, 504-505; foreign relations, 506-510; counter-revolutionary movements, 507, 508; occupation of Russian territory by Allies, 508; recognition, 509; relations with League of Nations, 510; economic system, 510-519; military communism, 511; New Economic Policy, 512-514; Five-Year Plan, 514, 519; Soviet Government, 519-529; undemocratic features, 522, 523; dictatorship of proletariat, 525-529; education, 527, 528; position of women, 527; social insurance, 527; relations with China, 606; losses of territory by World War, 740
Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics, 519
Russification, 494-496, 497
Russo-Japanese War, 590, 592, 670
Russo-Turkish War, *1877,* 661
Ruthenians, 398 ff.
Rykov, A. I., 525

Saar Valley, 459, 735, 764
Sabotage, 274
Sadowa, 388, 390
St. Augustine, 304
St. Dominic, 56
St. Francis, 56
St. Francis Xavier, 583
St. Germain, Treaty of, 739
St. Helena, 155, 168
St. Mihiel, Battle of, 716
St. Paul's (London), 75
St. Peter's (Rome), 75, 76
St. Petersburg, 23, 501
Saint Saëns, Charles, 357
Saint Simon, 264
Saloniki, 717
San Stefano, Treaty of, 404, 661, 662
"Sanctions," 758, 760
Sans-culottes, 147, 148
Sardinia, 180. *See* Piedmont
Sartor Resartus (Carlyle), 338
Savannah, 213
Savery, James, 210
Savoy, 375
Savoy, House of, 376, 534
Saxony, 161, 180, 193
Scharnhorst, David von, 381

Scheele, Carl, 109
Scheidemann, Philip, 474
Schiller, Johann von, 343-344
Schleiden, Matthias, 295
Schleswig, 387-388, 735
Schliemann, Heinrich, 303
Scholasticism, 71, 73
Schools. *See* Education
Schubert, Franz, 356
Schumann, Robert, 356
Schwann, Theodor, 295
Science, beginnings of modern, 104-105; among the ancients, 104; in the Middle Ages, 104; importance of instruments to progress in, 105 ff.; and the scientific method, 110; importance of scientific development, 110-112; applied to agriculture, 241-242; progress of, in recent times, 290 ff.; continuity of, 291-294; and education, 294; and home life, 294, 295; and health, 295-301; and theories of the universe and life, 300-307; conflict between church and, 111, 313, 314. *See also* Industrial Revolution
Scientific method, 110, 112, 308, 309
Scientific spirit, 112, 206
Scientific revolution, 104-112
Scotland, 62
Scott, Sir Walter, 18
"Scrap of Paper," 194, 702, 703
Sculpture, 75, 76, 350
Second Empire (France), 366-370
Second International, 269
Second Republic (France), 196-198, 365-366
Secret diplomacy, 692
Secret Treaties, in World War, 717-720, 733
Secretariat, League of Nations, 757, 758
Security, 767, 768, 769
Sedan, Battle of, *1871*, 391
Selden, George, 222
Seljuk Turks, 28, 57
Separation of church and state, 311-322; reasons for, 311-315; in France, 315-317; in Russia, 321, 322; in Mexico, 321; in Turkey, 321
Serbia, 400, 403, 404, 661 ff., 680-682, 699, 717
Serbs, 396 ff.
Serfdom, medieval, 40-46; abolished in France, 135; abolished in Russia, 492; abolished in Japan 583, 584
Settlement, Act of (England), 88, 89
"Seven Weeks' War," 377, 389 ff.
Sèvres, Treaty of, 404, 740
Shakespeare, William, 73
Shanghai, 599
Shantung Peninsula, 587, 590, 594, 595, 596, 704, 738
Shaw, George Bernard, 341-342
Shelley, Mary Godwin, 309
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 336
Shimonoseki, Treaty of, 586
Siam, 564, 581
Sickness Insurance Bill (Germany), 282
Siegfried (Wagner), 358
Sikhs, 624
Silesia, Upper, 735, 738, 743
Simon Commission (India), 622 ff.
Simon, Sir John, 623
Sinkiang, 581
Sinn Fein, 632-637
Sistine Chapel, 76
Skeptical Chemist (Boyle), 109
Slavery, abolished in English colonies, 421
Slavic peoples, 22, 396 ff.
Slovakia, 401
Slovaks, 398 ff.
Slovenes, 396 ff.
Smith, Adam, 120, 121
Smith, Preserved, 69
Smuts, General, 649
Social Catholicism, 276-277
Social classes, in feudal period, 64, 65; rise of middle class, 65, 66; in the eighteenth century, 66, 67; privileged, 67, 68; and Industrial Revolution, 217, 256 ff.
Social conditions, in eighteenth century, 64, 66-68, 77-79; 234-236, 256-260, 274-287; in England, 424-429; in Germany, 483-485; in Russia, 490-493, 525-529
Social Contract (Rousseau), 119, 415
Social Democratic Party (Germany), 469, 470; (Russia), 498, 499
Social insurance, 282-285, 527
Social legislation, 278-281
Socialism, defined, 265; utopian, 265, 266; scientific, 267; Karl Marx and, 267-269; and political action, 269; "right" and "left" wing, 269-271; and nationalism, 272; and Bolshevism, 272; effect of World War on, 271-273; in Russia, 499, 505 ff.
Socialist party (Germany), 409, 473 ff.; (Italy), 535 ff.
Socialist Revolutionary Party (Russia), 499
Society of Union or Death, Serbia, 698
Soil exhaustion, 44, 45
Solar system, 105, 301
Somaliland, 638
Somme, Battle of the, 714

Sovereignty, popular, 119
Soviets, Russia, 502, 519 ff.; rise of, 502; government by, 519 ff.
Spain, 22, 162, 185, 186, 188-190, 320, 556, 674
Specialization, 218
Spencer, Herbert, 307
Spengler, Oswald, 228, 229
Spheres of influence, 571, 572
Spice Islands, 32
Spinning, 207-208
Spirit of the Laws (Montesquieu), 117
Spring Song (Mendelssohn), 357
Stalin, Joseph, 525
Stanley, Henry M, 577
State, defined, 15; city-state, 20; national, 20; separation of church and, 311 ff.; *see also* National State
Steam engine, 210 ff.; invention of several men, 210; used to drive machines, 212; applied to transportation, 212, 213
Steinmetz, Charles, *illus.*, 220
Stephenson, George, 213
Stock companies, 66
Strauss, Richard, 357, 358
Stresemann, Gustav, 480
Strikes, 261
Structure of the Human Body (Vesalius), 108
Stuart kings (England), 87-89
Subject nationalities, 363, 398, 407-408, 490, 491
Submarine warfare, 721 ff.
Sudan, 637, 669
Suez Canal, 573, 574
Suffrage, extension of, 187; in France, 450; in Germany, 476; in Russia, 523; in Italy, 534, 544, 545; in Spain, 556; tendency toward universal, 548; in Japan, 584; *see* Reform Bills (England)
Sullivan, Louis, 356
Sun Yat-sen, 593, 603
Supreme Economic Council (Russia), 513
Surgery, 297-299
Sussex pledge, 722, 723
Suttee, 621
Sweated trades, 281
Sweden, 22, 180
Swift, Jonathan, 78
Switzerland, 180, 216, 286
Syllabus of Errors, 314, 315
Symphonic music, 359
Syndicalism, 274
Synthetic philosophy, 307
Syria, 28, 30, 401, 651

Taff Vale Decision, 263, 439
Taille, 68
Talleyrand, 177
Tangier, 673
Tanks, 709
Tardieu, André, 456
Tariff, protective, 246-255; Chinese, 597
Tariff Union, in Germany, 215; Briand's proposal for European, 253
Taxation, in eighteenth-century France, 68
Tennis Court Oath, 131
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 337
Terrorism (Russia), 497, 498
Test Act (England), 418
Thackeray, William Makepeace, 340
Thessaly, 663
Thiers, Adolph, 447
Third Estate, 129
Third International, 269
Third Reich (Germany), 485, 486
Third Republic (France), 446-459
Thirty Years' War, 63, 686
Three-field system, 40, 48
Three Musketeers (Dumas), 347
Tibet, 581, 587, 626
Titian, 76
Togoland, 626
Toleration, growth of religious, 322-324; of political and economic ideas, 324-325; importance of, 309, 325-326
Toleration Act (England), 323, 418
Tolstoi, Count Leo, 349, 350, 696
Tory Party (England), 89, 90; *see also* Conservative Party
Totalitarian State, Germany, 483
Tournaments, 18, 19
Towns, 37-38, 46
Toxin, 297
Trade, as factor in growth of national states, 22; decline of, in Dark Ages, 30; revival of, with East, 31; routes of, 32; map, 33; commodities exchanged in, 32; struggle for supremacy in, 36; in the eighteenth century, 37; barriers to, in eighteenth-century France, 37; effect of, on towns, 37-38; effect of, on serfdom, 43-44; regulation of, by guilds, 46-50; affected by Crusades, 58; growth of, and industrial revolution, 206, 218, 219
Trade monopoly, of Italian city-states, 31; of Spain, 36
Trade Unions, definition, 260; methods of, 261, 262; methods of employers against, 262 ff.; development of, 263; value of, 264, 265
Trades Disputes Act (England), 440
Tradition, 2, 71, 96, 103, 308
Trafalgar, Battle of, 163

Transcaucasia, 740
Transjordania, 650
Trans-Siberian railroad, 493, 586
Transylvania, 400, 401, 739
Transvaal, 612-614
Treaties, Peace of Augsburg, 61; Peace of Amiens, *1802*, 160; of Vienna ending Austro-Sardinian War, 377; Rapallo, *1920*, 378; Prague, *1866*, 388; Frankfort, *1871*, 391; Berlin, 404; San Stefano, 404, 661, 662; Sèvres, 404; Lausanne, 405; Brest-Litovsk, 506; Shimonoseki, 586; Portsmouth, 592; Four Power, 596; Nine Power, 596, 597; Paris (Crimean War), 660; Congress of Berlin, 662, 663; Reinsurance, 664; Bucharest, 682; secret, during World War, 717-720; of Versailles, 733-739; St. Germain, 739; Trianon, 739, 740; Little Entente, 740; Neuilly, 740; Locarno, 770, 771
Treaty ports, China, 582
Treitschke, Heinrich von, 345, 468
Trench warfare, 706 ff.
Trent, 377, 378
Trevithick, Richard, 213
Trianon, Treaty of, 739, 740
Trieste, 377, 378
Trinidad, 180
Triple Alliance, 663-665, 697, 700
Triple Entente, 665-671, 697, 700
Tripoli, 638, 679
Tripolitan War, 535, 679, 680
Trotsky, Leon, 504, 505, 525
Troubadours, 77
Trovatore, Il (Verdi), 359
Troy, 303
Tschaikowsky, Peter, 357
Tuchuns, 602
Tuileries, Palace of the, 134
Tunis, 637, 664, 665
Turgenev, Ivan, 348-349
Turgot, 128
Turkey, in *1763*, 26, 27; Greece revolts from, 190; separation of church and state in, 321; and Crimean War, 369, 660; nationalism in, 401-406; war with Russia, *1877*, 661; Revolution of *1908*, 677-678; war with Italy, 679, 680; Balkan wars, 680-682; in World War, 705; Treaty of Sèvres, 404, 405, 740
Turner, Joseph M. W., 350
Tuscany, 26, 198, 370 ff.
Two-field system, 40
Two Sicilies, 26, 180, 198, 375 ff.
Tycho Brahe, 105, 106
Typewriter, *illus.* of early, 210
Tyrol, 743

U.S.S.R., 519
Uitlanders, 613, 614
Ukraine, The, 740
Ulster, 631 ff.
Ultra-Conservatives (France), 191
Ultra Royalists, 182, 196
Umbria, 370
Unemployment, technological, 229; insurance against, 285-286
Unfinished Symphony (Schubert), 356
Unification of Germany, 379-392; *see* Germany
Unification of Italy, 370-379; *see* Italy
Unified Socialist Party (France), 455
Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; *see* Russia
Union of South Africa, 612-614, 712
Unionist Party, England, 439; *see also* Conservative Party
Unions, Trade, *see* Trade Unions
United States, and French Revolution, 126, 150; opinion in, concerning French Revolution, 150; purchases Louisiana, 162; and the Monroe Doctrine, 188-190; industrial development in, 216; and farm machinery, 239; tariff policy in, 247; regulation of labor conditions in, 281, 282; public education in, 328-329; nationalism in, 406; influence on democracy, 466; recognizes Russia, 509; and Manchuria, 598 ff.; relations with Japan, 601 ff.; empire of, 638, 639; conscription in Civil War, 686; enters World War, 725; contribution to victory in World War, 725, 726; and treaty of Versailles, 740-742; and war debts, 750-753; and World Court, 766-767; and Kellogg Pact, 771-772; and disarmament, 773-774
Universe, ideas of the, 301
Universities, 70-71, 326
University of France, 171, 327
University of Jena, 267
University of Leyden, *illus.*, 70
University, Oxford, 71
University of the State of New York, 172
Untouchables, 620
Upper Silesia, 175
Urban II, Pope, 57
Usher, Archbishop, 302

Vaccination, 297
Valera, Eamon de, 634, 637
Vandervelde, Emile, 272
Van Dyck, 76
Van Gogh, Vincent, 354
Vanity Fair (Thackeray), 340
Vassal, 15 ff.

Vatican City, 56, 318
Vatican Library, 74
Velásquez, 76
Venetia, 180, 198, 370, 373, 375, 377
Venice, Republic of, 26, 31
Venizelos, Eleutherios, 719
Verdi, Giuseppe, 357, 359
Verdun, Battle of, 713, 714
"Vernacular," 22, 73
Versailles, Palace of. 68, 94, 127, 134
Versailles, Treaty of, based on theory of Germany's guilt, 697; and secret treaties, 733; makers of, 734, 735; and the "Fourteen Points," 735; decisions of, 735-739; not ratified by United States, 740-742; failure to bring peace, 742, 743
Vesalius, 108
Victor Emmanuel II (Italy), 373-377
Victoria, Queen (England). 610, 667
Victorian Age in literature, 337
Vienna, 161, 198
Vienna, Congress of, 176-181
Vindication of the Rights of Women (Wollstonecraft), 424
Volta, 219, 314
Voltaire, 26, 79, 113-116, 121, 323, 324
Von Humboldt, Baron, 327

Wagner, Richard, 357-358
Wagram, Battle of, 161
Wales, Anglican Church disestablished in, 320
Wallace, Alfred Russel, 305
Wallachia, 403
Walküre, Die (Wagner), 358
Walpole, Robert, 90, 91
War and Peace (Tolstoi), 350
Warfare, methods of, in World War, 706-709
Warren, Dr., 298
War, in feudal times, 19; as factor in growth of national states, 21; English and Dutch, 36; English and Spaniards, *1588,* 36; in struggle for trade supremacy, 36-37; of religion, 63; Thirty Years', 63; against France during Revolution, 142, 143 ff.; of Napoleon, 156, 157, 161, 166, 167; of Liberation, 167; Crimean, *1853,* 369, 660, 686; Austro-Sardinian, 375, 397; Austro-Prussian, 376, 377; Danish, 387, 388; Franco-Prussian, 389 ff.; opium, 582; Chino-Japanese, 585 ff.; Russo-Japanese, 590 ff.; Manchurian, 598 ff.; Tripolitan, 679-680; First Balkan, 680-682; Second Balkan, 682; World, 685-730; and taxes, 687, 688; cost of, 687, 688
Warsaw, Grand Duchy of, 161, 194
Washington Conference, 595, 596, 770
Washington, George, 150, 190
Waterloo, 167, 168
Watt, James, 211
Wealth of Nations (Smith), 120
Weavers, The (Hauptmann), 345
Wedding March (Mendelssohn), 357
Weihaiwei, 586, 587
Weimar coalition (Germany), 480
Welfare capitalism, 263
Wellesley, Sir Arthur, *see* Wellington
Wellington, Duke of, 166, 167, 168
Wells, H. G., 174, 341-342
West Indies, 188
Westphalia, Kingdom of, 161
Whig Party (England), *see* Liberal Party
Whigs (England), 89, 90
White Man's Burden (Kipling), 337, 571
Whitney, Eli, 209
Wilberforce, William, 421
William I (Prussia), 385, 387
William II (Germany), 393, 468, 471, 473, 667, 729, 738. *See* German Emperor
William III (England), 89, 90
William of Normandy, 21
William of Orange, 88
Williams, Roger, 311
Wilson, President, 247, 649, 722-728 734, 735, 741
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 424
Woman Suffrage, 424-425, 428
Women's rights (Russia), 523, 527
Wordsworth, William, 149, 336
Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind (Wells), 342
Workers, effect of automatic machinery on, 235; majority of world, as farmers, 237; loss of old skills, 235; gain of new skills, 235, 236; and tariff policies, 250; more dependent, 258, 259; less dependent, 259, 260; bad conditions for, 260; methods of employers in struggle with, 262, 263; trade unions organized by, 263; and the eight-hour day, 280; and sweated trades, 281
Workmen's Compensation Act (England), 40
Workmen's Insurance Code (Germany), 283
World Court, 253, 765-767
World Economic Conference (London), *1927,* 248; *1933,* 250, 251, 254, 287, 753
World War, 685-730; effect of, on tariff policies, 248, 249; and Socialism, 271-273; English parties dur-

ing, 440; French parties during, 455, 459; German parties during, 471-475; effect on Russia, 500-505; fundamental causes of, 685-693; immediate causes of, 696-703; line-up of powers, 1914, 704; Montenegro enters, 704; Japan enters, 704; responsibility for, 705, 706; military campaign, 706-717; new methods of warfare, 706-709; campaigns of 1914, 710-712; campaigns of 1915, 712-713; campaigns of 1916, 713-714; campaigns of 1917, 714; campaigns of 1918, 714-717; Allied victories in Near East, 716, 717; collapse of Central Powers, 717; diplomacy of, 717-729; secret treaties, 717-720; Italy's bargaining, 718; entrance of U. S., 720-726; submarine warfare, 721-722; *Lusitania,* 722-723; Fourteen Points, 726-727; Armistice, 727-729; costs, 729-730

Wren, Sir Christopher, 75

Wright brothers, 222

Wright, Frank Lloyd, 356

Württemberg, 382, 389, 392

X-ray, 298, 299

"Yellow-dog" Contract, 262

Yellow fever, 299

Yemen, 626

You Never Can Tell (Shaw), 341

Young Turk Revolution, 677, 678

Young, Owen D., 749

Young Plan, 749-752

Yugoslavia, 378, 400, 401, 740

Yugoslavs, 378, 396 ff.

Yuan Shih-kai, 593, 594

Zara, 378

Zeppelins, 708

Zionism, 408, 651, 652

Zola, Emile, 316, 347

Zollverein, 215, 384-385

Zwingli, Huldreich, 62